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AMERICANA

(ILLUSTRATED)



VOLUME XXXVI

January, 1942—December, 1942

The American Historical Company, Inc.

80-90 Eighth Avenue

New York

550363

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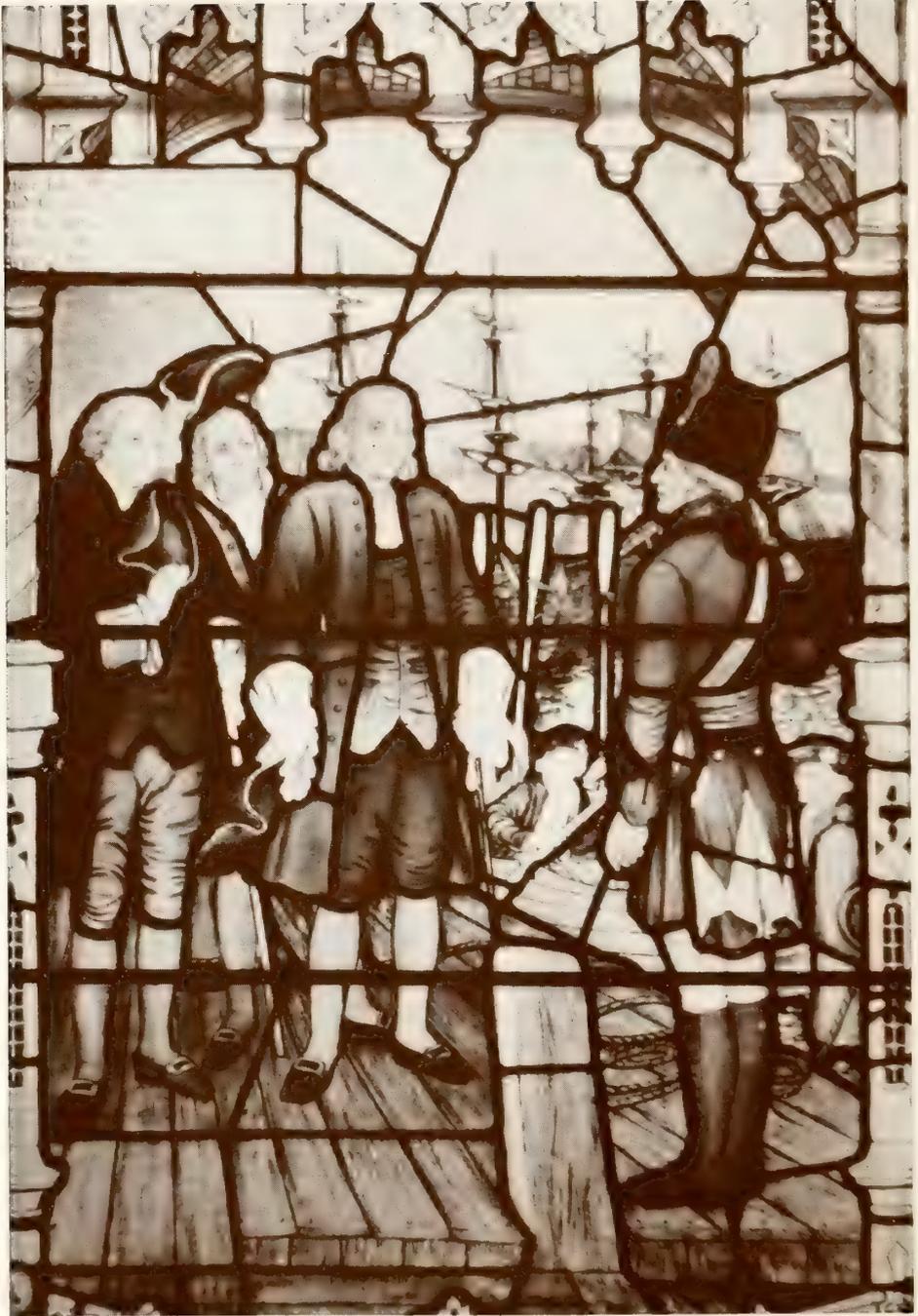
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(Photo by Lauren L. MacMaster)

THIS PANEL IN THE ROSINA ELIZABETH RAYNOR MEMORIAL WINDOW OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, PERTH AMBOY, BEARS THE INSCRIPTION: "HERE JOHN ADAMS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND THOMAS RUTLEDGE WAITED ON THE QUAY FOR THE BARGE OF LORD HOWE TO TAKE THEM TO THE QUARTERS OF THAT BRITISH GENERAL TO CONFER ABOUT PEACE. (SEPT. 11, 1776.)"

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED

JANUARY, 1942

VOLUME XXXVI . NUMBER 1



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, Inc.
SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK CITY

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AMERICANA

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, Literature, and Industrial History. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor. All communications should be addressed:

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC.,
Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

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Spices, Silks and Teas—Cargoes of the Old China Trade

BY JAMES WILBERT SNYDER, JR., PH.D., F.A.G.S.,
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



LOVERTY and the circumstances of geography turned Americans to the sea. European politics and a zest for adventure sent them eastward. From that point the course of trade was determined to a considerable degree by the articles traded. To understand the nature of trade with the Hither Indies requires some knowledge of the more important exports of each region.

It was not a simple matter for the early merchants to find goods in America that the East wanted. American demand for eastern products was definite and in the early period limited only by the ability to pay. What to send to China in exchange for costly spices, teas and silks presented a problem. The variety of things offered the Easterners about covered the American inventory, but the ones they could be induced to take were few. An article which held great hope at first, particularly as to profit, was the root of a weed known to the Chinese as ginseng.¹ Though this root has no known medicinal value other than as a mild stimulant or a demulcent, in eastern lands it has long been considered a panacea. Most people in China, physicians and laymen alike, considered medicine of

1. A herb of the genus *Panax*. The true Manchurian ginseng of China is *P. ginseng* or Schinseng. *P. quinquefolia* of the eastern United States is closely akin to it.

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little value unless some ginseng was included. In the eighteenth century it was regarded as the most precious drug in the Chinese pharmacopeia. One person writing in 1819 praised it as "a precious gift of nature, sweeter than honey and the honeycomb, more valuable than fine gold and jewels, and pearls, a glorious gift of heaven bestowed by the gods upon mortals for their happiness, and their enjoyment on earth. Placed on a par with a philosopher's stone, it is called the food of immortality, and it passes among the priests and physicians for a universal remedy, wholesome for all weaknesses of the frail body, applicable to all diseases; nay it is even said to prolong life, invigorating the nerves, strengthening the understanding, cheering the soul, soothing the mind, taming the wild passions, and bestowing inexhaustible delights upon our mortal existence"2

Other Easterners also seem to have shared Chinese regard for this root. One of the earliest references to it is made by an Arab geographer in the ninth century, who wrote, "Mussulmans who visit (China) export from thence deerhorn, porcelain, satin, ginseng. . . ." In 1645 a party of Japanese were wrecked off the coast of Tartary, where they landed and "the people treated them peacefully, trading off their ginseng for the saké or rice beer of the Japanese."³ In some parts of China, as in Corea, the native supply of ginseng was so limited that it was reserved for the Emperor's use. Its discovery in America, therefore, was in the nature of a godsend to the Honorable East India Company. It grew in Colonial days along the whole eastern seaboard from Canada to Georgia and down the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. It did particularly well along the eastern and southerly slopes of the Alleghenies, though the Dutch merchants exported it from Albany and Indians brought it in from the hills around Stockbridge in Massachusetts. Long used by the East India Company to save exports of specie,⁴ it was natural that the first American vessel to China should carry ginseng as principal

2. H. E. L., "On the trade of the U. S. With China," *Analectic Magazine*, Nov., 1819, p. 364.

3. Griffis, W. E., *Corea*, pp. 2, 163.

4. Speer, William: *The Oldest and Newest Empire, China and the United States*, p. 410; Winsor, J.: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, pp. 289, 298; *Hamilton's Itinerarium* (A. B. Hart, ed.), p. 4, describes it and refers to it as being famous then (1784); Macpherson, David: *Annals of Commerce*, III, 572, mentions it as an article of export in 1770.

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cargo. But this first vessel, the *Empress of China*, carried 445 piculs,⁵ "a larger quantity of ginseng than ever had been brought to the Chinese market," more than all the British and Portuguese ships had brought for the year 1784. Thomas Randall, who had been to Canton on the *Empress of China*, wrote to Alexander Hamilton, "The whole of this ginseng was sold according to quality and at various prices from \$150 to \$350 per picul, but in the year 1783 it had been sold for three thousand dollars the picul."⁶ Thus in the first shipment the American supply broke the market.

Tartary ginseng, however, Randall stated in his letter to Hamilton, "still sells for nearly its weight in gold," and he suggested that American ginseng must be gathered in the proper season and sorted correctly. Such necessity was at once recognized by American merchants. A Canadian writing to William Edgar, New York merchant, in March, 1786, warned him to ship "only the best quality, as there is a great difference, what is called female not being worth shipping, the male being, when broken white, solid as ivory, the other more porose and little flavor. . . ." William Edgar's source of supply illustrates how it was collected for shipment. Agents in outlying points bought up the local crop and sent it to shipping centers. Among the Edgar letters is one written by his Alexandria, Virginia, agent in the fall of 1788, stating that he had contracted with some of the backwoods merchants for ginseng, which was to be "delivered from 2/4 to 2/8 pr. pound."⁷

The second vessel to go from New York to China, the *Experiment*, Captain Dean, carried as main item of cargo one thousand pounds of ginseng root valued at \$5,600.⁸ Even at reduced prices the profits on these first shipments were said to range up to five hundred per cent.⁹ Very soon, however, by 1789, the price had dropped in Canton to \$65 per picul, later the same year to \$55 in exchange for teas. It was Randall's opinion at this time that five or six hundred piculs was all the China market would stand from America, perhaps a few hundred more by way of Europe, where it

5. A picul equals 133½ lbs.

6. Randall to Hamilton, Aug. 14, 1791, in *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of A. Hamilton*, p. 132, Arthur H. Cole, ed.

7. Wm. Edgar Papers, V, 1070 ff., New York Public Library.

8. Papers of Sloop *Experiment* in N. Y. H. S.

9. *Chinese Repository*, II, 451.

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was better sorted. This was almost four times larger than the Hong merchants estimated would be sufficient for the supply. It is difficult and probably impossible to find accurate figures in this period, but American ginseng never seems to have merited its fabulous reputation. The annual export settled down at about one thousand five hundred piculs with an average value of \$123,000.¹⁰ Within this limit the market became fairly stable and the profit remained reasonably high. Thus while ginseng came to be a regular article of export it had a minor place in the four and a half million dollar annual export to Canton through these years.¹¹

TEA—Early American ventures into eastern seas are customarily considered as part of western cultural expansion. The immediate factor, however, was a desire for tangible wealth. The first merchants went or sent their vessels to exchange goods whereof there would accrue a good profit in gold. The cultural interchange that resulted was inevitable, but incidental. From the point of view of the merchant the product which promised a sure market was tea. It accounted for nearly half the annual importation from the East Indies.¹²

According to Chinese legend the use of tea as medicine and beverage dates back to 3000 B. C. This is probably a bit fanciful, though it may have been known and used as a medicine in the third or fourth century A. D. It does not seem to have been used as a beverage prior to the sixth century and its use over the empire became general about the ninth century.¹³

The cultivation of tea is not restricted to China alone, but appears, when conditions are favorable, in many of the East India islands. In China and Japan the plant is a shrub which may grow from twelve to fifteen feet high. In some places, as in Assam, it

10. Pitkin, T.: *Statistical View of the United States* (1835 ed.). In 1812 *Mings N. Y. Price Current* regularly listed ginseng.

11. Pitkin, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

12. The annual consumption in the U. S. from 1790 to 1800 averaged about 2½ million lbs.; from 1801 to 1812, 3,350,000 lbs. Pitkin: *Statistical View of the U. S.*, p. 246.

13. Arabian travellers in China in the ninth century mentioned tea as a common beverage. Samuel Ball: *Account of the Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea in China*. Most of the information presented here on tea comes from this work and from the following: Hugh Murray and others: *An Historical and Descriptive Account of China*, III. Hollingsworth, H. G.: *List of the Principal Districts in China, and Notes on the Names Applied to the Various Kinds of Black and Green Tea*. (1876).

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grows to thirty or forty feet and eight inches in diameter. In Java, "the climate found the most suitable for the cultivation of tea, is that of the mountainous regions situated at 3500 to 4000 feet above the sea; where the air is so cool that Fahrenheit's thermometer at sunrise indicates 58° in the morning, and 74° at two o'clock in the afternoon. On still higher elevations, even 5000 ft. and more, the tea will be highly flavored but in lower districts the flavor deteriorates in proportion as the situation is low . . . the tea tree requires an atmosphere of much fog and dew . . . coolness and exposure to gentle breezes."¹⁴

Tea is a stable crop to produce since the plants, if cared for, will live up to fifty years. It is desirable to keep the shrubs small and this is accomplished by removing the leaves three times per year. While only the first leaves are fragrant and full flavored, the later crops are marketable. Care in handling the leaves is essential; it must be gathered only on clear sunny days and around noon, when it is hot. Neglect of such matters results in loss of much of the delicate aroma and hence of price. For this reason alone it was necessary for foreign purchasers to depend on a reliable Chinese merchant who knew where his teas came from. Preparation for use has remained much the same through the centuries. The leaf is bruised by beating or patting and drying over a charcoal fire or roasting in an iron vessel.

There were in the eighteenth century two main classes of tea, black and green. The more common varieties were black and were then much cheaper than green teas. Most authorities agree that black and green teas are permanent varieties of a plant of which there is but one species. "All the differences in quality are occasioned by soil, climate, modes of culture or preparation and the several periods at which the harvest is reaped."¹⁵

The finest of the black teas and the most expensive was called Pekoe, a corruption by Westerners of the Chinese Peh-haow or Pac-ho. The Chinese character for the word means "white hair,"

14. Handboek v. d. Kulturur en fabrikatie von Thee, d. J. J. L. L. Jacobson, d. z. par 15, Batavia, 1843. Quoted by Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

15. Murray, *op. cit.*, III, 51 ff.; Hollingsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 7, says the essential difference is that black tea is sun dried soon after being picked and before it is roasted, while green tea is roasted immediately after being picked and is not exposed to the sun at all. It is said, in picking leaves to be made into the choicest green tea, pickers stand with their backs to the sun, to keep the sun off the leaf after it is picked; Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

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and indicates that the leaf is picked before the leaf bud has expanded, and is still covered with a down-like substance. For this reason it was sometimes called "Flower" or "Flowery Pekoe." This name also may come partly from the practice of scenting the tea with flower blossoms such as that of the fragrant olive. However, the Chinese character (Kwli-hwa) for scented Pekoe tea means "aroma of flowers" and it is known in the West as Scented Orange Pekoe or Orange Pekoe.

The cheapest of all teas and the most common black variety was Bohea, a name once applied to all black tea. To merchants it meant the coarsest grade, and to Chinese it was the large leaves, picked after the regular harvest. The name came from the famous Bohea Hills in the province of Puh-koen. Hollingsworth suggests "it is somewhat surprising that this name should be given to the very commonest type of black tea, while the hills themselves have always been famous for producing the very finest kinds."¹⁶ Some of the other common varieties of black tea which may be found on ships' manifests or mentioned in supercargoes' orders are congo, a word which means "work" or "labor," and souchong which means "small sort." This tea was sometimes called Padre-Souchong from the fact that priests grew it in their gardens. Sometimes it was packed in small paper bundles, each the produce of one shrub. Another is Oolong, which means literally "black dragon." The origin of this term as applied to tea is said to be this: a planter once noticed a black serpent coiled around the stem of one of his plants which bore leaves of extraordinary fragrance. The bush became known as the "Black Dragon" and graftings from it produced many other similar trees.¹⁷

Green teas are called by the Chinese Sung-lo Cha, Sung-lo being the name of a hill where green tea is supposed to have been first discovered, and where the best variety continued to be produced. Of the green teas the best known were Hyson, Hyson-skin, Hyson-young and gunpowder. Each of these came in many varieties. The word Hyson has been variously explained as meaning anything from "flourishing spring" to the name of a tea merchant's daughter. The best

16. *Op. cit.*, p. 5 ff.; Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 40, says 8/10 of all tea imported into England in the early 19th century was black.

17. Some other black teas were: Campoi, Caper or Souchy, Scented Caper.

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was Hyson-skin, consisting of round, knobby leaves. Hyson itself seemed to mean large coarsely twisted leaves though of nearly equal color and size. The third, Young-Hyson, was similar to but smaller than Hyson. Young-Hyson came in different qualities and bearing such picturesque names as "Imperial Concubine's eyebrows."

Gunpowder tea was a variety of small, round, closely curled leaves, bright in color, the round form apparently suggesting gunpowder. There were many varieties and qualities of this tea also.¹⁸ As an article of trade tea came to be of the first importance to Americans during the establishment of their maritime commerce. Not only was a vast amount consumed by an expanding population at home, but with shifting trade barriers due mainly to wars, Americans found an increasing market for re-export.¹⁹ The American carrying trade also profited from this circumstance, some cargoes being taken directly to Europe.

CHINAWARE—Chinese pottery found its way westward with the earliest products from the East. Egyptians, Persians, Greeks and Romans were all familiar with the ceramics of China. Sixteenth century explorers included porcelains with the silks and lacquers brought back on their first voyages. But in the western world Chinaware remained a luxury until the eighteenth century. Americans knew of it through importations of the Dutch and English East India companies. Old inventories list chinaware in well-to-do Colonial homes in the seventeenth century. It was natural, therefore, to find it in the cargo of the first American vessel to return from the East. In varying quantities it appears on almost every succeeding cargo manifest. Super-cargoes' accounts are filled with orders for specially made or standard dinner services, tea, coffee, and chocolate sets, urns, covered jars, bowls and a miscellaneous assortment of bric-a-brac.

The skill of the Chinese potter, so obvious in his product, was developed through centuries of experience. The ancient potteries were located at Ching-teh-chen, four hundred miles up the Meiling Pass route from Canton, which is still the center of the porcelain industry in China. The process of manufacture has changed but lit-

18. Some other varieties of green tea were: Twankay, Imperial, and Cow-slip Hyson, a tea highly scented by mixing it with fresh flowers such as Gardenias or Jasmine.

19. Pitkin: *Statistical View, op. cit.* (1835), pp. 246-47.

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tle. Two local clays, mixed to produce the correct texture and strength, are brought to the kilns in the form of soft white bricks. From the potter's wheel the piece is placed in a mold to perfect its shape. It then passes along a production line—one workman polishes the piece with a chisel, another adds ornaments or handles. Finally it is scraped smooth and allowed to dry for the underglaze decoration. After this is applied the glaze is added and the painter's mark, if there is to be one. The piece is then put into the kiln where the temperature is maintained at one thousand six hundred to two thousand degrees Centigrade for twenty-four hours. This completes the process unless other decoration is to be added, in which case further baking is necessary.

Oriental porcelain has been so closely identified with the country of its origin that since the seventeenth century it has been known as chinaware, or East India china or simply as china. The term Oriental Lowestoft, used chiefly by collectors, is a misnomer that appeared in the nineteenth century, according to J. A. Lloyd Hyde, foremost authority on this subject.²⁰ A small factory at Lowestoft imported oriental porcelain by way of Rotterdam, placed an English inscription on it and resold it in London.

The ware brought to the United States in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was mostly that known as *Canton*, *Fitzhugh* and *Nankeen*, terms which described the patterns. Later the term *Canton* was also applied to the ware made near Canton, where the famous "Canton ginger jars" were manufactured. Early in the nineteenth century a detailed style of painting called *Amoy* was developed. In addition to these, many other designs and decorations were widely known. Floral and geometric patterns and armorial bearings were popular motifs. In his book on Oriental Lowestoft, Mr. Hyde records some amusing mistakes made by Chinese artists in copying mottoes. "One set is said to bear the following inscription in addition to armorial bearings, 'These are the arms of me and my wife.' In the case of a large service the motto 'think and thank' is metamorphosed into 'stink and stank,' and there is a tea set in a New England town with no coat-of-arms to be sure, but with the quaint notation near a monogram, 'This is the middle.'"

20. J. A. Lloyd Hyde: *Oriental Lowestoft*, N. Y., 1936.

Independent Journal:

O R, T H E

G E N E R A L A D V E R T I S E R.

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THIS 1785 NEWSPAPER ADVERTISES THE FIRST CHINESE GOODS BROUGHT TO AMERICA IN AN AMERICAN VESSEL

SPICES, SILKS, TEAS—CARGOES OF OLD CHINA TRADE

Some types of the so-called Oriental Lowestoft were distinctly American in their ornamentation. The main classifications were American Marine Lowestoft, American Decoration pieces and those decorated with the arms of the United States and various states. Emblems of such societies as the *Cincinnati* formed another favorite type of decoration. Individual pieces and designs were made on order. One enterprising Chinese advertised in the *Providence Gazette*, "Yam Shinqua, Chinaware merchant at Canton begs leave respectfully to inform the American merchants, supercargoes and captains that he procures to be manufactured in the best manner, all sorts of Chinaware with arms, cyphers and other decorations (if required) painted in a very superior style and on the most reasonable terms. All orders carefully and promptly attended to. Canton, China, January 8 1804."

American vessels in China were often pictured in the marine views and appeared usually on punch bowls, mugs and flagons, and occasionally on tea sets and dinner services. One of the best marine examples is the bowl on which a vessel labeled the *Grand Turk* was painted in Canton in 1786. It is now in the Peabody Museum.

CLOTH—Silks and cotton goods were probably the next most important class of exports to America. Scarcely a vessel came home without various kinds of cloth, from silk parasols to "printed calicoes and chintzes of every kind, muslins and muslin handkerchiefs, bandanas and silk handkerchiefs, Persians, gingham,"²¹ and many with exotic names long forgotten. Nankeens or Nan-King cloth was considered the best cotton cloth of the day and trade in nankeens alone occupied much of the time of supercargoes.

FUR FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST AND THE SOUTH SEAS—To the East India trade the importance of fur was in a way similar to that of ginseng. It supplied Americans with a much needed medium of exchange. Like ginseng its cost was low and the profit high, which helped keep the trade balance within bounds. Most of the fur sent to China was gathered on the Northwest Coast (described as all

²¹. Imports on ship *Warren*, June, 1790, from Calcutta, quoted by G. S. Kimball, *The East India Trade of Providence, 1787-1807*, p. 31.

SPICES, SILKS, TEAS—CARGOES OF OLD CHINA TRADE

that extending from Cabo San Lucas indefinitely to the north),²² and in the South Pacific, whence it was shipped direct to Canton. Thus fur and seal skins formed one point of a triangular trade, a type of commerce with which Americans had long been familiar in the Atlantic. There was, as Judge Howay expresses it, a "golden round of profits; first, the profit on the original cargo of trading goods when exchanged for furs; second, the profit when the furs were transmuted into Chinese goods; and third, the profit on those goods when they reached America."²³ There was little if any cultural interchange with the Indians offering the furs for sale.

Some uncertainty still exists as to the first American Northwest fur voyages, but the trade was begun early, probably in 1788.²⁴ South China furnished an excellent and continuous market for furs. Fuel was expensive and scarce, the winters long and cold. Before Americans began importing furs Chinese had obtained them from Asiatic tribes to the Northwest. Trade in fur was actuated largely as a result of Captain Cook's voyages. The discovery of sea-otter and other fur-bearing animals on the Northwest Coast did not escape the attention of commercially minded Americans, though John Ledyard was unable to get material backing for his propositions.²⁵ Exploitation of the Northwest fur trade by British nationals was prevented by the East India Company's monopoly, and since the Honorable Company itself was not interested the trade soon came under American control. Boston merchants initiated this commerce and most of the vessels engaged in it sailed from Boston.²⁶ In 1792 Vancouver

22. Wagner, Henry R.: *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (1937).

23. Howay, F. W.: "Early Days of the Maritime Fur Trade on the Northwest Coast." *Canadian Historical Review*, IV, p. 42.

24. By Captain Metcalf in the *Eleanora* of New York. According to Judge Howay the first maritime trader to the Northwest coast was Capt. James Hanna, who sailed from China in April, 1785, in a brig of 60 tons. "Indian Attacks Upon the Traders of the N. W. Coast," *Canadian Hist. Review*, VI, p. 287.

25. Ledyard, John: *A Journal of Captain Cook's last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in quest of a northwest passage* (1783).

There is need for an adequate biography of this romantic globe trotter. He is mentioned by all who write of 18th century maritime history, yet the nearest attempt to present a full treatment was by Jared Sparks: *Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveller* *Selections from His Journals and Correspondence* (1828), and lately *John Ledyard, an American Marco Polo*. By Kenneth Munford (1939).

26. The *Eleanora*, Capt. Metcalf, New York, may have preceded the *Columbia* and *Lady Washington* to the Northwest Coast by one season.

SPICES, SILKS, TEAS—CARGOES OF OLD CHINA TRADE

listed seven American and eleven British vessels on the coast, but identity of these vessels is not certain.²⁷ From 1790 to 1818 Bancroft accounts for 108 American vessels and twenty-two British.²⁸ In 1799 there were at least ten trading vessels from Boston alone, and in 1801 there appears the last British ship for twenty years.²⁹ Another, more exciting, and even more lucrative branch of the fur trade centered in the South Pacific. The discovery of seal skins there and an eventual market for them was largely accidental. A Boston ship, the *States*, while in the vicinity of the Falkland Islands for sea-elephant oil, collected a number of skins thought to be sea-otter. They turned out to be seal skins, for which there was no market in America. Eventually they were put on the brig *Eleanora*, Captain Metcalf, New York, and shipped to the East.³⁰ It was on this voyage that Captain Metcalf discovered the market for furs in Canton and proceeded to the Northwest Coast of America.

Sealing was distinct from the sea-otter trade. No one city monopolized it and it was not confined to large companies as the Boston Northwest Coast trade was. Groups of persons with small sums financed sealing ventures from New Haven, Stonington, Salem, New London, as well as from Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Most sealing was done in small vessels in the southern hemisphere; in the Falklands and Massafuero, but voyagers searched the seas from California to Australia.

Seal skins were collected by the expeditions themselves rather than by barter with natives as on the Northwest Coast. The usual plan was to spend a season or two on one or more of the seal islands, then ship the catch to Canton, returning with India goods by way of Good Hope. It was the practice to leave part of the crew to kill seals for the next voyage. These groups were often attacked by Spaniards and during the long wait the men got into fights among themselves.

27. Vancouver, George: *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*, VI, 399. His lists are not always accurate, according to F. W. Howay, "Early Days of the Fur Trade," p. 34. See also by Howay, most reliable authority for Northwest Coast trade, "A List of Trading Vessels in Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1794," in *Royal Soc. of Canada Proceedings and Transactions*, 3d Series, XXIV, 2.

28. Bancroft, H. H.: *History of the Northwest Coast*, I, 359.

29. Cleveland, R. J.: *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises* (London, 1855), p. 94; Wm. Sturgis: "Northwest Fur Trade," in *Hunt's Merchants Magazine*, XIV, 532.

30. Dennet, Tyler: *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 37.

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The sealing trade ended as abruptly as it had started. No one seems to have considered the biological necessity of leaving a few seals to breed, so that by 1812 they were nearly extinct. It has been estimated that from 1793 to 1807 three and a half million fur seals were taken from the island of Massafuero alone. Delano had seen as many as fourteen ships there at one time, but by 1814 the seals were gone and the island lay deserted.

Report and Manifest of the cargo Laden on Board of the Ship Lion wharf of Adam Champion's estate which cargo was taken on Board at the Port of Canton in China, Between four thousand & five tons. Built at Philadelphia State of Pennsylvania, and owned by Thomas & Butler Merchant at New York as per Register No. 60 granted at New York the 22^d December 1815—

Mark	Number	Package and Contents	By whom Shipped	To whom Consigned	Place of destination	Port of destination
TCB	1-311	Three Hundred & Eleven Boxes China ware	William Law	New York	New York & Europe	
	1-361	Three Hundred & Sixty one chests of young Mysore tea				
	1-362	Three Hundred & Sixty two chests of Mysore tea				
	1-363	Three Hundred & Eighty three chests of Mysore tea				
	1-364	Three Hundred & Eighty four chests of Mysore tea				
	1-365	Three Hundred & Eighty five chests of Mysore tea				
	1-366	Three Hundred & Eighty six chests of Mysore tea				
	1-367	Three Hundred & Eighty seven chests of Mysore tea				
	1-368	Three Hundred & Eighty eight chests of Mysore tea				
	1-369	Three Hundred & Eighty nine chests of Mysore tea				
	1-370	Three Hundred & Ninety chests of Mysore tea				
	1-371	Three Hundred & Ninety one chests of Mysore tea				
	1-372	Three Hundred & Ninety two chests of Mysore tea				
	1-373	Three Hundred & Ninety three chests of Mysore tea				
S	1-374	Two Hundred & Eighty four boxes				
TCB	1-375	White opium sugar				
B	1-376	Three thousand & forty nine				
A	1-377	Five hundred & fourteen small				
C	1-378	Three hundred & twenty seven				
	1-379	Three hundred & eighty seven				
	1-380	Forty four Cistels of Boston for damage				
TCB	1-381	Two Boxes China ware				
TCB	1-382	Two Boxes do do				
CMP	1-383	one Box do do				
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A third branch of the fur trade was with inland furs. These were collected from trappers in the interior and taken to sea ports for shipment to China. Though never an important part of the fur trade some furs from this source were sent to Canton after the treaty of 1795 and before the War of 1812, notably by John Jacob Astor.

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His plan was to send vessels to Canton with the furs, returning with China goods. The War of 1812 put an effective stop to this arrangement.³¹

By the beginning of the War of 1812 the business in fur was about finished, for along with other difficulties unregulated competition had resulted in overstocking the Canton market. Despite the spectacular nature of this commerce and the number of furs taken to Canton it did not account for more than about fifteen per cent. of the total imports into China.³² The fur trade in any case ought to be considered in the nature of an expedient to carry on commerce in the absence of articles to trade. Fur to the Americans was a medium of exchange, a currency, rather than a commodity of international barter.

SANDALWOOD AND SOUTH SEA PRODUCTS—Many South Sea products hold a place in the old China trade similar to that of fur and ginseng. The discovery of sandalwood on the Hawaiian Islands in the early 1790s was in fact an outgrowth of the Northwest Coast trade.³³ Captain John Kendrick, one of the most fabulous dreamers ever to sail the Pacific, took Hawaiian sandalwood to Canton in his sloop *Lady Washington* in 1792, probably the first to do so.³⁴ Sandalwood is described in the *Chinese Repository* as the "heart wood of a small tree, *Santalum albrum*. . . . The tree resembles the myrtle in size and appearance; the flowers are red, and the berries black and juicy. The color varies from a light red to dark yellow; the deepest color is best . . . and comes from the Malabar Coast. The Chinese use sandalwood in the form of a fine powder to make incense sticks to burn in their houses and temples. An oil is extracted from sandalwood which is highly valued for its aromatic qualities."³⁵ Other voyagers noted the inferiority of Hawaiian sandalwood to that of Malabar, Ceylon and different parts of India, but Hawaiian sandalwood was acceptable.

31. Porter, K. W.: *John Jacob Astor and "John Jacob Astor in the Sandalwood Trade of the Hawaiian Islands 1816-1826,"* in *Journal of Econ. and Business Hist.*, II.

32. Latourette, K. S.: "History of Early American Relations Between the U. S. and China," p. 29n; T. Pitkin, *Statistical View*, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

33. Delano, A.: *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (1817), p. 399.

34. Thrum, Thos. G.: "The Sandalwood Trade of Early Hawaii," in *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*, 1904, p. 48; Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 43. He also lists a number of the early voyages.

35. II, 469.

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In the Islands sandalwood was gathered by the common people under compulsion of their chiefs. The trade became a monopoly of the King, who compensated the local chiefs as he saw fit. The wood was cut in the mountains, where it grew best and carried to storehouses along the beach. Sticks of the wood were cut three to six feet in length and from three to eight inches in diameter. When green the color is light and there is little or no aromatic smell. This made it difficult for the first traders to distinguish between good sandalwood and spurious, but the Chinese knew the difference, and supercargoes' directions later were specific in ordering care that only genuine sandalwood be purchased.³⁶

Trade in this wood as in fur became an American monopoly and was at its height from 1810 to 1825. As many as thirty-five thousand to forty thousand piculs were reported shipped annually from the Hawaiian Islands to Canton at a price of \$8.00 to \$10 per picul.³⁷ South Sea islands also supplied some sandalwood, especially the Fijis, but this trade falls mostly in the period following 1815.

BÊCHE DE MER—In the tropical South Seas, in shallow water along the reefs and sand bars there grows a sort of sea slug called Bêche de Mer or sea cucumber.³⁸ American trade in this product, like that in sandalwood, was an outgrowth of the fur trade and became most prosperous after 1815. Its significance in the East is described in the *Chinese Repository* as a "product of the sea and resembles the slug often seen in damp places on land. It forms the most important article of commerce between the islands of the Indian archipelago and China excepting, perhaps, pepper. It is found on all the islands from New Holland (Australia) to Sumatra, and also on most of those in the Pacific. It is produced in the greatest abundance on small coral islands, especially those to the south and east of the Sooloo group. . . . It is an ill looking animal . . . sometimes two feet long, but

36. Delano mentions a cargo of spurious wood in Canton in 1790. *Voyages, op. cit.*, p. 399; Hill, Samuel: *Journal*, MS., N. Y. P. L., excerpts in *New England Quarterly*, x. (1937).

37. Alexander, W. P.: *Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, p. 156; Porter: *op. cit.*, p. 500. Thrum, *op. cit.*, quoting Otto von Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas, etc.*; Mathison, G. F.: *Narrative of a Visit to Brasil, Chili, Peru and the Sandwich Islands*, pp. 457 ff.; Fanning, Edmund: *Voyages to the South Seas, etc.* (1838), states the price of sandalwood to be 30c. per lb. in Canton in 1807.

38. Trepang or sea slug (*Holothuria edulis*).

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its common length is from four to ten inches, and its diameter two. . . . It is taken by hand . . . and after it has been cleaned, dried or smoked, it is fit for the markets . . . where it appears hard and rigid and has a dirty brown color. The Chinese use it by itself, or as an ingredient in other dishes, and in large quantities."³⁹ It was sorted into many varieties varying in price from \$1.50 to \$80 per picul, the higher grades being considered much as we regard caviar. Though bêche de mer was never so important as sandalwood, unlike the latter, which was depleted by the 1820s, it has continued to hold a place in South Sea trade to the present and is said still to bring as much as \$1,200 or more per ton.⁴⁰

Among the numerous products of the South Seas and the East Indies which entered into this trade appear shipments of pepper, coffee, nutmegs, mace and ginger. Bills of lading occasionally list opium, sugar, lacquered ware, rattans, cassia buds, camphor, coral and indigo; pearls, ivory and vermilion, paper, rhubarb gunny, cinnamon and ink; pongee, gold leaf, satin and perfume.

PEPPER—North of Java Head, across the Straits of Sunda, cutting athwart the route from Good Hope to China, lies the island of Sumatra. One of the largest islands in the world it runs in a northwest southeast direction, and is divided almost equally by the Equator. The southwest coast lies in the Indian Ocean, the northwest point reaching into the Bay of Bengal. Here the climate is temperate and the northwest monsoon, blowing from November till March brings rain and a luxuriant vegetation. It is along this coast that pepper grows best.

Pepper is the fruit of a plant (*Piper nigrum*) resembling the grapevine which grows wild in many of the East India islands and very profusely along the northwest coast of Sumatra. The berries when ripe resemble currants in size and are green in color. They are gathered in the spring, though sometimes semi-annually, and dried in the sun when the color changes first to red and then to the appearance it has when we see it. White and black pepper comes from the same

39. Vol. II, 452. Descriptions of the trade in bêche de mer also appear in Latour-ette, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Murray, *China*, III, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

40. S. Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir*, p. 49.

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SPICES, SILKS, TEAS—CARGOES OF OLD CHINA TRADE

plant, the difference in color being due to the method of preparation. White pepper has the skin removed before grinding.⁴¹

The trade in pepper from Sumatra was initiated by Salem merchants and they managed to establish a fairly tight monopoly on it for some time. Profits from the first ventures seem almost incredible; they were probably the highest of any branch of the India trade. While the pepper trade constitutes a study in itself, in some ways separate from the early China trade, it falls in the same period and is conducted by the same men and in a similar manner.

The first American to visit the West Coast of Sumatra was Captain Jonathan Carnes of Salem, in the brig *Cadet* in 1788. It was while at Bencoolen in Sumatra that Captain Carnes heard of the pepper trade. At that time trading was done at the single port of Padang. Later, in 1795, Captain Carnes got a pilot to take him there, where he learned that the pepper was brought to Padang by natives from further north. With this information he started back for Salem to promote an expedition to the pepper country. On the way home his vessel was wrecked in the West Indies, though he managed to get to Salem with his secret intact. Here he induced Jonathan Peele and others to build him a sixty-seven foot vessel of 120 tons which was named the *Rajah*. The register in the Salem Custom House mentions her equipment as including four iron guns and a crew of ten.⁴² With this tiny craft, feeling his way along the coast north of Bencoolen, with no charts, and a sounding lead for a pilot, Captain Carnes reached Padang. Much of his cargo was gathered from Padang north to Analaboo. The *Rajah* arrived back in Salem on October 15, 1799, with most of the pepper crop raised on the west coast of Sumatra—the largest cargo of pepper ever brought to the United States up to that time and it made for its consignees seven hundred per cent. profit.⁴³ The Peeles naturally sent Captain Carnes on subsequent voyages, and though the secret was kept for a while other

41. *Chinese Repository*, II, 467. Wathen, James: *Journal of a Voyage in 1811 and 1812*, etc., p. 155.

42. Information on this vessel, at one time a schooner, later altered to a brigantine, is given in her register—*Ship Registers of the District of Salem and Beverly, Mass., 1789-1900*, published by Essex Institute *Hist. Colls.*, 1905.

43. Custom House entry records show a cargo of 158,544 lbs. on which the duty was \$9,512.64. It sold for 37c. per lb. The information for this account comes largely from the *Historical Colls.* of Essex Institute, LVII, No. 2, Putnam, G. R.: "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages."

SPICES, SILKS, TEAS—CARGOES OF OLD CHINA TRADE

merchants eventually learned the way there, notably the Crowninshields and Joseph Peabody.⁴⁴

COFFEE—The coffee trade was also begun by Salem men. The first cargo appears to have been brought from Mocha in 1798 by Captain Joseph Ropes in the ship *Recovery*.⁴⁵ From Mocha American trading spread from the Persian Gulf to Cape Delgado on the African coast and consisted of such products as gum arabic, drugs, ivory, and cocoa nut oil. It is said that during the early 1800s the American trade in these regions was greater than that of all European nations combined. But that is a story in itself. The connection here is that some American vessels traded through this area to pick up Turkey opium at Smyrna for both China and the United States.⁴⁶ Of the numerous other goods few are of sufficient importance to discuss in detail. Cassia buds were used as a cheap substitute for the higher priced cinnamon of Ceylon. Ginger, then, as now, was a "sweetmeat made of the tender roots of the ginger plant." Camphor, the produce of a species of laurel, came at that time largely from the forests of Quan-tung. Sugar was a rather important article of trade from Canton. Two kinds were mentioned, a soft sugar and "sugar candy" which was nearest to present refined sugar. Of all the commodities exported to China from America by far the most important was specie. From 1805 to 1812, inclusive, there was exported to Canton merchandise to the value of \$8,951,688, and during the same period specie in the amount of \$22,003,000. This explains why Americans searched the seas for goods to take to China, and may help explain the ruthless exploitation of sandalwood and fur.⁴⁷

44. The conduct of the pepper trade at Sumatra is well presented by the famous Captain Bowditch in his "Remarks on the N. W. Coast of Sumatra." His observations were made on a voyage to Sumatra and the Isle of France in 1803.

45. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Osgood & Batchelder, *op. cit.*, p. 161; the Journal of a voyage to Java in the bark *Essex*, by Capt. John Ropes, of Salem, in 1796, is in the Essex Institute.

46. Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 30; F. B. Pearce: *Zanzibar, the Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa*, pp. 133-34.

47. The figures are quoted by Pitkin in the *Statistical View* (1835 ed.), p. 303, "Register of the Treasury."



THIRD NEW JERSEY REGI-
MENT, CONTINENTAL LINE,
1777, PRIVATE.



HESSIAN GRENAДИER



OFFICERS' HUT, FIRST PENNSYLVANIA BRIGADE, MORRISTOWN

New Jersey in the Revolutionary Scene*

BY ROBERT V. HOFFMAN, WESTFIELD, NEW JERSEY



JOHN HONEYMAN, WASHINGTON'S SPY—John Honeyman was the first rebel spy to be chosen by General Washington upon his return from New England and New York, in the late fall of '76. They met at the house of Peter Zabriskie, in Hackensack, where Washington was planning a campaign of strategy to outwit Lord Cornwallis, who was about to invade New Jersey with a superior force. Honeyman came to the house one morning and asked to see Washington. Dressed like a rustic, he appeared shy and awkward in the presence of the orderly and refused to give his name or state the nature of his business; but when, after much delay, he was finally admitted, his manner immediately changed. He stood, erect and soldierly, and saluted the General.

Washington liked the appearance of his visitor. He was tall, powerfully built, and seemed to have had some military experience. His blue-gray eyes were set well apart under a broad forehead. He had a shrewd, contemplative cast of countenance, a determined jaw; his smile was warm and friendly.

The General extended his hand and invited his visitor to have a seat. "I think you will find this comfortable," he said, moving a bench up to a table directly facing him. "Now, we can speak our minds to each other. I understand that you have some important information for my ears only."

"It is more important to me than to you, sir."

"Let me be the judge of that. Have you news of the enemy?"

*This is the title of a second volume of New Jersey history by Mr. Hoffman, the first having been published in 1937, "The Old Towne," the story of Westfield, New Jersey. These sketches are from the new volume, whose publication is projected, and are introduced in "Americana" in an effort to gauge the interest in the preservation of authenticated history in this form.

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

"No, sir. But I expect to have. I am a soldier. You would not know me, but I have heard of you often. I was with the British force in Canada in the late war. My name is John Honeyman."

The General recalled that a man by that name had been cited for bravery in the attack upon Quebec. "You were with General Wolfe, then?"

"Yes, sir. I was one of his bodyguard. I was as near to him as I am to you when he fell at the storming of the Plains of Abraham."

The General thought Honeyman modest. He recalled that a Scotchman of the same name had rowed General Wolfe across a stream at the base of the cliffs, when under fire, and had steadily held to his course when a cannon ball severed the head of an officer seated in the boat beside him. This was a fortunate meeting indeed. He had immediate need for a man of Honeyman's courage and experience. But with customary caution, he refrained from committing himself on so short acquaintance. He wished to probe deeper.

Honeyman was frank. He told of his Irish birth and Scotch ancestry. He was of the Covenanter faith. He did not like the Crown, but had been forced into the service and had come to America on the frigate *Bayrie*, arriving in the St. Lawrence, in 1758. General Wolfe was on board the ship and had taken a fancy to him for a favor he had done him during the voyage.

General Washington smiled. He happened to have heard the story of Honeyman's bravery on shipboard: he had saved General Wolfe's life in an unexpected encounter on the stairway. "You have your letter of discharge?" he inquired.

Honeyman produced it. It was, as Washington had expected, highly complimentary. Another letter, in General Wolfe's handwriting, requested Honeyman to become a member of his bodyguard.

"You have led an adventurous life," remarked the General. "Where are you living now?"

"In this state. I came here from Philadelphia about a year ago."

"Show me where your home is situated," directed the General, pulling out a map of central New Jersey from a stack of papers on the table.

Honeyman pointed to a spot midway between Brunswick and Prince Town. "About there—that's where I live—at Griggstown, in Somerset County."

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

"You are pretty well known in your part of the country, aren't you, Honeyman?"

"Yes, sir. My business is dealing in cattle. I trade with the farmers of the Raritan Valley, and over Trenton way."

"H'm. Then I suppose we will have to make you a soldier of the line?"

"Well, sir, if you think that's the best place for me, I'll not refuse it, but I would rather be in your private service."

"Then you want to spy upon the enemy? Is that your intention?"

"Yes, sir. That's what I want to do."

"Ever been a spy?"

"No, sir. But I believe I would like the work."

The General was grave. "I fear," he said, "you will find spying exceedingly difficult. This state is over-run with Tories and, as you are well known, they would soon discover your deception and report you to the enemy."

"I don't much fear the Tories down our way. They try to keep friendly with both sides so as to avoid trouble. Most of them are loyal to the Crown because they think the rebel cause is hopeless. They peddle cheap gossip if it is to their advantage. I was figuring I could stop their tongues if I pretended to be one of them. They know I was once a British soldier."

"How will you get in the enemy's lines?"

"As a Tory butcher."

"Then you will be subject to capture on both sides!"

"Yes, sir. That was my calculation. But it's likely you could arrange to get me free in case I was taken in by rebel scouts."

The General hesitated. "Well, possibly that could be arranged," he replied, in a tone that implied doubt. "There may come a time when I shall have to deny knowing you. A spy is without friend or country. You will be thought a traitor at home and you dare not assert your innocence because it will destroy the confidence which the enemy places in you."

"I do not fear for myself, General. It's the cause that I am thinking about. If I am caught and shot by the enemy, it will mean that I have failed. There is nothing you could do about that. But if I was caught by my own men, I would expect that they would bring

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

me before you, so that I could tell you what I had found out about the enemy. It wouldn't make much difference what happened to me after that."

The General was silent, but he knew what he was going to do about John Honeyman.

Honeyman continued: "There was just one thing that I ought to speak to you about, General. It concerns my wife and family. I would be obliged to you, sir, if you would give her some kind of protection. Her neighbors think pretty well of her and I wouldn't want her to be blamed for the things that I do."

"Certainly," replied the General heartily. "Mrs. Honeyman should be protected. And if we come to an understanding later, I will dispatch a letter assuring her of such protection as I am able to give." The General thereupon folded the map, made a note on the back of it, placed it in the inner pocket of his coat and rose as if to go. Apparently, the interview was at an end for that day.

Not so, if John Honeyman could prevent it. Being a trained soldier, he stood, also. "General," he said, "I would like for to start right away. There are things that need to be attended to before the British get over my way. I haven't been up country lately and there are farmers I need to see about some cattle that will soon be going to market. The Hessians will be wanting fresh-killed beef by the time they have footed it across the state with all the contraptions they carry."

"Honeyman," replied the General coldly, "you can doubtless keep a secret. But your business will be to discover the secrets of the enemy. How will you know if they speak the truth or lie deliberately to deceive you?"

"My eyesight has always been pretty good, sir," replied Honeyman, "and I'm accustomed to looking things over before I make up my mind. If what they say is in line with what I see, then I'll take note of it. If it's not, I'll just go along about my business, pretending to believe it."

Forthwith General Washington sat down and wrote a letter of a strictly personal and confidential nature. It was delivered to Mrs. John Honeyman, late that night, by one of the General's secret agents. The letter read:

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

It is hereby ordered that the wife and children of John Honeyman, of Griggstown, the notorious Tory, now within the British lines and probably acting the part of a spy, shall be and hereby are protected from all harm and annoyance from every quarter until further orders. But this furnishes no protection to Honeyman himself.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

As the farmer, milkpail in hand, entered his house, John Honeyman, cattle vender and Tory butcher, stepped from behind the corn crib, walked cautiously into the barn, and, discovering a cow munching hay in a stall near the door, tied a rope about her neck and led her out through the rear gate into the woods. It was not his custom to steal farmer's cattle; he usually bought and paid for them at once; but in the present emergency he needed old bossie for strategic reasons and had no time to barter. He was bearing news of an unusual state of affairs in the British Camp to General Washington. No doubt the General was expecting to hear from him. The rebel scouts which he had seen jogging along the Bordentown road toward Trenton, a while before, were probably under orders from headquarters to be on the lookout for a Tory butcher and arrest him on sight. It was his intention to be seen by them upon their return; and to make sure of being recognized, even at a distance, he had taken the cow. Some day, soon, he would square accounts with the farmer, a good Quaker whom he knew.

Once out of the wood, Honeyman lengthened his stride. He heard some shooting off toward the north. Probably the scouts were exchanging shots with Hessian outposts. He tapped bossie on the rump with the butt of his leathern whip, and then stepped ahead to clear a path for her through the drifts. She was a docile beast and needed to be prodded into cutting capers. When she kicked up her heels, he cracked his whip and tugged at the rope so that she nearly fell head foremost into the snow. Coming finally to the road, he saw two men approaching on horseback, and immediately began to scold the cow in loud, commanding voice.

One of the men drew rein beside him and snatched the rope from his hand. "So! that's what you're up to, now," he sneered. "Making off with farmers' cattle for your Hessian friends?" He leaped from his horse. "Better come along with us, Tory!"

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Honeyman observed that the man wore an epaulet on his right shoulder—a captain! The General had sent out a special detail to hunt for him! He scowled at the officer, but made no reply.

“Come along!” ordered the captain, seizing him by the arm.

Honeyman freed himself and with an oath started after the cow. “An outrage!” he protested. “I am an honest butcher, about my business, as you well might know!” Both men were quickly upon him. After a brief tussle, in which he was thrown to the ground with one of them on top of him, he pretended exhaustion and lay panting while they secured his wrists, and bound him to one of the horses. Then they hurried off up the river with him, ferried across and delivered him at the camp, where he was led before Washington.

Honeyman was a sorry spectacle as he faced the Commander-in-Chief. There was a large bruise under his right eye, inflicted when his cheek had struck the pommel of the saddle as he was being thrown across the shoulders of the horse; his greasy coat was torn at the elbow; blood seeped from the lacerated flesh about his wrists, forming red bracelets where the ropes had been; his strong, gnarled hands were livid from the cold. Yet he stood erect, matching his chief in height and figure, and looked defiantly at his captors.

“A fortunate arrest,” said General Washington to the captain. “Leave me with our Tory neighbor. I have a matter to settle with him which may require the presence of the hangman. I will summon the guard when our business is at an end.” He turned toward the prisoner. He spoke deliberately; his voice was more chilling than the winter wind. “If you offer resistance or attempt to escape, you will be shot on the spot.”

When they had left the room, Washington quietly slipped the bolt in the door and stepped to the side of Honeyman. “John,” he said, laying his hand upon his shoulder, “you are hurt.”

Honeyman shook his head. “No, sir. I was a mite cold, but I’m comfortable now. They did me no great harm. My own fault,” he added, holding out his wrists. “I had to be rough myself at the start.”

The General directed him to the wash basin on a stand in the corner. “You will find some linen scraps in the drawer. We will talk while you are cleaning up. Is our friend Rall in good spirits, these days?”

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

"Yes, sir. Rall is having a Christmas party. He can keep nothing else on his mind."

"How do his officers feel about that?"

"Von Dechow is worried sick over it. He will say nothing. I think he half suspects me, as he does most everybody. But he can do nothing with Rall. No more can the other men of his staff. Rall thinks a single brigade of his Hessians could defend the town against our whole rebel army."

"Perhaps. They must have prepared a strong defense?"

Honeyman asked for paper and quill. He spread the paper upon a table and began to draw an outline map of the village of Trenton, explaining each distinguishing mark as he made it. Here were the streets running through the town; here the barracks, the Quaker meetinghouse, and the burial ground where the artillery was placed. The houses where the officers were quartered, he designated by a cross.

"Are there no outer works of any kind?" inquired the General. "Perhaps they have concealed some artillery from view."

"I think not, sir. Rall will not have it. He thinks you do not dare strike in this weather."

"And you, of course, encourage him to think we are not prepared to strike?"

"Yes, sir. I am helping him to celebrate Christmas as he would in Germany. I have supplied the camp with enough beef and mutton for a two-day feast. And I have arranged secretly for Rall to have plenty of wine. He does not know that I have bargained with a Tory dealer to provide it. That is not a butcher's business and it might make him suspicious of me. When he inquired, I told him that wine was very scarce in these parts. And it is, just now."

"The Colonel likes his wine, I hear. Is he often in his cups?"

"Not often, Sir, I believe. Wine does not make him drunk. It seems to help his good opinion of himself."

"It might at least refresh us at this moment," remarked the General, bringing forth a jug and some glasses from a closet. "This," he said, filling a glass to the brim and passing it to Honeyman, "was the gift of General Schuyler."

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They lifted their glasses. There was not a sound in the room while they drank. Outside the sentry paced before the door. The wind blew against the house from the northeast. A bad storm was in the making, it seemed. It was growing dark in the room.

Washington lit a taper. "It seems most ungrateful of me to commit you to jail after what you have done to aid our cause. But I warned you, spying is a hard business."

Honeyman nodded emphatically "It is no hardship for me to serve my country," he said. "I was forced into the British army, but I came to you of my own accord."

"You render our cause a great service," answered the General. "I shall always be grateful." He summoned the guard. "Place this man in the log prison for the night," he ordered.

The log prison, newly constructed, was just across the way. It consisted of a square, floorless room, divided into two compartments, with rough planks raised a few feet from the ground to serve as beds. Thither Honeyman was led. The guard stood by while he ate a bowl of hot porridge—an unusual repast for a dangerous prisoner—and some bread. Then the guard silently withdrew, bolted and barred the heavy door, and began his vigil. Honeyman noted that each time the guard came around, he halted before the door as if listening for sounds from within. Although shivering with cold, he stretched out on the planks and feigned heavy slumber. His snores were timed to be at their liveliest when the wind was indulging in a moment's repose.

Whatever understanding there may have been between Honeyman and his Commander-in-Chief has never been divulged. It is probable that they had no expressed understanding. Both were keenly observant. But late that night a fire broke out in a distant quarter of the camp, causing the guards to leave their accustomed posts. In this brief interval the bar across the prison door was lifted silently, the bolt released, and John Honeyman was suddenly free again. His strange disappearance would have escaped notice until morning, if the guard had not sought the shelter of the prison to fix his woolen cap more securely over his ears. Then the alarm was sounded; men were sent out hurriedly to search the woods and roads along the river. The officer who had captured Honeyman was delayed



PARKER CASTLE, 1720, STONE PART, PERTH AMBOY



OLD REVOLUTIONARY BARRACKS, TRENTON

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

in joining the pursuit. His horse had disappeared mysteriously, also. It was found later in a barn near the ferry. By that time the erst-while prisoner was safe on the other side.

Honeyman hurried to the enemy's camp. He was welcomed by Colonel Rall, who had heard of his capture and was eager to learn how he had escaped.

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"Why," said the ebullient Colonel, "they must not have their wits about them that you should escape so easy. Have they no guard? Are their prisons made of paper?"

"No. They have good guards and prisons, too," replied the spy. He exhibited his blood-scarred wrists. "We had a rough time of it when they arrested me. That was in the day time." He winked slyly. "At night, it is different."

"Did you strangle him—so?" asked Rall, clutching his throat.

"I made him my friend," replied the spy, in a voice which implied that he was about to impart some confidential information. "And he made it easy for me to escape."

The spy leaned forward. "The situation is bad in the rebel camp," he whispered. "The soldiers have nothing but stale bread and gruel to eat. They have no decent shoes or warm clothes. The guard told me that they planned to mutiny on Christmas Day."

"Tomorrow? They will mutiny?"

"So the guard said. And when I told him of the plan to attack Trenton, he said that Washington was sending out reports like that to keep you from attacking him."

"Ho! Ho! So, he is fooling, is he? Well, I thought it was so. It will not be a very merry Christmas for the poor General, all his troops running away from him."

"I must be running away myself, now," said Honeyman. "I came here to tell you. It's a secret Christmas present from your Tory friend."

"Ja wohl. It is a secret which I will keep here," said Rall, striking his expansive chest with his broad hand. But—please—wait for a minute! I have a nice Christmas present for you. You must join with me in a glass of wine. It just came this morning." He filled a glass and held it up to the light. "Ach, Honeyman, it is bee-u-ti-ful!" He gave it to the spy, and filled another glass for himself. "Prosit, mein freund! Prosit!"

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

Honeyman moved slowly through the town exchanging greetings with the soldiers. He stopped that night at the home of the Quaker from whom he had stolen the cow and was glad to hear that the animal had been returned, without mishap, to her stall. He paid extra for his bed and board to satisfy his conscience. Then, as the booming of guns up the river announced the arrival of Washington's army before Trenton, he stole away, like a thief in the night, to find quarter at some isolated farmstead.

When Washington encamped at Morristown, Honeyman was seen occasionally bargaining with cattle growers along the roads between Bottle Hill and Pluckamin. He was never seen at army headquarters, but he must have found ways of communicating with Washington. In December, 1777, he was committed to the Trenton jail charged with high treason, released on his own recognizance and never tried. In the following June he was again arrested, with the same result.

John Honeyman, though an object of scorn along the Raritan, seemed always to have a loyal friend at court; and who that loyal friend was, no one save his wife knew until the British troops had quit New Jersey for good, and the beleaguered Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown. Then Washington himself made the announcement that elevated his spy to a place of high esteem among his fellow-countrymen.

After the war Honeyman bought a farm on the Lamington River and became a successful farmer and stockman. His reputation for valor and patriotism grew with the years. His children and grandchildren worshiped him. On every Christmas morning they would gather around the arm chair in which he sat by the window, and tugging at his coat sleeve, say, "Please, grandpa, tell us about General Washington and how you got out of prison! Please, grandpa!" And, of course, grandpa would tell the story. He lived to tell it to his great-great-grandson on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Trenton. He died at the age of ninety-five and was buried in Lamington Churchyard.

REFERENCES: "An Unwritten Account of a Spy of Washington," by Judge John Van Dyke, in "Our Home" for October, 1873, Vol. I, No. 10. See also Stryker's "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton."

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

COLONEL RALL'S CHRISTMAS PARTY—Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall yawned, a deep, self-complacent yawn, and threw off the covers. The regimental band was playing outside his window, the cannon, drawn by chains, were rattling through the streets, and the officer of the guard was going his rounds with the usual *éclat*—he could hear that, too!—and it must be time for him to get up and take his bath. How he hated to get up. As was his custom, he had been playing cards until long past midnight and he needed, at least, another hour's sleep. But he must be out by ten o'clock to review the troops as they passed up King's Street. The three very fine regiments, fifteen hundred strong, under his command were a sight to behold on parade. Such marching! And the British light horse and chasseurs, too! He was proud of them all. They must have a great feast on Christmas Day.

What was all this nonsense about an attack by this American army? They were coming? Well, let them come. They would stand no show against his troops. They were not soldiers even. Some of their officers, captured at Long Island, were nothing but tradesmen and mechanics. Their artillery was made of iron and mounted on ship carriages. Their privates were not decently dressed. And they carried pop guns! Pop guns! It made the colonel laugh to think of soldiers carrying pop guns! By the time they were loaded—well, the battle would be over!

There! the band was playing again. The hautboys—my, they made fine music! It was Christmas time. Why think about these Americans, anyway? Just be happy. He must go downstairs now and see what was going on. More nonsense, he supposed. Colonel Von Donop had been alarmed at reports of an enemy plot, and had directed him to build a fort at the Ferry and a redoubt at the crossroads north of the village. To be sure he had agreed to carry out instructions, but it seemed so unnecessary that he had stopped the work soon after Von Donop had left. The six field pieces which were to have been stationed at the crossroads he had ordered placed in the cemetery back of the English church, where some of his men were quartered.

No sooner was he comfortably seated at his desk than in came Major Von Dechow with more gossip. The major was a fine officer

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

and he respected him, but he wished he would let these small matters rest until after Christmas. "Well, now, Major, what is it? More trifles, I suppose?"

"No indeed, it is not trifles; it is a very serious matter, I assure you, Colonel Rall. We are not prepared for an immediate attack and the enemy knows it. This rebel general, Washington, has men from the near-by country spying on us. They are in his pay. They pretend to be Tories; they sell tobacco and provender to our troops; they buy cattle from the farmers and sell them to the village butcher, and they find out what they want to know about our camp. Washington has been told how many brigades Grant has under his command at Brunswick; how many troops are with Leslie at Prince Town; how many men are quartered in and about this village; and I would wager that he knows in what houses they live, and where the artillery is placed.

"The rebels command every inch of this part of the river. They can send men across it at will. Their commander, Seymour, does as he pleases. And why not? Nothing is done to stop him. Why, this Washington can move his army down upon us—"

"Bah! He can do no such thing," interposed the impetuous Colonel. "That is where you make a mistake, Major. With that know-nothing army of his? Stuff and nonsense! Why, his generals even are not military men. This Knox, he is a book-seller! This Stirling, he is a shop-keeper, though even they call him a Lord! This Greene, he is a forger of anchors! All this talk of yours, it gives me a great laugh, Von Dechow, it is so very ridiculous. The idea of you being frightened by a few little soldier boys who will run away if you point a gun at them. Poof! Poof!" And the Colonel shook with laughter.

Lieutenant-Colonel Scheffer was next, and he, likewise, urged preparation for defense. "We might, at least, place the guns at the crossroads. Whoever commands at that point, wins the battle," he said.

"Bah! Let them come. We want no trenches. We will go at them with the bayonet."

"But, Colonel, an intrenchment costs nothing. If it does not help, it can do no harm."

"Perhaps," drawled the Colonel, yawning. "We will see. We will see. But it will keep until after Christmas."

NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE

Later in the day two deserters from the rebel army brought word to him that unusual preparations were being made in Washington's camp. "They're cooking food for three days," explained an ex-corporal. A Tory farmer from across the river advised that Trenton would be attacked at any moment. General Grant sent word from Brunswick that he should prepare at once against invasion. When an officer suggested the removal of the baggage to a place of safety, Rall replied:

"Baggage—remove it? I should say not. If they can capture me and my men, they can take my baggage, too."

The Colonel blinked, slyly.

"It is a bad time for little soldier boys to be out of doors," he said, chuckling. "So freezing cold, and so much snow. If they cross the river to this side, all they can do is to cross right back to the other side. What a shame—all that trouble for nothing! Ha! Ha!"

Everything considered, it was a very merry Christmas Day; but not as hilarious as it should have been, for liquor was expensive. Madeira, which they preferred, was beyond reach of the officers' limited purse. Colonel Rall was indignant. "Boys, I have done my best to get you some nice spruce-beer, but I could hardly buy a goblet for each of you, it is so scarce. Think of that—Christmas and beer not even." So the six cannon were marched round and round, as usual, and the military band played (Christmas as well as martial tunes), and, in the evening, when the hail came down so fast they could scarcely see across the street, they all sat down to a great Christmas feast.

"Those rebels come to Trenton on a night like this? Mein Gott, what nonsense!" scoffed the Colonel, at dinner with his staff. But while he was carving the roast, shots were heard at the north end of the town and the alarm was sounded. The officers hurried from the table, and Colonel Rall led in the search for the invaders. He was resolved to make quick work of it, for he was mad clear through because his Christmas dinner had been interrupted. But when they arrived upon the scene, the enemy had been dispersed. A number of outposts had been wounded in a brief skirmish. "The rebels fired a few shots and ran away," explained a disappointed guard.

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"There, now, what did I tell you! Their pop guns wouldn't go off any more," replied the Colonel in disgust. "Enough of this nonsense! Now we will go home and enjoy ourselves."

At midnight, he ordered the wine brought in. "A little Christmas gift for you, gentlemen," he exclaimed. "A surprise—make merry!" And they drank and sang of the fatherland, and played cards until nearly daybreak.

An informer knocked loudly on the door during the card game and asked to see the Colonel, but he was refused admittance. "Busy," came the answer. So he wrote a note and slipped it under the door. "See that the Colonel gets this, then," he called. "It's important." Rall put it in his pocket, without reading it. Tomorrow would do.

As the party was breaking up, Major Von Dechow again appealed to him to send out patrols. "The main roads and the ferry ought to be guarded," he urged.

A blast of wind and sleet lashed the window panes.

"What!" exclaimed Rall, "pop guns in this storm? Nonsense! Tomorrow will do." He also thought it unnecessary for the dragoons to reconnoitre until the storm subsided.

Before he retired he received word that three infantrymen had scouted the country about the town and had seen no trace of the enemy. It was then after daybreak.

The Colonel laughed. "I think," he cried, "I make a jolly Santa Klaus, only I have not so big belly."

While Rall slept soundly and the wind howled through the streets, a small company of men stole out of the woods at the northern limits of the village and advanced toward the place where some Hessian outposts were stationed. They were miserably clad and accoutred and their leader was an iron-monger named Greene, but they appeared to mean business, for their pop guns were set as for a charge. Back of them, and now proceeding along the upper road toward Trenton, was their Commander-in-Chief, on his white horse, at the head of his weather-beaten legions—some 2500 amateur soldiers—who left a trail of blood in the snow as they moved doggedly ahead. Three brigades, commanded by Sullivan, met them at the Pennington Highway.

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They had been marching all night, with a brief half hour's respite for food, and they were weary for want of sleep and half-frozen from the icy blasts that beat in their faces. In spite of the storm, they had kept their hands from freezing and their guns fit for use by holding the butt ends under the blankets which were securely fastened, like capes, about their shoulders. With the aid of farmers, living in the locality, they had safely crossed to the Jersey side, after several hours of struggle with the ice-clogged Delaware. General Knox had directed the work of loading the horses and sixteen pieces of artillery, and had stood at McKonkey's Ferry roaring orders until the last boat-load was in midstream. Not a man or a cannon had been lost in that precarious voyage.

And, now, at the hour of eight o'clock in the morning, having trudged nine miles southward through snow and sleet, at last they had reached their objective. Facing them were the Hessians.

They were in grim, defiant mood, these rebel soldiers. Held in contempt by the enemy and forsaken by the folks at home, this was their last, desperate chance to retrieve the cause which now seemed about to perish. Along the line of march, as they had staggered and stumbled weary mile after weary mile, their officers had talked to them of victory. It meant everything to them to win—everything or oblivion. The password was "Victory or Death." Their zero hour had come.

A Hessian outpost saw them coming and sounded the alarm. From then on the battle grew fiercer. The Hessians made a bold show of resistance, but after a sharp but brief encounter, in which several of their men were wounded, they drew back into the village, spreading the alarm as they went. They were no less surprised by the suddenness of the attack than by the swiftness with which it was executed. In the village, all was confusion. Continental soldiers seemed to come from every quarter, moving like shadows through the streets, a white strip of paper in their hats to distinguish them from the Hessians. The Hessians were being driven in from all quarters—by Greene and Washington from the north; by Sullivan from the west; by Stark on the south; by Stirling and Knox at the crossroads. Here Knox planted his cannon so that they commanded the full sweep of the town's leading thoroughfares, King and Queen

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streets; and once he had found the range, Hamilton began firing.

The enemy was panic-stricken. There was no time to marshal their forces. The drums beat, the bugles sounded, and the unheeding rebels came thundering into town. What they lacked in military precision and modern weapons, they realized in steady nerves and good marksmanship. If they were but aggregations of raw recruits, each fighting in his own way, at least they were more than holding their own with these professional soldiers. From behind doors and fences, windows and barricades, rebel guns were popping, popping relentlessly, and Hessians making bold to attack were falling in the streets, some never to rise again.

And where was the great Colonel Rall, the commander of invincible legions? Asleep, in his warm bed, dreaming perhaps of the soldier boys and their pop guns. He heard a bugle blow and groaned. It must be time for parade. Then he heard firing, nearby in the street. He sat up in bed. More firing, followed by shouting in the hall below. Some one pounded on his door. "Der feind! Der feind! heraus! heraus!" was the cry, repeated many times. So, the rebels were here for sure! Well, they would get all the fighting they wanted, this time. And hastily getting into his clothes, he ran to the stable, where his horse was saddled and ready for him.

When he came into the street, a strange sight met his startled eyes. His men—his proud battalions from Hesse-Cassel!—were rushing about seeking a place to hide from Yankee bullets. He looked up the street, he could see nothing but clouds of smoke in the distance. He could hear men shouting, the whirl of a flying bullet, the clatter of musketry, an occasional groan and the intermittent firing of cannon—a great hubbub and confusion. But not a rebel could he see.

"Where are these rebels?" he shouted to a lieutenant. "How many regiments of them will there be, do you suppose?"

"There are five battalions at least in the woods," answered the lieutenant, "and thousands more troops to the right and left of us. The town must be surrounded. They seem to be coming from everywhere."

Colonel Rall was bewildered. How could it be—this terrible mess? Where were his brave legions? Quick! Quick! He must be quick!

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But speed was impossible. Trenton was a small village of less than five hundred inhabitants. Its main streets were narrow and flanked by the spacious houses of its more prosperous citizens. This was ideal fighting ground for American guerillas, but there was hardly space available to deploy a trained Hessian army. The roar of a cannon to the north reminded him of Von Dechow's warning. Knox's guns were placed on the very spot where Von Donop had ordered him to build an entrenchment!

Colonel Rall bit his lips and cursed. Pop guns! Bah! He rode among his troops shouting, "Advance! Advance! Forward march!" But where would they march? Inadvertently they ran, not toward the enemy, but away from them, to a place of comparative safety, in an orchard. Here a few of his trusted lieutenants gathered around him. Why not retreat? There was time to escape. They could go to Prince Town, join forces with Leslie, and quickly rout these rebels. There was nothing to be gained by fighting here. This attack had been planned; the enemy already was well posted, with their guns commanding the roads, and their soldiers rapidly taking over the houses.

But somewhere back in the Colonel's addled brain lurked a consciousness of guilt. He had ridiculed the American soldier, belittled his courage and his knowledge of the science of warfare. Must he now run away and hide like a scared puppy dog? The Colonel was a proud, valorous soldier, but he lacked the discretion to command an army. The lieutenant, who understood him, again suggested retreat. The Colonel cursed. He cursed the lieutenant; he cursed his soldiers; he cursed the boys with pop guns. He was out of his mind with rage and frustration. He wheeled his horse about. "Onward! Onward! We'll drive the rebels out! They can't stand against the soldiers of the King!"

He led his grenadiers into the thick of the fighting. Von Dechow and Scheffer tried desperately to rally their forces to his aid. Seeing his men retreating, Rall rode among them, cursing, cajoling, pleading with them not to give way. Cannon balls fell about him, bullets whistled overhead and, as he turned to direct a charge against a barricade, a ball struck him in the breast and he fell from his horse, a dying man. The harried Von Dechow fell also, a victim of the dumb

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arrogance of his superior officer. Their bewildered legions, finding no way of escape, surrendered.

The pursuing rebels tossed their hats in the air and cheered. They had not now to choose between death and victory. This was victory—complete, decisive. Not a single one of their fighting forces had been killed in battle—two had died of cold and exposure, four had been wounded. Among the wounded were Lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards President of the United States, and Captain William Washington, a cavalry officer. One hundred of the enemy had been killed or wounded, and thirty-two officers and about a thousand privates made prisoners. The British light horse, and some five hundred Hessians made their escape over the Assunpink Creek, early in the battle. When again they faced Hessian soldiers, these redoubtable rebels would be armed to satisfy even so discriminating a judge as their benefactor, the late Colonel Rall, for among the trophies of war which they captured were a thousand fine Hessian muskets.

It was a remarkable victory in another respect, for it was achieved without the aid of General Ewing, who was to have taken command at the Assunpink bridge, to the south, and General Cadwalader, who was to have closed in from the same quarter. Neither was able to bring his army across the Delaware because of the ice. With their aid, not a single Hessian soldier would have escaped. Without it, but for the ineptitude of Colonel Rall, the situation of Washington and his raw recruits would have been precarious indeed.

Prince Town and Beyond—After a noonday meal, Washington recrossed the Delaware and rested a few days in the Pennsylvania encampment. He then returned to Trenton, intending to follow up his success with an attack upon New Brunswick, but the second of January he received word that Howe and Cornwallis were on their way to Trenton with 10,000 men. Four days later the armies faced each other across the Assunpink. The battle which was to have followed, however, was deferred, for strategic reasons, until a more favorable time.

After a council of war with his generals, Washington stole away, leaving his campfires burning and some men at work in the trenches within sound of the enemy camp. It was not until the next morning,

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when firing was heard in the direction of Prince Town, that Lord Cornwallis was aware of the departure of his wily adversary.

At Prince Town the American General attacked suddenly the three regiments under command of Colonel Mawhood and routed them, in a series of furious engagements.* There was bitter fighting in and about the college grounds. It was at the latter place that Alexander Hamilton, a recent student at King's College (now Columbia), discharged a six-pounder at the portrait of King George hanging on the wall of the chapel, thus completely severing that proud monarch's head.

With the British army at his heels, and two of Mawhood's retreating regiments ahead of him, Washington marched his men toward New Brunswick, and when he reached Kingston, veered suddenly to the left toward the hills of Somerset, leaving the pursued and the pursuer to marvel at his cunning.

When Horace Walpole heard of the affairs at Trenton and Washington's night march to Prince Town, he wrote to Sir Horace Mann: "Washington, the dictator, has shown himself both a Fabius and a Camillus. His march through our lines is allowed to have been a prodigy of generalship."

REFERENCES: Wilkinson's "Memoirs"; "The American Revolution," by George Otto Trevelyan; "Life of Washington," Washington Irving; "Life of George Washington," Jared Sparks; Thatcher's "Military Journal"; "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton," by William S. Stryker.

UNKNOWN SOLDIER—He looked much older than his years, and he walked like a soldier, with long measured strides, his drum thrown over his shoulder and held in place by a cord attached to a homemade leathern belt. He was dressed like a farmer boy, as indeed he was, but he did not feel at all like one. This was the happiest moment in his life, for he was stealing away from home to join the army.

Long miles he had traveled that night, but he had not minded the tramp over the hills from Somerset. Soldiers were hardened to the road and could walk all night and fight all day, if necessary. Besides, night was the best time for him to travel if he wanted to

*The casualties at Prince Town were heavier on both sides than they had been at Trenton. More than one hundred privates and fourteen officers, including the gallant Captain Leslie, were killed and three hundred British soldiers made prisoners. Among the thirty Americans slain were General Mercer and Colonel Hazlet and seven other officers.

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escape the eye of a scout or sentry who might be prowling about. If they caught him, they'd be sure to ask a lot of questions, and find out who he was. Then he'd have to go back to the farm and milk cows and work in the fields, and he hated doing those things when he so wanted to fight for his country. He'd been around the camp at Middlebrook, and seen the men drill and watched them build their huts, and he knew how to be a soldier. He was sure he could drum as well as any of the boys in camp. He'd begged his father to let him be a drummer boy, but his father was a stubborn man and a Quaker and he just wouldn't yield an inch. His mother had given him a fine drum, though, for Christmas.

Well, he'd get the best of all of them now. General Washington would take him in. He knew where the General was—somewhere in the hills back of Springfield waiting for the British to make another attack. They were coming, he'd heard, to capture Morristown and burn up the public stores and the town. They'd been down Connecticut Farms way and burned the meetinghouse and shot the parson's wife.

What was that? He slackened his pace and listened. Yes, it was the boom of the signal gun. It wasn't far away, either; he must be nearing Hobart's Hill. He hurried on. The booming became more frequent; and, now, he could hear the drums beating to arms. The British were coming!

Some men came out of a lane carrying muskets. He fell in behind them. He was far enough from home not to fear discovery. They were farmers, too, minute men probably, and they must have taken him for a regular drummer boy. He noticed that he was taller than any of them and walked more the way soldiers do. As they came onto the main highway, a troop of cavalry thundered by. They were mounted on dashing white horses—and weren't they grand to look at! Their commander was grand looking, too—a Major. The man in front said: "Look, there's Major Lee—Light Horse Harry, they call him—and his Dragoons!" And they all waved their hats at the shadowy, white forms as they disappeared around a bend in the road.

After that vision, he walked on thin air. His dream was coming true; he would soon be a soldier! He wanted to be in the thickest of the fight. Perhaps they'd let him beat his drum in the charge.

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When they reached the slopes looking down into the village of Springfield, he could see thin puffs of smoke arising here and there in the fields. He knew it was Springfield by the white steeple of the church. He'd been there to service. On the border of the town troops were forming and a Colonel, standing at the side of the road, signalled to him to fall in.

It all happened so suddenly he could scarcely believe that he was actually marching with the soldiers and beating his drum like a veteran. His time must be pretty good, for a soldier at his side said: "That's the way, boy! You're puttin' the ginger into it!" And what a thrill he got from hearing those words! He'd never forget that soldier as long as he lived. He dared talk to him now.

"Where are we going?" he asked bluntly.

The soldier looked him up and down and he must have understood, for he answered in kindly voice: "We're with General Greene, son," he said. "He's the boss here. He's sent us ahead to man the gun at a bridge over the river which Colonel Angel's Rhode Islanders are guardin'. Colonel Shreve will be supportin' us. He's at the bridge to the rear. We'll be havin' it hot and heavy where we're goin', son. Ain't you a bit scared?"

"Not a bit. I'm glad. I've always wanted to be a soldier since I was a kid."

"Well, you ain't much more than one now, I reckon. But there's plenty of sand in you, I can see that. Where you from?"

"Just up the road." Then, after a moment's hesitation: "I was to Middlebrook with the army last summer—to Vanderveer's, where General Knox was—out Pluckamin way."

"Come from that place, I reckon," remarked the soldier, in a tone that the drummer boy didn't like at all.

"No, I come from up country," was the quick reply. And he added, partly in self defense, and partly because he was in such dead earnest he could forget everything else: "Oh, we'll beat these Red Coats. Just you see. Greene is our greatest—what is it they call those officers that plan things—strat—"

"Strat-ee-gist, I reckon you mean."

"Yes, that's it. He's a strat-ee-gist. I heard General Knox say so. And Major Lee's a fighter, too. Did you see his horses! How

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they could go! And there's Maxwell! And Dayton. And Stark, too!" He spoke their names proudly. "And General Washington—he'll never let 'em get up those hills even if we can't stop 'em down here—you just wait!"

"You're well up on the army, ain't you, boy? Where'd you get all them names? Most of 'em ain't from up country where you say you come from."

"Didn't I tell you I was to Middlebrook! And didn't I hear 'em talking in the camps! And didn't I see 'em—that is, most of 'em—at the reviews! Where you from?"

But there was no time for the soldier to parry that unexpected thrust. They had come to a sudden halt near a high bank. Here they parted company, filing off down the road through a ravine. When it came his turn, he threw his drum back, soldier fashion, and climbed the slope. He was in his natural element, as spry and quick of eye and of movement as the Indian slave on the farm.

Soldiers were tearing the planks off the bridge when they came up. They took their places behind trees, in ditches and along the line of a stone fence that reached across a field from an orchard a hundred paces away. A creek ran between them and the lower road. A piece of artillery had been drawn up back of the fence. Crouched behind a boulder, he could watch the gunners loading and firing, and now and then catch a glimpse of the militia moving along the main road. He was sure he saw a white horse dash into a thicket—one of Lee's men. And who were those cavalymen in the red coats? Must be British Dragoons trying to break through. He saw a red coat on a black charger leap a ditch and fall. Good shot!

Now, there was fighting everywhere—on the roads, in the fields and orchards. The cannon boomed on the hills—muskets blazed from every quarter—smoke and flames rose as the shells burst on the roofs and in the trees—a cannon ball went crashing into the side of a house. A soldier lay dead at his side. A shell burst near the fence and splinters of rock fell all around him. One of the men at the guns—his friend of the road—was hit and fell backward across a log. He wished he could do something for him, but he must hold his place, awaiting orders. Another man stepped up to help with the gun.

They were having trouble with the gun. That was bad. If the

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British knew it, they could come on and take the bridge. There were only two hundred of them—and that gun—guarding it!

Above the noise of the battle, he heard the sound of hoofs, and suddenly there burst upon the scene a horseman with two great bundles of books strapped on either side of his saddle.

“The Fighting Parson’s coming from the church with the hymn books!” he heard the gunner call. “That will save us. We need the waddin’!”

The parson drew rein beside the fence. He didn’t seem to be afraid of anything—right out there in full view of the enemy! He had his wits about him, too. He untied the books, carried them over to the fence and began to tear the pages out. He was paying off the British. They had killed his wife.

“Now, boys,” he shouted, “put Watts into them!”

The lines advanced, wavered and fell back as that cannon roared defiance. But it seemed to him that the more British they killed, the more kept coming on. They could not hold the bridge much longer.

Then he heard the order to charge. It was a last desperate stand against a superior force. He stood up now and beat his drum furiously. “Come on! Come on! Do and die for your country!” That was what he meant to say with each hurried beat. He was on fire. He stepped across the fence in the footprints of the parson and ran forward with the troops—a long, thin line of eager men, with fixed bayonets, rushing to their fate. It seemed like hours, but it was only a minute, before they were at death grips with the enemy. The man in front of him fell suddenly. Here was his chance. Throwing off his drum, he snatched the wounded soldier’s musket from him. He could not hear the commands of the officer, nor see what was going on, so intent was he upon getting his man. He’d never used a bayonet before, but he could take a partridge on the wing and he’d watched General Steuben show the soldiers how to handle their muskets when making the final lunge. The fellow who faced him was young, too, and brave. He could hear him breathe as they came together. He wasn’t a farmer boy though, and strong like he was, and he knocked him over and ran him through with the first thrust. He felt a twinge of pain, as if something sharp were pricking his heart, when he saw that prostrate form at his feet and that ghastly smile on those blood-

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less lips. But, no, he mustn't feel that way—this was war! He moved on, but he seemed to be charging alone. Where were all the others? He looked back, just for a second—nothing but dead and dying under the trees, and beyond?—soldiers in orderly retreat! And, suddenly, there came a whizzing sound—nearer and nearer. He seemed to sense its meaning. But it didn't matter. Nothing mattered. He was happy, very happy. He was a soldier at long last.

It was a hollow victory—more nearly a defeat—for the British at Springfield. Knyphaussen's five thousand veteran soldiers were actually held off by a few brigades of Continentals and militia, many of them raw recruits from the locality. For every American soldier slain, three Red Coats gave their lives. Greene was the master mind on that field of battle—the last to be fought on Jersey soil. He never had more than one thousand men under his command at any time, and he so distributed his troops and they so ably defended their positions, that they gave ground stubbornly, skillfully protected their flanks, and finally retired to the slopes above the town and defied the British to come on! Colonel Simcoe, whose dragoons formed the advance guard of the British along the Vauxhall Road, unconsciously, no doubt, paid compliment to Greene's strategy, in his Journal.* "The enemy," he said, "fell back with too much precipitation to be overtaken and with too much order to be ventured upon by a few men." He did not mention the spirit of the American troops, but it is not unlikely that Knyphaussen took this greatest of all soldierly qualities into account when he decided that it would be folly to attempt to fight his way through those mountain passes. The chances were that his legions would be cut to pieces. Word had reached him, also, that Washington had just arrived in the short hills with four thousand men. So! Clinton's ruse had failed! *Mein Gott! Hier muss der Teufel in Spiel sein.* In the late afternoon he retired, "carrying off ten wagons of wounded and leaving scores of dead upon the field." Being a Prussian, and a ruthless disciple of Frederick the Great, he burned the church and all but four of the houses in the village before taking leave.

*Simcoe's "Military Journal," p. 143.



QUEEN'S BUILDING, RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, NEW BRUNSWICK



NASSAU HALL, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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At daybreak, the following morning, some soldiers engaged in the sorry business of removing the dead, came upon the mangled body of a boy in an orchard near the road. His cap was gone and a lock of golden brown hair fell across his white forehead. His pockets were empty save for a soiled bandana handkerchief. A small drum, with head knocked in, and the sticks carefully tucked under the cords, lay at the foot of an apple tree a few paces away.

"Just a kid," observed one of the soldiers, examining the drum. "It's a plaything. Wonder who he was—nobody from around here, hey, Ed?"

"Not that I know of," his companion replied solemnly. "There's no tellin' where his home was, but there's no fightin' where he's gone, that's certain." He bestirred himself suddenly. "Come, let's get on with this!" he said. "It's bad to be thinkin' about such things. We'll just bury him in that gully alongside the tree where he fell and put up one of these stones for a mark. Maybe they'll want to give the lad a decent burial some day. There's no time for it now."

REFERENCES: Simcoe's "Military Journal"; Hatfield's "History of Elizabethtown"; Washington Irving's "Life of Washington," Vol. III, Chap. XXVI.

THE FRANKLINS—FATHER AND SON—Benjamin Franklin was traveling over familiar ground. More than fifty years ago he had landed on the quay, at Amboy, on his way to seek his fortune in the city of Brotherly Love. Then he was a poor friendless lad of seventeen and in desperate need of food and a good night's sleep; for the trip across the bay had been a stormy "thirty hours on the water without victuals or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum." Now, an old man, having long since acquired wealth and international reputation, and but recently returned from a diplomatic mission abroad, he strolled leisurely along the shore road, on his way to Government House, where he was to spend the night with his son, William.

Time, it seemed to him, had dealt kindly with the ancient Jersey capital. The stone castle, set like a fortress in the side of the slope (and now an incongruous frame addition reared its gaunt sides above it) seemed worthy to survive the ages. There was dignity and an air of mystery in its ivy-covered walls and shaded walk, reaching almost to the water's edge. He knew the Parkers; James had established

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the first printery in New Jersey, at Woodbridge, in the twenties; Elisha, who had built the Castle, was a solid man. The family were members of the Church of England; loyalists, no doubt! The tavern, nearby, was merry with talk and laughter, as usual—sailors, probably, spinning yarns over their grog.

The countryside reminded him of his native New England. Apparently the farmers hereabouts were thrifty and industrious. The barns and other outbuildings had a neat, orderly appearance and the dwellings, some of them with windows like eyes peeping out from under the eaves, looked trim and spotless against a background of fields and gardens and fruit trees awaiting the harvest. On the hill, overlooking the sail-dotted harbor and the island across the Kill, the steeple of the English church, another ancient landmark, rose majestically above the tree tops, a symbol of peace in a rebellious land. And just beyond the view stood the brick mansion where his host, the Governor, was waiting to receive him.

Franklin cherished a deep affection for this, his only son, William, who from early boyhood had been a favored member of the family. He wanted him to make his mark in statecraft. At his urging, young Franklin had enlisted with the Pennsylvania line, in the King's War, in Canada, and risen to the rank of captain while yet in his teens. Later, through his father's influence, he had been made comptroller in the post office and clerk of the provincial assembly. In 1757, when Franklin had gone to England to plead the cause of the assembly against the proprietaries, he had taken his son with him and provided the funds for his education in the law. When a successor to Hardy as Governor of New Jersey was under consideration, he artfully had made the suggestion that possibly His Majesty's government would consider the qualifications of his son, since he had been born in America and was a barrister then residing in England.

After the appointment, a storm broke in the Colony. Puritan and Quaker denounced it as an act of favoritism. John Penn, a large landowner, son of William Penn, one of the twelve Jersey proprietors, wrote to Lord Stirling from England, urging immediate action to prevent his taking office. Franklin's political enemies also protested that he was using his office for personal gain.

Protests were in vain, however. Nothing could be done unless

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Franklin took the initiative, and it was not in his nature to yield to expediency where questions of principle were involved. To ask him to make an exception in the case of his own son was, of course, unthinkable. The elder Franklin was highly regarded in England and the colonies as a scientist, philosopher and man of letters. His religious views, though not strictly orthodox, were substantially in accord with the teachings of Christianity. He advocated moderation in all things; believed in God, sought always to be considerate of the feelings of others, cultivated humility and strove for perfection, though, after much reflection, he had arrived at the conclusion that "a benevolent man should allow a few faults in himself to keep his friends in countenance." Since it would be folly to take issue with those who disagreed with him on political or moral grounds, he ignored their accusations. Time was a great solvent and would vindicate his good opinion of his son.

Franklin was now in America for the second time since his son had been appointed Governor. During those fourteen changeful years, the current of events had moved swiftly to a climax. Recently he had lost favor at home and abroad. In the colonies he was charged with being unpatriotic because, after prevailing upon England to repeal the Stamp Act, he had urged the colonists to pay a small tax on tea. Of the Boston Tea Party he had said: "It was an act of violent injustice that required a speedy and voluntary reparation." Only the year before, he had given offense to the Tories by permitting the publication of the Hutchinson letters* (obtained by him in England, and describing the state of affairs in Massachusetts), and had been removed from the postmaster generalship, an office which he had held since 1753. The loss of the office had not disturbed him, but he felt keenly the public disgrace of removal.

There were, however, more urgent matters demanding his consideration at this time. Rebellion had got the better of reason on both sides of the Atlantic; war had been declared and a desperate struggle was in prospect. General Washington had been chosen commander-in-chief, and was at the head of the army besieging Boston. A way might yet be found to effect a settlement, but it seemed

*Thomas Hutchinson, American Royalist, last royal Governor of Massachusetts, 1771-74. He sought refuge in England at the outbreak of the war, and his American estates were confiscated.

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to him that there could be no lasting peace until the colonists had won their independence. He had expressed his views on taxation before the Commons and to the King's ministers and had been told that his arguments were pretty thin. Nevertheless, it was not taxation but a difference of opinion as to what constituted representative government, trifling as it might appear to the English mind, that was the underlying cause of the present conflict. The elder Pitt (Lord Chatham) realized it, but the King was lacking in good sense. The time had arrived for all friends of the colonists to declare themselves.

In this critical juncture, he sought an understanding with his son. Where did he stand—by the side of his father, or by the side of the King? Heretofore there had been no serious differences between them. William, he was happy to recall, had been a good Governor; the colonists had learned to respect him; in his dealings with them he had shown zeal and consideration; Princeton and Rutgers had honored him. The recent change of temper in the Colony, however, seemed to have unsettled his judgment. He had suspended Lord Stirling from the King's Council, in September, because that noble rebel had accepted a commission from the Provincial Congress.

Franklin did not condemn his son for his loyalty to the Crown. He felt that he must be loyal so long as he remained in His Majesty's service. He sought rather to restrain his impulse lest by some rash act he destroy his usefulness to the colonies. He knew that royal patronage had made a Tory of him, but he hoped by gentle persuasion to bring him to his side. He would not urge it as a consideration, but William must realize that if there be any obligation, it was due not to the King, but to his father, whose favor the King had sought to curry by appointing William as Governor.

They greeted each other affectionately and during the evening meal Franklin sought to set his son at ease by telling stories of his life as a printer. "As you have observed from my recent letters, I am addicted to the habit of reminiscence,"† he remarked jovially. "It is an affliction of old age." He told of a visit to Amboy when he

†The first part of Franklin's "Autobiography" was addressed to his "Dear Son," in a letter from the country seat of the Bishop Shipley, at Twyford, England.

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was in the employ of Keimer, the printer, of Philadelphia. He was then lodging with Keimer's chief competitor, Bradford, who had done the first printing in Amboy—a report of the proceedings of the Provincial Assembly, in '23. He thought both men poorly qualified for their business, but commended the work of Parker, at Woodbridge.

The Governor nodded assent. "The Parkers are a credit to the colony," he said. "James, who lives in the Castle, was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress, last April, but he never took his seat in that assembly of mischief-makers. He is a member of the King's Council and loyal to the Crown."

Franklin was gravely silent as the Governor defended his stand against the Provincial Congress, then in session at New Brunswick. "They plan to raise regiments, purchase munitions, issue bills of credit, and govern the state with a committee of safety. They ought to be put in the stocks for their insolence. Hearing old Fischer‡ talk, one would imagine that the King was a Roman tyrant. Whatever has happened to turn their heads, I do not know. But I know that opinion in the colony is about equally divided and those who are talking loudest for war have the least to complain against. You yourself, father, have urged a middle course. And so long as reconciliation with Great Britain is possible, I consider it my duty to defend the Crown against reprisal."

"Public opinion," replied his father, "is governed by circumstance. A while ago, none of us wished for independence; now it seems we must demand it in order that we may be free to govern ourselves."

"What is wrong with the government? There is little poverty in the colonies, and no oppression. They seem to be in better case here than in England, yet they incite to revolution in order to evade the tax."

"There is truth in what you say, my son. Man will contrive in most ingenious ways to evade paying taxes. It becomes necessary, therefore, to permit them to tax themselves, so that they cannot claim injustice. In this situation, let the several colonies select their own representatives in the parliament and they will no longer rebel."

"They are by nature rebellious. Give them that and they will demand something more."

‡Henry Fischer, of Somerset, a member of the Committee of Safety and vice-president of the Provincial Assembly.

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Franklin was thoughtful for a moment. "Since my return to America," he said, "I have given much thought to the question and have finally arrived at the conclusion that these differences are insoluble by peaceful methods. It seems to me to be inevitable that we should be satisfied with nothing less than freedom to work out our own ideas of liberty and justice in ways that are pleasing to us no matter how they may appear to others."

"Then you no longer support the King?"

"I have made many mistakes, my son, but I trust you will concede that I have dealt honorably with His Majesty's government. My chief concern has always been for the colonies. You will recall that I helped devise a plan of permanent union among the colonies for their mutual protection and defense, which the Congress at Albany unanimously approved. § I believe that if it had been accepted by the Colonial Assemblies, this rebellion might have been averted, but they all rejected it because they thought it to the advantage of the Crown. Seeing no hope of peace in that direction, I lent every assistance to Braddock's army in the War with the French. Inasmuch as the Proprietors would not submit to a tax upon their land to support the English troops, I pledged my personal property to the Pennsylvania farmers for the supplies and transportation which they furnished. When sent to England as agent, I urged the advantages to the Proprietors of wresting Canada from the French, and was thereby able to win concessions from the Privy Council. It was also clear to me that the colonists would gain an advantage by having these shores free from attack by England's most formidable adversary."

"And now," interposed his son ironically, "when favorable opportunity arrives, you will encourage the French to take retaliatory measures by helping you to wrest the colonies from England."

"That," answered Franklin, smiling his shrewd, genial smile, "is within the range of my present intentions. I make no secret of it. When the affairs of the Continental Congress are in better shape, I hope to represent the colonies in the Court of France."

The Governor tapped nervously on the table. There was a note of anxiety in his voice as he asked his father if he thought there was no hope of averting war.

§Franklin was a Commissioner from Pennsylvania to the Colonial Convention at Albany, 1754, and was largely responsible for the plan. See Albert Bushnell Hart's "Formation of the Union," "Congress of Albany," Chap. 15.

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Franklin shook his head. "None that I can foresee," he replied. "The situation has gotten out of hand."

"Then you will be hopelessly beaten. Since, as you say, the colonists will be satisfied with nothing less than independence, England will settle the question for all time by crushing your rebellion and compelling obedience to her sovereign rule."

"I am not confident of victory, but I think we shall be able to take care of ourselves. Everything depends upon leadership. There are some able men in Congress; Washington has great patience and will command the respect of his generals." He added suavely: "We shall not be alone. Our friends will help us."

"Your friends! Yes—your friends in France! And what of your friends in England, father?"

"I cannot serve two masters, my son. This is my home. My family and my fortunes are here."

"They will desert you. These colonists will evade military service just as they have evaded taxation. They do not agree about anything, not even among themselves. You will be hung for your pains."

"I am not concerned about myself. I have gone through life with a considerable share of felicity, and am content to spend the few years remaining to me in the service of my country. My concern is for you, my son. Nothing could afford me greater felicity than to have you by my side in the coming struggle."

For answer the Governor banged his fist upon the table. "You made me governor!" he exclaimed. "Now you would make me a traitor to my king!"

Franklin made no reply. For a brief moment, their eyes met. The son's lips were sealed in anger; his look was hard and defiant. The father's face wore an expression of imperturbable calm, and one would never have known what thoughts were in his mind, though there was sorrow mingled with pity in his heart. He left the house early the next morning, without bidding his son good-bye.

. . .

Governor Franklin was utterly lacking in the qualities of human understanding which made his father the greatest diplomat of his time. During the months that he remained nominal head of the

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provincial government, the opportunity was ever present for him to further the cause of peace, of which there was yet hope throughout the colonies. New Jersey had but recently instructed its representatives in the Congress not to vote for independence and even as late as July 2d, when the State Constitution was adopted, it was "provided that it should be null and void whenever a reconciliation with Great Britain should take place." The Governor was well advised as to the state of public opinion and instead of trying to find a way to satisfy the grievances of the colonists he provoked them to acts of violence by his belligerent attitude. Following the break with his father, he threw discretion to the winds and finally was placed under arrest and on parole by order of Lord Stirling. Thus shorn of all power and practically a prisoner of war in the Government House, he intrigued with his Tory colleagues to spy upon the Committee of Safety. When it was rumored that he was laying plans to escape to New York, a detachment of militia broke into his home, at two o'clock in the morning (February 6, 1776), roused him from his bed, and handed him a letter from Colonel William Winsor, demanding that "you give your word of honor that you will not depart the province until I know the will and pleasure of the Continental Congress in your case."

"Tell them," replied the Governor, white with rage, "tell them that I have not the slightest intention to quit the province, nor shall I unless compelled by violence. Were I to act otherwise it would not be consistent with my declaration to the assembly, nor my regard for the good people of the province." His final act was a master stroke of political unwisdom. His convocation of the old provincial assembly to meet on the twentieth of June was, in effect, an attempt to abrogate the powers of the Continental Congress.¶ Forthwith a committee, consisting of William Livingston, Dr. John Witherspoon, William Patterson and John Mehelm was appointed to depose him. He was arrested by Colonel Nathaniel Herd, of the First Middlesex Battalion, and taken before the Provincial Congress under guard.

Standing before his accusers in a crowded assembly chamber, on that fifteenth day of June, the deposed Governor spoke contemptuously of the enemies of the King. The men of that body, he said,

¶The Continental Congress had no legal status, but it exercised the authority of a constitutional assembly because its members were the chosen representatives of the colonies. Actually, it represented the people, whereas the old Colonial Assembly did not.

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were low-born, ignorant and incapable of legislating for the common good. It was probable that in the course of events they would receive their just deserts and be hung as traitors.

The fiery patriot, Dr. Witherspoon, his Scotch temper fully aroused, answered in kind. In describing the scene the historian Mellick says that the good Doctor "poured on the King's representative a copious stream of irony, delivering a rebuke so withering as to cause the boldest to hold his breath with astonishment."

By order of Congress, Franklin was taken to East Windsor, Connecticut, where he remained for two years in the custody of Governor Trumbull. When released in an exchange of prisoners, he lived in New York City on an annuity from the Crown of 1800 pounds a year and returned to England at the close of the war.

On September 11, 1776, just three months after his son's eviction from the Government House, Benjamin Franklin again stood on the quay at Amboy. Again his errand was peace, but this time he was not alone. With him, John Adams and Thomas Rutledge were awaiting the arrival of the barque of Sir William Howe, which was to carry them to Staten Island for a conference with the British general at the Billop Mansion.

Lord Howe, afterwards Fifth Viscount, was a first cousin of the King and a grandson of George I. As a friend of the colonists, he entertained hopes of an early end of the revolution and at last had persuaded the Congress to consider his proposal for reconciliation. His Lordship had arranged the meeting ingeniously by paroling Major-General Charles Sullivan, who had been captured at the battle of Long Island, and sending him to Philadelphia as his emissary.

Lord Howe received the American statesman in truly regal fashion. Grenadiers stood at attention on the landing during the formal ceremonies of introduction, and lined the path through which His Lordship conducted them to the house, a form of military etiquette, as the cynical John Adams afterward remarked, "we neither understood nor regarded."

In spite of Lord Howe's admirable intentions, however, the conference proved to be just an idea of his own and nothing came of it.

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In substance his proposal was that the colonists return to the *status quo* and accept his assurances that His Majesty's government would deal generously with his rebellious subjects.

"I regret," replied Dr. Franklin graciously, "that your proposal could not be entertained by the Congress. Since the several colonies already have declared unanimously for independence, we are without authority to accept peace on any other terms."

Lord Howe could not conceal his disappointment. Turning directly to Franklin, whom he had known in England, he said: "It will give me great pain to distress those for whom I have so much regard."

"I feel thankful to your Lordship for your regard," replied that undaunted diplomat, smiling. "The Americans, on their part, will endeavor to lessen the pain you may feel by taking good care of themselves."

It was the same Franklin who, on a previous historic occasion,* had met a similar challenge with the reply, "Either we must hang together or we shall hang separately." And with a merry chuckle he had passed the quill to his meticulous colleague, Mr. John Morton, one of the signers from Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Franklin felt that he was largely responsible for his son's loyalty to the Crown, and he might have forgiven him for that; but the humiliation which he suffered as the result of his son's outrageous behavior following their separation was too much for even so indulgent and understanding a parent to endure without resentment. He gave but half-hearted approval to his son's suggestion that they renew their relationship. After the signing of the peace treaty, he wrote from Paris: "I am glad to find you desire to revive the affectionate intercourse that formerly existed between us. It would be very agreeable to me; indeed nothing has hurt me so much, and filled me with such keen sensitiveness, as to find myself deserted in my old age by my only son; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms against me in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune and life were at stake. I ought not to blame you for differing with

*The signing of the Declaration of Independence.

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me in public affairs. I should be glad to see you when convenient." In his will he left his son some lands in Nova Scotia and said in explanation: "The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he attempted to deprive me of."

He was devoted to his grandson, Temple Franklin, who deserted his father at the outbreak of the war and became Ambassador Franklin's private secretary in France. Afterwards he tried without success to obtain public office for the young man. He purchased and gave him his father's farm at Rancocas, New Jersey, and bequeathed him his library and other valuable property, besides naming him his literary executor in his will.

HIS CONFIDENTIAL SECRETARY—General Washington's newly appointed confidential secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, was writing a report on the condition of the army when his orderly announced a caller.

"It's that subaltern General Washington employs to gather information about the enemy," explained the orderly, in a manner that implied a certain lack of regard for subalterns in general and for this one in particular. "He says his business is strictly confidential."

"O, yes—our new spy," replied Colonel Hamilton, without looking up. "Well, tell him to have a seat. I'll not be long at this."

Never, however, did Colonel Hamilton prepare a report with greater care. He described the divisions in detail, giving the number of men and equipment in each. Likewise, he explained the condition of the magazine—the stores of food and ammunition on hand and in prospect. It was a most encouraging report and his face wore a pleased expression as he laid it upon his desk and stepped into the outer room.

General Washington's spy was seated near the door, nervously twirling his hat on his forefinger when Colonel Hamilton came out and, bowing graciously, invited him into his office.

"Now," said the Colonel cheerfully, "make yourself at ease. I have a little matter to discuss with General Washington and will return presently."

It was unusual for Colonel Hamilton to be so solicitous of the comfort of subordinates, but this fellow needed encouragement. He

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was a hired informer and might at any time bear news of strategic importance. But when Hamilton returned, some time later, the spy was missing, as was also the confidential report. He hurried back to the office of his chief.

"It is my painful duty to advise you, sir," he said, "that our spy has taken leave suddenly, without stating his intentions. I suspect, however, that his intentions are not altogether honorable, since he has made off with a private report which I left exposed to view."

The commander-in-chief turned in his chair and calmly addressed his secretary: "I cannot believe that one in whom I have reposed so great confidence would be neglectful of the duties of his office." Then, after a moment's reflection, he added, "It was, no doubt, a flattering report."

"Most flattering," replied his secretary. "General Howe will be advised that there are fifteen thousand men under your command and sufficient stores on hand to carry the army well into the summer."

General Washington nodded. "Indeed you have done full justice to our situation."

"I trust so," replied his secretary. "And I advised, also in strict confidence, that the approaches to the camp were strongly guarded and should the enemy care to risk an engagement he would find you prepared."

"I could not hope for more assuring words."

Colonel Hamilton bowed. "I am indebted to you, sir, for an opportunity to be of some slight assistance. Our spy paid us a visit at a most favorable time."

"And you have taken all necessary steps to speed his departure?"

"None is necessary, I assure you. Acting on your instructions I issued orders permitting him to pass through the lines at will and these will not be revoked until sufficient time has elapsed for him to reach the enemy. He probably has Tory friends nearby."

"Excellent. I am truly fortunate in my choice of aide-de-camp and but for certain knowledge to the contrary I would agree that our position in these Jersey hills is impregnable." He handed his secretary a memorandum. "I have here," he said, "another private report, not intended for the instruction of the enemy. You will be pleased to transcribe it and dispatch it in all haste to Governor Trumbull."

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An hour later a courier was galloping eastward through the forest toward the Connecticut Valley, bearing a message from the commander-in-chief which read:

HEADQUARTERS, Morristown, N. J.
March the sixth, 1777.

I tell you in confidence that, after the 15th of this month, when the time of General Lincoln's militia expires, I shall be left with the remains of five Virginia regiments, not amounting to more than as many hundred men and parts of two or three other Continental battalions, all very weak. The remainder of the army will be composed of small parties of militia from this state and Pennsylvania, on which little dependence can be put, as they come and go when they please.

Colonel Hamilton afterwards told General Doughty that in his opinion "this happy stroke kept the enemy from Morristown when Washington was in no condition to receive them."

THE WOOING OF DINAH VAN BURGH—Although the Van Burgh home, in Holland, was not distinguished for its piety, Dinah Van Burgh was a child of "especially pious temper." Her father, a wealthy East Indian trader, was a man of the world who enjoyed his wine and cards. He thought it strange that his daughter should not want to go to dancing school or make friends with the eligible young men of the village. They might like to play cards and dance, too, but they had good sense and would make good husbands.

John—No, she wanted to marry this young dominie from America who had come to Holland to be trained for the ministry in the Dutch Church. He objected. It was not good for his daughter to leave her family and go to live in a strange new country.

Dinah respected her father, though she did not approve of many of the things he did. He was an indulgent parent and would give his children whatever they wanted, seldom asking anything in return.

"If it's something we don't have that will make you happy, Dinah," said he, puffing methodically on his pipe, "I will get it for you."

Dinah shook her head sadly. No—no—there was nothing he could provide which would take the place of the void in her heart when John Frelinghuysen was gone. But she could not tell her father that, nor even her suitor. She informed John that she would not

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marry him. He pleaded in vain; it was her duty to remain at home.

John left her with a heavy heart and sailed away. But he had been but a few hours at sea, when a storm arose and drove the vessel back to port. Immediately, he went to the Van Burgh home and asked for Dinah. "See," he said, after explaining the cause of his surprising return, "it is God's will that you should marry me. There is work for us to do. He will not let us be separated."

From that time on, Dinah Van Burgh was a child of destiny. Come what might, she determined to marry John and go with him to America. Together they sought the parental blessing.

"Papa—Mama—" said Dinah, "we love you both and want you to love us."

"Yes," affirmed John, "we do."

Papa Van Burgh rose from his chair and placed his arm on John's shoulder. "Well," he said slowly, "if you think you can take good care of Dinah, it will be all right." He patted his daughter's cheek. "And if things don't go so well for you, child, you let me know and I will send a ship to bring you home."

They were married the next day in that very room. Besides his blessing, Papa Van Burgh gave them a handsome present. The hold of the ship on which they sailed for America was filled to the brim with the finest bricks in Holland.

On the voyage to her new home, a great storm arose, and for a time it seemed that the vessel would be battered to pieces; but the bride "composed herself in prayer."

John and Dinah were a steadfast, diligent young couple, devoted to each other and to the Dutch Church. John preached to his congregations at Raritan, North Branch and Millstone and instructed young men in the classics and theology at his school in the parsonage. He was not strong, but full of religious zeal, and he could never lose heart with Dinah always near to comfort and encourage him. If, as it sometimes happened, his salary of 125 pounds a year was not enough to meet expenses, she would write to her father: "It is not for John and me, Papa; we have plenty. It is for the church."

Notwithstanding the liberality of Papa Van Burgh and Dinah's devotion, John's work for the church soon was ended. While he and his wife were attending a meeting of the coetus on Long Island, he was taken ill suddenly and died. He was but twenty-five years old.



THE OLD DUTCH PARSONAGE AT RARITAN (SOMERVILLE), MEMORABLE AS THE BIRTHPLACE OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE AND DINAH'S HOME FOR MANY YEARS.

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Jacob—Dinah's thoughts were now turned toward home. Without John, why should she remain longer in America? She could serve the church in her own country and be with her parents, who were getting old. She wrote to her brother, who was then in America, saying that she would accompany him to Holland. While she was preparing for the journey, one of the pupils of her late husband came to see her at the parsonage. His name was Jacob Rutsen Hardenburgh, whose family had come from Holland, in 1644, and settled at Rosendale, near Kingston, New York, where he was born. He was diligent in his studies and faithful to the church. Dinah had shared her husband's belief that he would some day become a great teacher.

Young Hardenburgh had always admired Dinah; she had been his friend and mentor in spiritual matters; and now that he was soon to succeed to her late husband's place in the church, he could but cherish the hope that he might also succeed to his place in her affections. But before he spoke to her, he advised with the officers of the church.

When he called, she was in the garden picking flowers near the bench on which he had sat, one warm spring day, reading a Latin treatise to his teacher. He had faltered then, but now he seemed to have lost his speech altogether. It must have been due to the obvious disparity in their ages. He was eighteen, and boyish looking; she was twenty-nine and the mother of two children.

Finally he asked timidly, "Dinah, will you marry me?"

She looked up at him in surprise and replied, "My child, what are you thinking about?"

That appeared to be the end of it. Overcome with embarrassment, he could only say good-bye, and hurry away.

But again, Destiny interceded on behalf of her lover. On the day that she was to have sailed, word came that a storm was raging at sea, holding the ship in port. For days and days the ship swung at anchor in the bay. On hearing the news, Jacob hurried to the parsonage. He now recalled the courtship of John, and the storm that returned him to Dinah. Doubtless she would recall it, too. When he spoke to her in the same fervent way that John had spoken, and almost it seemed in the same words—she sighed—and accepted. It was God's will!

Two years later they were married and went to live at his father's home in Rosendale, until his studies were completed. Then they

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returned to the Dutch parsonage, and he became the pastor of the united Dutch churches. Thereafter she was known as the Juffrouw Hardenburgh. She bore him eight children.

Dr. Hardenburgh was one of the foremost men of his day—preacher, educator and patriot. In 1786 he was chosen the first president of Queen's College, in full office, after having served the institution in various ways for twenty-five years. He remained at its head until his death in 1790, aged fifty-four.

Dinah Van Burgh survived him by seventeen years. She died on the twenty-sixth of March, 1807, in her eighty-second year, and is buried in the old Dutch Reformed Church at New Brunswick. She was actively interested in the church and college for over sixty years. "Her keen interest in all noble enterprise and her warm friendship made her an influence upon which tradition loves to linger."

REFERENCES: "Manual of The Reformed Church in America," by Edward Tanjore Corwin, D. D., 1902; "History of Rutgers College," by William H. S. Demarest, 1924; Mellick's "Story of An Old Farm"; "Somerset County Historical Society Quarterly" for July, 1913, Vol. II, No. 3.

Two Unpublished Poe Letters*

BY JOHN WARD OSTROM

THE CITADEL, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA



LETTERS written to and by Edgar Allan Poe are now known to have numbered in excess of 750.¹ Although many of Poe's originals are no longer extant, the names of most of his correspondents have been determined through research. The two following letters to Hiram Haines, an editor and minor literary figure of Petersburg, Virginia, are interesting as identifying another friend of Poe and a staunch supporter of his literary activities on the *Southern Literary Messenger* and *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*. They are presented for the first time through the courtesy of the Edgar Allan Poe Foundation of Richmond, in whose possession they have been since January 11, 1939.

J. H. Whitty's knowledge that correspondence existed between Poe and Haines² is substantiated by these letters and by Poe's reference in Letter II, below. The correspondence probably began prior to August 19, 1836, the date of the first extant letter, and undoubtedly continued until Haines's death, sometime in 1841.

Little is known about Hiram Haines. According to the Library of Congress card for his *Mountain Buds and Blossoms* (1825), he was born in 1802.³ Heartman and Canny⁴ give his death as June, 1841, saying that the forty-ninth and last issue of the *Virginia Star*, which he edited, carried his obituary. Lester J. Cappon⁵ indicates that the first issue of the *Star* appeared March 4, 1840, and states

*Professor Ostrom is the author of "A Poe Correspondence Re-edited," in the July, 1940, issue, and this short study may be considered in connection therewith.—ED.

1. John Ward Ostrom, *Check List of Letters to and from Poe* (University of Virginia Bibliographical Series, No. 4, Charlottesville, 1941).

2. Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe, the Man* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1926), I, 533.

3. For this information I am indebted to Milton C. Russell, of the Virginia State Library.

4. Charles F. Heartman and James R. Canny, *A Bibliography of Edgar Allan Poe* (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1940) 203.

5. *Virginia Newspapers 1821-1935* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936), item 1119.

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that the last known number is that of January 9, 1841. He also says that the paper began as a weekly but was changed to a semi-weekly the next year. Thus the change was effected probably at the beginning of January, 1841. Forty-nine issues would therefore include forty-four in 1840 and the rest in 1841; thus Haines's death occurred probably early in February. An extract⁶ from the *Daily Post* (Petersburg) for May 14, 1878, commemorating Haines's literary efforts, states that "he died in the prime of manhood and lies buried within the shadows of [Blandford Church]." A search⁷ of available Petersburg newspapers and of the Richmond *Enquirer*, *Daily Compiler*, and *Whig* of that period⁸ fails to reveal any notice of his death.

More definite information is available regarding his literary and journalistic activities. In 1825 he published *Mountain Buds and Blossoms*, a volume of poetry, under the pseudonym of "The Stranger," which he used subsequently for contributions to his newspapers.⁹ With W. H. Davis he established on May 24, 1834, the tri-weekly, democratic *American Constellation* (Petersburg), and in 1837 became sole owner and editor.¹⁰ In 1839 he edited *Th' Time o' Day*, which was devoted to news and literature and ran for only nineteen issues.¹¹ His *Virginia Star* was begun March 4, 1840, as a weekly, but was changed the next year to a semi-weekly.

When Poe and Haines first met is uncertain. Both Phillips¹² and Allen¹³ state that Poe and Virginia, following their marriage in Richmond, May 16, 1836, spent part of their honeymoon with the Haines family in Petersburg. There is some evidence to support this view.¹⁴ Whether Poe made the visit proposed in his letter of April 24, 1840, is not known.

Haines was an early supporter of Poe's critical views. As early as January, 1836, the *Southern Literary Messenger* quoted from the Petersburg *Constellation* a notice probably written by Haines: "We

6. For this information I am indebted to Theresa D. Hodges, Librarian, Petersburg Public Library.

7. *Ibid.*

8. See note 3.

9. Petersburg *Daily Post*, May 14, 1878.

10. Cappon, *op. cit.*, item 1050.

11. Probably same as Cappon, *op. cit.*, item 1083.

12. Phillips, *op. cit.*, I, 533.

13. Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (1 vol. ed., New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934) 320.

14. From a letter by a member of the Haines family, now at the Poe Foundation.

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have rarely read a review more caustic or more called for than the *flaying* which the new editor of the *Messenger* has so judiciously given Mr. Fay's 'bepuffed, beplastered and be-Mirrored' novel of 'Norman Leslie.'"¹⁵ In February or March, 1836, Haines apparently wrote further commendations, for the April issue of the *Messenger* stated that the *Constellation* had copied the whole of Poe's "Autography"¹⁶ and had remarked: "Of the criticisms, the most are good; that on Mr. Morris Mattson's novel of 'Paul Ulric,' like a former criticism from the same pen on Fay's 'Norman Leslie' is a liberal 'flaying alive!'" The *Constellation* also added that the February number was the best "yet issued from the Press," and called Poe "our favorite" in praising "Duc de L'Omelette," "the best thing of the kind we ever have or ever expect to read."¹⁷

It was after the *Constellation's* further praises of the *Messenger*, reprinted in the July issue,¹⁸ that Poe wrote his first extant letter to Haines. From it we learn that the *Messenger* considered Haines "among the foremost" of its friends and that Poe urged him to continue his favorable comments. There is no further evidence in the *Messenger* that Haines complied, for the section devoted to reprints of commendatory reviews was discontinued, and after Poe and White separated, notices did not reappear until November and December, 1840, none of which is by Haines. However, Haines continued to praise Poe's work, for in the August 22, 1839, number of his *Th' Time o' Day*, which was published in Petersburg and ran for only nineteen issues, he wrote: "The lines to '*Ianthe in Heaven*' from the pen of Edgar A. Poe, Esq., formerly Editor of the Southern Literary Messenger, but now co-Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, are deeply touching and 'true to nature's feeling.'"¹⁹ The poem had appeared in *Burton's* for July, 1839, and was reprinted by Haines.

There is no evidence that Poe received any letters in August, 1836; and his letter to Haines on the nineteenth is, with one exception,²⁰ the only one he is known to have written. Poe's letter to Haines, April 24, 1840, is the only known one from Poe to a cor-

15. *Southern Literary Messenger* 11 (January, 1836) 140.

16. *Ibid.*, 11 (February, 1836) 205-212.

17. *Ibid.*, 11 (April, 1836) 347.

18. *Ibid.*, 11 (July, 1836) 522.

19. This information was procured for me by Dr. Lester J. Cappon from the files in the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

20. Ostrom, *op. cit.*, p. 14 (The correspondent is unknown).

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respondent between January 20, 1840, and May 10, 1840; and Haines's letter to Poe, March 24, 1840, cited in Poe's April reply, is the only letter known to have been written to Poe between January 19 (?), 1840, and May 30, 1840.²¹

Letter I below is undated, but the envelope carries a Richmond, August 19, cancellation; and the reference to Willis's "Inklings of Adventure," published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1836, establishes the year. The letter is addressed to "H. Haines, Esqr., 'Constellation,' Petersburg." Letter II is fully dated and is addressed to "H. Haines, Esqr., Editor of 'The Virginia Star,' Petersburg, Va.," the envelope carrying a Philadelphia cancellation for April 27.

Both letters are of one leaf, folded once. Page one serves for the communication, with pages two and three blank, and the address occurs on part of page four. Both are somewhat separated in the folds, are browned with age, especially the envelopes, and both show a chirography unusually large, clear, and neat.

LETTER I

Richmond—Va.

D^r Sir,

Herewith I send you the August number of the "Messenger"—the best number, by far, yet issued.²² Can you oblige me so far as to look it over and give your unbiassed opinion of its merits and demerits in the "Constellation"? We need the assistance of *all* our friends and count upon yourself among the foremost.

The contributions have, in most cases, the names of the authors prefixed. All after the word *Editorial*²³ is my own.

If you copy any thing please take my Review of Willis' "Inklings of Adventure"—or some other Review.

With sincere respect

Y^r. ob. S^t.

H. Haines Esq^r

Edgar A. Poe

LETTER II

Philadelphia

April 24. 1840.

My Dear Sir,

Having been absent from the city for a fortnight I have only just received your kind letter of March 24th. and hasten to thank you for

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²² See Poe to the *Richmond Courier*, September 2, 1836.

²³ Following "Editorial" are two editorials and thirteen reviews.

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the "Star", as well as for your offer of the fawn for Mr^s P. She desires me to thank you with all her heart—but, unhappily, I cannot point out a mode of conveyance. What can be done? Perhaps some opportunity may offer itself hereafter—some friend from Petersburg may be about to pay us a visit. In the meantime accept our best acknowledgments, precisely as if the little fellow were already nibbling the grass before our windows in Philadelphia.²⁴

I will immediately attend to what you say respecting exchanges. The "Star" has my very best wishes, and if you really intend to push it with energy, there cannot be a doubt of its full success. If you can mention anything in the world that I can do here to promote its interests and your own, it will give me a true pleasure.

It is not impossible that I may pay you a visit in Petersburg, a month or two hence.²⁵

Till then, believe me,
most sincerely

H. Haines Esq
Office Gentleman's Magazine }

Your friend
Edgar A Poe

24. There is no evidence that the fawn reached Philadelphia.

25. Probably in regard to the proposed establishment of *The Penn.*

[After the above article was set in type, Arthur Hobson Quinn's *Edgar Allan Poe* appeared with the April 24, 1840, letter printed on pages 273-274. But since his reproduction presents several inconsistencies with the text of the original and since his book does not contain the August 19, 1836, letter, the present article has been allowed to stand.

J. W. O.]

Manors, Grants and Great Patents^{*}

FROM ERNEST FREELAND GRIFFIN, TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK



THE settlement of New Netherland was the object of the Dutch in establishing the patroon system in America. When the English came into power, however, settlement was proceeding in the natural course of things, and other considerations probably had more to do with the establishment of the manor system. This system was still serving satisfactorily in England as a method of handling local affairs. Also, it has been suggested that the English probably wished to attach to the new government men of substance, whose landed interests would be bound up with its maintenance.

One result of the granting of vast tracts to proprietors on terms radically different from those governing the acquisition of small holdings by actual settlers, was to create a political and social structure of a definitely non-democratic type, alongside of a natural growth which had in it from the first the vigorous germs of democracy. This was especially true in the area which is now Westchester County and the Bronx, which was once part of the former county. The great landowners and their connections became during the Colonial period a closely knit and powerful kinship, the like of which it has been said that no other part of the country possessed to the same extent, while the enterprising and aggressive small farm owners, tradesmen, workmen and other independent settlers, with such tenants of the manors as were dissatisfied with their condition, formed a body with increasingly different interests and ambitions.

This chapter will try to set forth briefly the nature of the great grants in Westchester County—which included the Bronx—and sketch

^{*}From advance sheets of "Westchester County and Its People," A Record, 1609-1941, now in the course of compilation under the editorial direction of Ernest Freeland Griffin, of Tarrytown, New York, attorney-at-law, former public official and president of the Westchester County Historical Society, 1933-41. It is a story of the notable land divisions which existed essentially during the Colonial Period just north of Manhattan Island, city of New York; south of the latterly erected Putnam County, New York; east of the Hudson River; west of East River, Long Island Sound and Connecticut.



(Courtesy of the New York Historical Society)

FREDERICK PHILPSE, THIRD AND LAST LORD OF
PHILPSE MANOR

From an original painting in the possession of the Society, attributed to
John Wallaston)

MANORS, GRANTS AND GREAT PATENTS

something of the history of each, and of their proprietors, and the proprietors' descendants and successors.

The word "manor" carries some romantic connotations which have given rise to certain misunderstandings. A manor was simply a political division with legal rights and arrangements differing in some ways from those in force in non-manorial territory. These rights and arrangements were so firmly seated in the laws of the Province of New York that they remained unaffected in most respects by change of national sovereignty, change of ownership and even change of the nature of the government. Some vestiges of them have remained to complicate titles until comparatively recent years.

In England, the early manors were feudal and military in character; but after 1250 no more manors were created in England because there was no more unclaimed land; and later the English law was changed so that when the American manors were granted, it definitely prohibited feudal tenure. Thus, all the American manors were "freehold" manors, and never at any time feudal. This has been explained at length by Edward Floyd DeLancey in his exhaustive essay in Scharf's "History of Westchester County," particularly as to details of the manor families.

Also, the proprietor of a manor, though known as "lord" of the manor, was not a "Lord," in the sense of a title. References in early local histories to "John Lord Pell," or "Lord Philipse" are records of a mistake probably not uncommon among the general population, and perhaps not entirely displeasing to the gentlemen thus unofficially ennobled.

The rights and privileges of lords of the manor and of the proprietors of great patents differed in some respects, but they had many points in common. A manor was granted to only one person; a great patent usually to several associates. Most manor grants carried the right to establish a manorial court; and if this was the case and the lord of the manor wished to do so, the inhabitants of the manor were subject to the jurisdiction of that court in local matters; but in matters not local they were governed "by the laws, courts, and the civil and military authorities of the County and of the Province." Great patents were subject both in local and non-local affairs to the laws of whatever public territorial division included them. Both manors and

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great patents had to pay quit-rents. In both, tenants could take up land under the proprietors; both could lease property to tenants or sell to them outright.

Certain manors were given some privileges not accorded to others. For instance, the Manor of Cortlandt was privileged to elect a representative of its own to the General Assembly of the Province; though the privilege was not to be exercised before 1717, because the population was so sparse, and was not, in fact, exercised until 1734.

Also, Cortlandt, Philipseborough, Pelham and Morrisania were granted the right of church patronage.

As to the rights of tenants, DeLancey says:

Leases were granted for terms of years of longer or shorter periods, with covenants of renewal or without, as the parties could agree. Usually they were for long terms, and sometimes they were made in perpetuity. . . . There was great latitude in the character of the leaseholds. . . . Sometimes the right to purchase the fee by the tenant upon terms was inserted in the leases. But it was the custom generally to sell the reversion of the fee to the tenants, whenever it was desired and the parties could agree upon the terms of the purchase. These leaseholds were divisible by will, and divisible, with the lord's assent, into parts in the lessee's lifetime. This made it easy for tenants to retain their farms in their families from father to son if they wished, or to divide up a large farm into smaller ones, among several sons, or married daughters. But in all cases the consent in writing of the lord was necessary. And, as a rule, this was never withheld, when the subdivisions proposed were not made too small. In these divisions of a leasehold, the rent was arranged to be paid in one of two ways. Either the lord consented to take it in fixed parts from the holders of the subdivisions, or, which was not unusual, it was agreed among the sub-tenants that some one of them should pay the entire rent under the whole lease to the lord, and be re-imbursed by each of them for his own part. . . . In the Manor of Scarsdale there were, within the personal knowledge of the writer, instances of tenants holding their farms for four and five generations, and then purchasing the reversion of the fee from the lineal representatives of the Lord to whom the fee had descended. And it may be said that much the greater number of the original tenants of that manor, or their descendants, became the owners in fee of their farms by direct purchase from the first Lord, Caleb Heathcote, or his lineal descendants. Several of these farms have been so sold and so acquired in the memory of the writer. Another rule which obtained with the owners

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of that manor, and with some of the owners of the Manor of Cortlandt also, to the writer's knowledge, was, that no stranger to the tenants of any farm was ever permitted to purchase the fee of a farm, without the owners first giving the tenant in possession the first opportunity to purchase it. In the latter manor many farms were originally leased to tenants on ninety-nine year leases, and in some instances they have remained in the families of the same lords and the same tenants during that entire time, and upon its expiration then sold in fee. One of these farms which descended to the writer, had been divided into parcels by the original tenant in the manner above mentioned. And ten years ago, when the ninety-nine year lease had expired, two portions of it were still in the hands of the great grand-children of the first tenant. The right to purchase, though there was no obligation to do so, the term having expired, was offered to them. But not wishing to profit by it, the fee was sold at public auction and bought by an adjoining neighbor, who some years before had acquired the fee or "soil right" of his own farm in the same way.

As to the government of the manors, Mr. DeLancey continues:

The authority of the Governor, as Governor; of the Governor and Council in the executive capacity of the latter; and of the General Assembly;—the three together forming the Legislature of the Province,—extended throughout the Manors of New York in all respects save one. Neither of these authorities could in any way alter, change or abridge or in any way interfere with the franchises, rights, powers, privileges and incidents, vested in any Lord of a Manor by his Manor-Grant.

If the lords did not care to exercise some of their rights and privileges, they did not have to, but the rights and privileges still remained theirs. If they did not object to having some local duties exercised by officers chosen by the tenants, or even by the tenants and freeholders of adjoining non-manorial lands, this could be done by act of the Legislature, but no such act could be passed against their wishes.

Continued DeLancey:

The jurisdiction of the "Supreme Court," of the "Inferior Court of Common Pleas," and of the Court of Sessions, extended to all lands, whether Manorial or non-Manorial.

So, too, in the matter of elections, the inhabitants of all the Manors (except that of Cortlandt, which after 1734 had a representative of its own), united with the people of the non-Manorial lands in the choice of Members of Assembly for the County.

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The power of the High Sheriff of the County, who was always a gentleman, was appointed by the Governor and served without pay, as in England, was as complete and thorough in the Manors as out of them. . . .

. . . . in military matters, the military organization of the County was effected in the County as a whole without regard to the Manors. Sometimes, however, their names were given to the Companies enrolled within their limits.

The method of settling the manors, according to DeLancey, is well typified by that of Stephanus Van Cortlandt. The proprietor surveyed lots for a village, provided the farms with stock, food if necessary until they could raise their own, mechanics, millers, boat builders, and if possible a doctor, clergyman and schoolmaster. The grants also provided that the proprietors should erect mills.

"Rent-Days" seem to have been social events. The custom of Philipseborough (later Philipseburgh) may have been fairly typical. Each year there were two rent-days at Yonkers and Sleepy Hollow. The tenants came from far and near to pay their rent. It might be no more than two fat hens or a few bushels of wheat, or a day's work, or it might be five or ten pounds in money; but they all had a good dinner as the guests of the lord, exchanged news and gossip and made contacts with distant fellow-tenants before they went back to their more or less isolated farms.

It was in the working out of relations between the manors and the rest of the county that the complications caused by the two systems working side by side were visible. Inhabitants of the manors were exempt from jury duty; and as—according to DeLancey again—five-eighths of the people of Westchester County were living on the six manors by 1769, this threw an unfair amount of jury duty on the remaining three-eighths. Bills introduced in the Assembly to correct this situation failed to pass. "Probably," observed DeLancey, "the tenants of the manors were in a majority sufficient to control their members in the House."

It is not generally questioned that there were six manors in Westchester County. Historians are not unanimous, however, as to which was the first to be erected, Fordham or Pelham. The conflict is due to the wording of the grants, and it opens an interesting question.

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Thomas Pell obtained his Royal patent or grant October 8, 1666. John Archer obtained the grant which created what has always been known as the Manor of Fordham, November 13, 1671. In 1687, John Pell, who had inherited his uncle's property, applied to Governor Dongan for a new grant, covering the same property as Thomas Pell's, and received it in October. The question, then, is whether Thomas Pell's grant made Pelham a manor, or whether it was not a manor until John Pell secured the new grant. And the point, for this chapter, is that if Fordham was a manor, then Pelham became a manor under Thomas Pell in 1666, because the wording of those two grants is the same in essentials. But if Pelham did not become a manor until the grant to John Pell, which conveyed rights not mentioned in the first two, but included in later and larger manor grants, then Archer's Manor of Fordham was not a manor either. In either case, Pelham was the first manor; but in the latter case, Westchester had only five manors!

The documents are too long to embody here; they may be seen in "Colonial Charters, Patents and Grants to the Communities Comprising the City of New York," by Jerrold Seymann, of the legal staff of the Board of Statutory Consolidation of the City of New York, published in 1939, and available at the New York Public Library and elsewhere.

The most significant difference between the grant to Thomas Pell (and the similar grant to Archer) and the later grant to John Pell, is that the latter authorizes "one Court Leete and one Court Barron," the court baron being apparently a usual appurtenance of a manor. John Pell's grant also specifies the right to "rents, services, wasts, strays, royalties," etc., etc., and "power to distrain for all Rents and other Sums of money." And it grants the right of "Advowson or Right of Patronage of all and every the Church and Churches in the said Mannor erected to be erected." And it specifically uses the name "Manor of Pelham."

None of these provisions are in the grants to Thomas Pell or Archer. Both of them, however, declare that the land granted shall be "an entire enfranchised township, manor and place of itself," and shall always have "like and equal privileges and immunities with any town, enfranchised place or manor within this government."

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In "Some Legal and Political Aspects of the Manors in New York," Julius Goebel, Jr., Assistant Professor of Law at Columbia University, observes that Nicoll "drew up a most ingenious grant, but which I can assure you would have made a contemporary conveyancer writhe." Nicoll was not the only one; Lovelace and Dongan were both involved in this problem, which still has the power to make non-contemporary historians writhe a little. However, it is a technical and legal question, which cannot and need not be decided here. The sensible thing to do is to continue on the assumption that there were six manors in the county, which assumption makes Pelham the first, in 1666; but that the question should exist is worth noticing, as an amusing instance of the possibilities lurking in legal phraseology.

The manors of Westchester County, then, in the order of their erection, are: Pelham, 1666; Fordham, 1671; Philipseborough, 1693; Morrisania, May, 1697; Cortlandt, June, 1697; and Scarsdale, 1701. The Three Great Patents to Heathcote and associates were granted in 1701; and the last of the great patents, covering fifty thousand acres of land added to the county in the "Oblong" was granted to twenty-five men from Ridgefield, headed by the Rev. Thomas Hawley, in 1709.

It was only two years after the English conquest that Thomas Pell, having disposed of his lands south of Hutchinson's River, took steps to combine the remainder into a manor, and obtained the grant which has been discussed. Pell died in September, 1669, and was buried at Fairfield, Connecticut. His nephew, John, born in England, came to America in the fall of 1670 and made his home on the manor. In 1684-85 he married Rachel, daughter of Philip Pinkney, one of the first ten proprietors of the town of Eastchester. In 1687 he received his new grant from Governor Dongan, and on September 20, 1689, he and his wife conveyed the New Rochelle tract to Leisler, thus reducing the manor to one-third its original dimensions.

John Pell played an active part in the public affairs of the county. He was its representative in the Provincial Assembly beginning March 20, 1691; and was judge of the common pleas from 1688 until his death in the fall of 1702. He is said to have been drowned when his pleasure boat foundered in a gale off City Island.

He left two sons and two daughters. The oldest son, Thomas, born at Pelham in 1686, inherited the manor. This second Thomas



(Courtesy of Westchester County Historical Society)

HO KOHONGUS INDIAN COUNCIL TREE, PHILIPSE MANOR

(This tree, over 100 ft. tall, 30 ft. in circumference, and perhaps several hundred years old, was last seen in 1905, and thought to be the largest chestnut in the State)

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had ten children. He sold a fifth of the manor to Edward Blagge, of the City of New York, and one-fifth to his own son, Thomas Pell, Jr., the third Thomas. At the second Thomas' death in 1739, his son Joseph inherited the remainder. Joseph died in 1752, and his eldest son, also a Joseph, the last lord of the now greatly reduced manor, died in 1776.

John Pell's descendants were less active in public affairs than he; but Philip Pell, a conscientious, able and prominent patriot, represented the State of New York in the Continental Congress of 1788, served as judge advocate of the American Army, and after the war was sheriff of the county; and his son, Philip Pell, Jr., served for many years as surrogate.

Dr. Coffey, in Scharf's "History of Westchester County," thus lists members of the Pell family living in Pelham or adjacent towns at the beginning of the Revolutionary period: Thomas Pell, who married Margaret Bartow and lived at the homestead in Pelham, later known as the residence of Robert Bartow; John Pell, who lived on what became known as the Schuyler place; Joshua, Jr., who married Abigail Archer; James, who married Martha Pugsley and lived on Prospect Hill in a house which in 1776 became the headquarters of General Howe; Philip, who was judge-advocate of the American Army, and who lived on the old Boston Post Road, above Pell's Bridge; David, his brother, who lived on Pelham Lane near the same bridge; Caleb, who lived in Eastchester; and Joseph, who lived in Upper Eastchester, on the White Plains Road.

Many descendants of the family are still living.

The Manor of Fordham was, it will be remembered, carved out of the old patroonship of "Colen Donck." Archer—or Arcer—had lived in Westchester for a number of years. He was sheriff of New York City from 1679 to 1682. He leased his land in parcels of from twenty to twenty-four acres to persons who would clear and cultivate it. He managed the property personally, and seems to have been in difficulty with his tenants much of the time. On October 4, 1673, on complaint by the inhabitants of Fordham, he appeared before a council held at Harlem, at which Governor Colve and his secretary, Cornelis Steenwyck, were present, and agreed to give up his government of the town of Fordham, though keeping ownership of the property

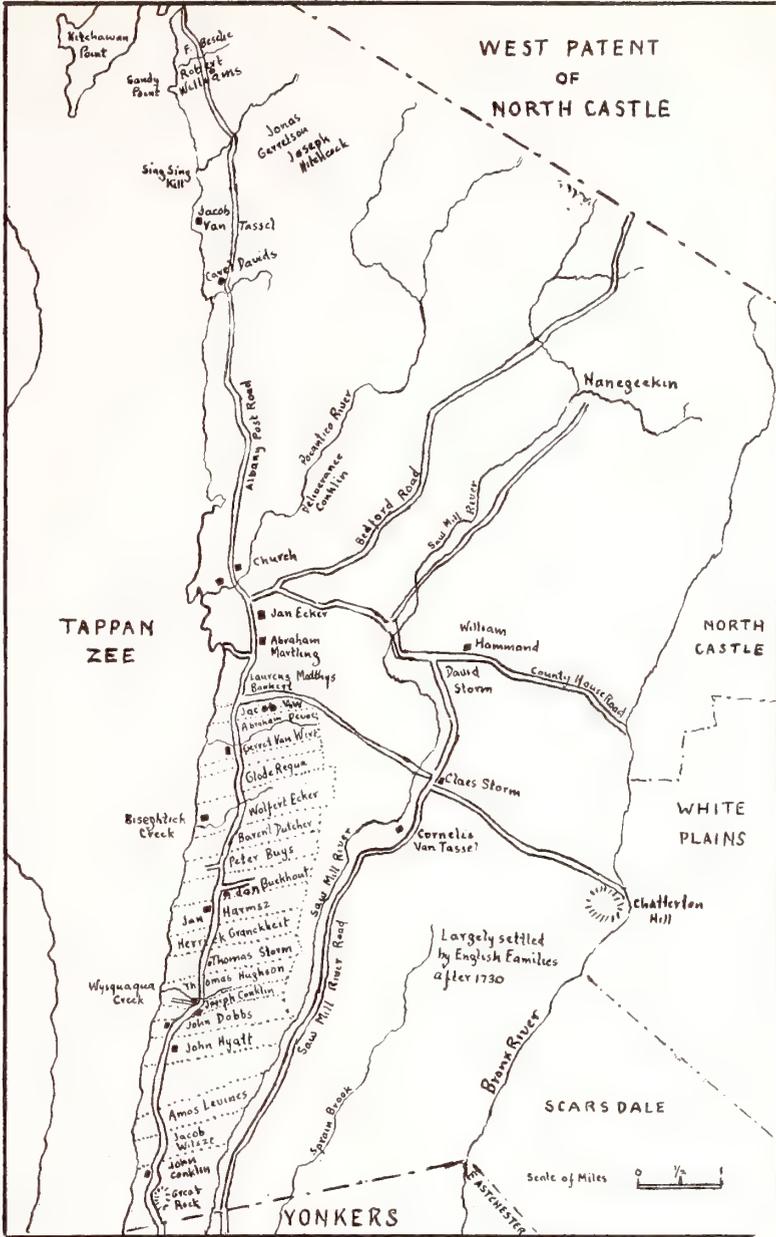
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and dwellings. This Steenwyck was the same to whom he had previously mortgaged the manor.

Archer died in October, 1683—suddenly, it is said—in his coach while on the way to New York City. Steenwyck foreclosed the mortgage. On Steenwyck's death the property was bequeathed to the Reformed Congregation of the Nether Dutch Church in New York, on condition that it should never be sold; however, in the middle of the eighteenth century the General Assembly of the Colony authorized its sale and it was divided and dispersed. Up to that time it had still been known as the Manor of Fordham. Archer's daughter married George Tippet, for whom Tippet's Brook is named. Archer's son John married Sarah, daughter of William Odell, of Fordham, and they left many descendants.

The next manor created was one of the greatest—Philipseborough. Part of that, too, came out of Van der Donck's old patroonship. On August 18, 1670, Dame Margaret Philipse and Thomas Lewis bought from Elias Doughty, on behalf of Frederick Philipse, her husband, for £150, the south half of the Nepperhaen River with its mill privileges, and about three hundred acres of land adjoining. The north half of the river and its mill privileges, Doughty sold to one Dirk Smith, and Philipse and Lewis bought it from Smith. Later, Philipse, with others, bought more and more land, much of it from the Indians, and he bought out his associates, until finally he owned, as has been said, a strip twenty-two miles long, running from Spuyten Duyvil to the Croton River. This was patented to him as a manor in 1693. Before his death he had built two homes, one on the Pocantico and one on the Nepperhaen, established mills near both, and erected the first church in the western part of the county.

There is controversy among historians as to the exact date when he built the mansion known as Philipse Manor Hall which, enlarged by his grandson, still stands in Yonkers; and also as to whether it or "Castle Philipse" on the Pocantico, was his principal residence. The "Castle," which was erected in what is now North Tarrytown, is generally believed to have been begun about 1683. It was, and still is, a sturdy dwelling with three-foot thick stone walls, well planned for defense in case of Indian attack, and with gun mounts commanding the harbor where Frederick's sloops could lie at anchor. The dam



MAP OF PHILIPSBURGH

(The present townships of Greenburgh, Mt. Pleasant and Ossining lie north of Yonkers, west of the Bronx River and south of West Patent of North Castle. Tappan Zee is that part of the Hudson River between the latterly erected villages of Tarrytown and Nyack, respectively on the east and west shores.)

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and the mill are close by the house, and the church not far away. The old tradition may as well be repeated here—that he was having trouble in building his dam; each time he built it a freshet came and swept it away. A slave in the household had a dream in which he was told that until his master built a church the dam would never hold. He told the dream to Philipse, the church was built, and the dam held.

It has been generally assumed that the church was begun in 1687, because that is the date on the bell which was cast in Holland for it; but records afford no absolute proof of its completion before 1697. The weather vane on the roof bears the initials of the first lord of the manor, "V.F." (Vredryk Flipse).

The manor house in Yonkers was built at two periods, the north wing having been added by the second Frederick in 1745. Most histories date the older part at about 1682. Dr. Edward Hagaman Hall, former secretary of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Company ("Philipse Manor Hall at Yonkers"), was unable to find primary authority for that date, but from the construction of the older portion and from records of events which took place there, he concluded that Philipse almost certainly had a substantial house for himself and his guests at least as early as 1689, and perhaps earlier.

Edgar Mayhew Bacon (Westchester Hist. Soc. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 4), declares: "There is no evidence that this first Lord of the Manor of Philipsburgh ever lived at the lower Mills. The evidence that he did live at the Castle at the mouth of the Pocantico seems convincing."

At any rate, the manor house at Yonkers was the principal seat of two subsequent generations of Philipses before the Revolution.

The first Frederick's rise from the position of a carpenter and builder to that of the richest man in the Colony, was mentioned in the chapter on the Colonial Period. Presumably he had not much money when he and his widowed mother came to America, probably with Stuyvesant, in 1647, but he was of good family and therefore probably had some education. The Philipses were originally a noble family of Bohemia. Forced by religious persecution to leave Bohemia, Viscount Philipse and his family went to Friesland, in Holland. His son Frederick married Margaret Dacres, and at his death she and their son, also Frederick, emigrated to New Netherland. This Fred-

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erick, the first in America, seems to have stood well with the Director-General, who gave him valuable grants in Manhattan; and his advancement was also assisted by his marriages, and by ventures in the slave trade and contacts with the pirates which then infested the seas. Ultimately he possessed probably the largest fortune in America.

All his children were by his first wife, Margaret Hardenbroek DeVries. He seems also to have adopted her daughter Eva, as she is always referred to as "Eva Philipse." His second marriage was to Catherina Dervall, daughter of Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt and sister of Stephanus Van Cortlandt.

Frederick's first son, Philip, went to the Barbados, where he married Maria, daughter of Governor Sparkes. Both of them died there, leaving a son, Frederick, two years old. The first Frederick's second son, Adolph, was born in New York City in 1657, and seems to have been his father's able and trusted assistant—a fact which got him into trouble for a time, when Frederick's connections with illegal traffic was disclosed. Everybody knew that many New York merchants and, indeed, it is said, even some men in high official position, had dealings with the pirates occasionally, but the dealings had to be kept quiet for the sake of appearances; and this is where Adolph seems to have come in. The British Board of Trade, in a report dated October 19, 1698, charged that Frederick Philipse, at that time a member of the Governor's Council, had sent out a ship or sloop under the conduct of Adolph, ostensibly bound for Florida, but in reality to meet at sea a vessel which was due from Madagascar; that Adolph did meet the vessel, and unloaded from her a quantity of "East India goods," which were taken in the "Frederick" to Delaware Bay, while he returned to New York in the Madagascar ship, which now contained "only Negroes"; that he then went to Delaware Bay, where the "Frederick" "lay Privately," and delivered part of her cargo; and that the "Frederick" then sailed by a roundabout route to Hamburg. There she was seized by the resident English agent, and the crew taken to London, where their testimony confirmed the suspicion as to the nature of the voyage. "We observe," says the report, "that Cornelius Jacobs (the master) appears to be the same Capn. Jacobs who is named to have traded with the Pirates."



PHILPSE CASTLE, OLD DUTCH CHURCH, SLEEPY HOLLOW CEMETERY
AND MODERN STONE BRIDGE NEAR SIDE OF THE
OLD MILL, NORTH TARRYTOWN

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As the result of this report, the first Frederick resigned his seat in the council; and Governor Bellomont, who had just named Adolph for a seat in the same body, withdrew the nomination.

The first Frederick died in 1702. At his death, the manor was divided by his will between his son Adolph and his grandson Frederick. Catherina survived her husband many years until 1730, living with Adolph, her stepson, at "Castle Philipse" on the Pocantico.

Meanwhile, Adolph had become in his own right one of the principal landowners of the Province. On June 17, 1697, Governor Fletcher had granted to him the "Great Highland Patent" for the territory immediately above Westchester County, running from the Hudson to the Connecticut, a distance of some twenty miles, and extending northward some twelve miles.

On February 7, 1705, his "piratical" adventures now overlooked, he was finally appointed to the Governor's Council. In 1718 he was one of the boundary line commissioners. In 1721 he was removed from the council for opposing the continuance of the Assembly after Governor Burnet arrived; but in 1722 he was elected member of the Assembly for Westchester County, and was chosen Speaker in 1725. In 1726 he was returned as one of the four members from New York City, but continued to occupy the Speaker's chair until 1737, when he lost his seat. Shortly afterward he was once more returned, as a member from New York City, was again Speaker in 1739, and kept the position until 1745, when he retired, at the age of eighty. He died in 1749, a bachelor.

Frederick Philipse II, born on the Island of Barbados in 1698, and orphaned at the age of three, was brought up in England by relatives, with every educational and social advantage. Not long after coming to America, he married Joanna, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Anthony Brockholst, and they lived in the manor house at Yonkers. At Adolph's death he inherited not only his share of the manor, thus uniting it again under himself as second lord, but also Adolph's immense holdings north of Westchester County.

In 1721, with his election to the Assembly, he entered public life, and thenceforward was constantly in office of one kind or another. On June 24, 1733, he was appointed by Governor Montgomerie as third judge of the Supreme Court of the Province, and baron of the

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exchequer, and on August 21, 1733, by the removal of Morris from the Chief Justiceship in connection with the Van Dam controversy already described, and the elevation of DeLancey to his position, Frederick became second judge, and remained so until his death. Also, from 1735 until his death, he was judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County. It has been said: "It was an understood thing in Westchester County for more than half a century that one of the county members should always be a Philipse"; and also: "In the memories of the people of Westchester County the name of Philipse is, from the political point of view, identified exclusively with the idea of ultra devotion to royal authority in the person of the king's authorized representative."

In 1745 he added the present north wing to the mansion at Yonkers; and throughout his residence there he constantly improved and beautified the place. He lived in considerable state, with, it is said, fifty servants, thirty whites and twenty negro slaves. It is recorded that "his tenants and the public" always knew him as "Lord Philipse." He gave much personal attention to the affairs of the manor, presiding in person over the manorial court. He was a member of the Church of England. During his lifetime he built no church on the estate, but by his will he directed his executors to spend £400 out of the rentals from the tenants, for the erection of a church, and gave a farm, with residence and outbuildings, east of the Sawmill River, as a glebe for the minister. The church was built in 1752-53, and is now St. John's Episcopal Church at Yonkers.

He had six children, of whom only four, Frederick, Philip, Susannah and Mary, grew to maturity. Philip died in 1768, leaving three children. Susanna married Colonel Beverly Robinson, a noted Tory; and Mary married Roger Morris, a major in the British Army—not of the Morrisania family. This was the Mary Philipse for whom some historians say that George Washington had at one time a romantic inclination.

The eldest son, Frederick, became the third lord of the manor at his father's death in 1751. The Highland Patent property was divided equally between this third Frederick and the two daughters.

The third lord continued to live at the manor-house on the Neperhaen. He was known as the colonel, from his commission in the

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militia. He married Elizabeth Williams, twenty-four-year-old widow of Anthony Rutgers. It is said that the colonel became exceedingly stout as he grew older, and that he and his wife seldom rode together because there was not room for both in the family carriage. True to the loyalist tradition of the Philipses, he was a Tory during the Revolution, and at its close the great estate was confiscated, and eventually sold in parcels. "A History of Briarcliff Manor," by R. B. Pattison, gives the names of three men now living whose ancestors bought property in Philipseborough Manor at the time it was sold by the Commission on Forfeiture. These are: Jesse B. Bishop, T. Everett Bishop and Howard G. Bishop, of Briarcliff, who trace descent from John Bishop, who bought 265 acres on the Hudson in 1785. There may be many others.

The Highland Patent lots north of Westchester County, acquired by Colonel Robinson and Major Morris, husbands, respectively, of Susannah and Mary, were confiscated also; but the reversionary interest was not affected, and was purchased of the heirs for \$100,000 by the first John Jacob Astor. Apparently the mineral rights were not acquired by Astor, since they were the subject of later action, as will be noted.

Philipse Manor Hall on the Nepperhaen is located at Warburton Avenue and Dock Street, Yonkers. The Nepperhaen has disappeared under the city's pavements, where it runs concealed in a conduit. The building was sold successively to Cornelius P. Low, William Constable, Jacob Stout, Joseph Howland, Lemuel Wells, his nephew Lemuel W. Wells, William Woodworth, and James C. Bell, who sold it in 1868 to the city of Yonkers for a city hall. It was used for that purpose until 1908. Until 1905 an ancient chestnut tree—*castanea dentata*—stood on the lawn, and this was believed to have been the old council-tree of the Hokohongus Indians, antedating the house itself. In 1908 the house was purchased by the State of New York, through the generosity of Mrs. William F. Cochran; and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society became its custodian. Mr. Alexander Smith Cochran financed restoration and placed in the building his collection of authentic portraits of the Presidents of the United States and eminent early Americans, and also much fine Colonial furniture. The massive door brought from Holland by Margaret Har-

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denbroeck DeVries Philipse in one of her own ships, still swings in the center of the south front.

"Philipse Castle" on the Pocantico is located west of the Post Road, North Tarrytown. At the present writing it is entering a new phase of its long and eventful history. In the course of years many changes had been made in it; the stone walls had been encased in wood, and wings and a porch had been added. Miss Elsie Janis, a noted actress, now retired, was the last occupant, owning the place from 1916 to 1936. It is in the course of restoration by the Historical Society of the Tarrytowns, Inc., the work being financed by the public and, in part, by the Rockefeller family. In the process of restoration interesting relics of its early days have been turned up. The region was the site of several important Indian villages. A banner-stone was found under the corner of the porch, five feet down in the soil. Near the site of the mill a wooden mallet was found six feet underground. Embedded in the old mortar of the east stone wall of the southeast room of the house was a doll—its presence unaccountable. A key lay on a beam, probably hidden there generations ago. A secret staircase from one of the bedrooms to the attic was revealed. Embrasures for cannon still exist. English, Dutch and Irish coins were found, and so many fragments of old clay pipe stems that they fill a cigar box.

The remains of the dam and the foundation walls of the mill have been found and the present contemplated reconstruction includes the mill.

The first Frederick Philipse, his two wives, Margaret and Catherine, and his immediate descendants who died before the confiscation of the property, are buried nearby in the crypt under the old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow. The history of this famous house of worship will appear in Chapter XXII, under the caption of "Religion in the Colony and County."

From "Philipse Manor Hall," by Edward Hagaman Hall, the following genealogy is taken:

First Generation—The first generation of the family known to bear the name was the Viscount Philipse of Bohemia, who with his wife Eva and his son Frederick fled to Friesland.

Second Generation—Frederick Philipse, last above-mentioned, born in Bohemia, lived in Friesland, where he married Margaret

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Dacres and where he died. They had a son, Frederick, with whom the widowed Margaret emigrated to New Netherland on a date uncertain. It is suggested with some probability that the immigrants came with Peter Stuyvesant in 1647.

Third Generation—Frederick Philipse, last above-mentioned, first Lord of the Manor, born in Bolswaert, Friesland, 1626; came to New Netherland with widowed mother, probably in 1647; banns published October 28, 1662, for marriage to Margareta (or Margariet) Hardenbrook, widow of Peter Rudolphus DeVries, whom he married in December; married second, November 30, 1692, Catherine Van Cortlandt, daughter of Oloff Stephanus Van Cortlandt and widow of John Dervall; died November 6, 1702.

Fourth Generation—The children of Frederick and Margaret, his first wife, were as follows: 1. "Eva Philipse," daughter of Peter Rudolphus DeVries and Margaret Hardenbrook, adopted by her mother's second husband and known as "Eva Philipse," married Jacobus Van Cortlandt, May 31, 1691. 2. Philip Philipse, baptized March 18, 1676; married Maria Sparkes about 1697; died 1700. 3. Adolphus Philipse, baptized November 15, 1665, died January 20, 1749. 4. Annetje Philipse, baptized November 27, 1667; married Philip French, 1694. 5. Rombout Philipse, baptized January 9, 1670, died young.

Fifth Generation—Philip Philipse and Maria Sparkes had a son, namely, Frederick Philipse, second Lord of the Manor; born in the Barbados 1698; married Joanna, daughter of Governor Anthony Brockholst, about 1719; died July 26, 1751.

Sixth Generation—The children of Frederick Philipse, the second Lord, and Joanna Brockholst were: 1. Frederick Philipse, third and last Lord of the Manor, born September 12, 1720; licensed August 31, 1756, to marry, and on September 9, 1756, married Elizabeth Rutgers, widow of Anthony Rutgers and daughter of Charles Williams, naval officer of the Port of New York; died May 30, 1785. 2. Susannah Philipse, baptized February 3, 1723, died young. 3. Philip Philipse, baptized August 28, 1724; married Margaret Marston, died May 9, 1768. 4. Maria Philipse, baptized March 30, 1726,

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died young. 5. Susannah Philipse, baptized September 27, 1727; married Beverly Robinson about 1750; died November, 1822. 6. Mary Philipse, born July 3, 1730; married Roger Morris, July 19, 1758; died July 18, 1825. 7. Margaret Philipse, baptized February 4, 1733, died 1752. 8. Anthony Philipse, baptized July 13, 1735, died young. 9. Joanna Philipse, baptized September 19, 1739, died young. 10. Adolphus Philipse, baptized March 10, 1742, died young.

Seventh Generation—The children of Frederick Philipse, third Lord of the Manor, and Elizabeth Williams, his wife, were: 1. Frederick Philipse, who married Harriet Griffiths, of Rheul, North Wales. 2. Philip Philipse, an officer in the Royal Artillery, who died in Wales in 1829. 3. Henry Philipse, who was drowned in the Bay of Fundy. 4. John Philipse, captain, who was killed at the battle of Trafalgar, 1805. 5. Maria Eliza Philipse, who married Lionel Smythe, seventh Viscount Strangford, marriage license dated September 4, 1779. 6. Sarah Philipse, who married Mungo Noble, marriage license dated February 8, 1873. 7. Charlotte Margaret Philipse, who married Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, of England, and died 1840. 8. Elizabeth Philipse, who died at Bath, England, in 1828. 9. Susan Philipse. 10. Catherine Philipse, who died young.

"In Great Britain," says Hall, "and other foreign countries, there are living over seventy descendants of Colonel Roger Morris and Mary Philipse Morris. . . . In New York City are living three great-grandchildren of Philip Philipse, younger brother of the last Lord of the Manor, namely: Mrs. Francis Roy Satterlee, Miss Catherine Wadsworth Philipse, and Miss Margaret Gouverneur Philipse."

After Philipseborough came Morrisania, the smallest of the manors in size. As has been told in the chapter on the Colonial Period, Colonel Lewis Morris, of Barbados, an officer in Cromwell's army and later a Quaker, came to America in 1679 on the death of his younger brother Richard and Richard's wife, to look after the estate and their infant son Lewis. The estate was the old home of Jonas Bronck—five hundred acres between the Harlem and the "Aquehung" (later the Bronx) rivers, extending northward perhaps to about 150th Street. Colonel Morris built a fine house and lived on

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the estate until his death in 1691. He also bought some three thousand five hundred acres in New Jersey.

His nephew and heir, young Lewis, probably found the home of his Quaker uncle rather dull. He ran away, first to Virginia and then to Jamaica, trying to earn his living as a copyist. Finally he returned to his uncle, who forgave and welcomed him. In November, 1691, young Lewis married Isabella, daughter of James Graham, Attorney-General of the Province. At first he lived on the New Jersey property inherited from his uncle, took part in public affairs in that Province and held official positions there. In May, 1697, he had his Westchester County holdings erected into the Manor of Morrisania. He was as definitely allied with the elements which insisted on resistance to official tyranny, as the Philipses were with the ultra-aristocratic party. In New Jersey, Morris was expelled from the Governor's Council, in 1698, for refusing to acknowledge the authority of Jeremiah Basse as Governor. In 1700, when Hamilton became Governor of New Jersey, he was again appointed president of the council, and later was nominated for the Governorship, but not confirmed, because Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne, was made Governor of both New Jersey and New York. Morris was in his council, but was removed by the Governor in 1704, reinstated by order of the Queen, and again and permanently dismissed by Cornbury. As a member of the New York Legislature he was active in securing Cornbury's recall. In the council again under Lovelace, he was suspended by Lovelace's successor. He entered the New York Assembly in 1710 as delegate from the borough town of Westchester. At that time, contrary to his usual custom, he was in opposition to the popular party and supporting Governor Hunter, with whom he had a warm friendship.

He was the first native-born Chief Justice of New York. He was appointed to that position by Hunter, March 13, 1715, but continued to sit as representative for Westchester Borough until 1728. As Chief Justice he served uninterruptedly until the Van Dam incident. As has been narrated, he was then elected to the Assembly, remained there until 1738, left the position to become Governor of New Jersey, which office he held until his death, May 21, 1746.

He left one-half his Westchester property to his son Lewis (generally identified as Lewis, Jr.), third of the name and second lord of

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the manor; and the other half to his wife, to go to Lewis, Jr., also, when she should die. The New Jersey estate he left to his son Robert Hunter Morris, who was even then Chief Justice of that Province.

Lewis, Jr., was born September 23, 1698. He lived at Morrisania. He was several times a member of the Colonial Assembly, also judge of the Court of Admiralty, and of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. He married (first) a Catherine Staats, by whom he had Lewis, identified in genealogies as "the Signer," because he was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; Staats Long Morris, who became a lieutenant-general in the British Army and married the widow of Lord George Gordon; and Richard Morris, who became judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty in 1762, a United States Senator in 1778 and, in 1779, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, succeeding John Jay, when the latter was made Chief Justice of the United States. Richard retired to his farm at Scarsdale in 1790 and died there April 11, 1810.

Lewis, Jr.'s, second wife was Sarah Gouverneur. They had four children, of whom the eldest was Gouverneur Morris, who, after holding important public offices, became Minister to France in January, 1792. He had learned French, by the way, from Dominic Tétard, of New Rochelle. Later he became United States Senator, 1800-03. He passed the latter part of his life at Morrisania and left the estate to his son Gouverneur. The other three children of Lewis, Jr., and Miss Gouverneur were: Isabella, Sarah, Euphemia, and Catharine.

General Lewis Morris, "the Signer," born April 8, 1726, married Mary Walton. They had ten children. His fourth son, James, born 1765, died 1827; married Helen, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt, of Yonkers. (Augustus Van Cortlandt was a descendant of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, youngest son of Oloff, who had married Eva Philipse. That branch of the Van Cortlandt family had intermarried with the Jays, so that James Morris' marriage to Helen Van Cortlandt was another of the links that united the early families of the county in a complicated web of relationships.)

James Morris and Helen Van Cortlandt had twelve children. Their second son, Augustus, took the name of Van Cortlandt in order to succeed to the Yonkers estate.

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Morrisania remained but sparsely settled for many years. During the Revolution it formed a hiding-place for royalist refugees, owing to its still thick forests. Bolton says:

It remained in the family of its ancient owners until the first large advent of population to its fields in 1848. An association then purchased 200 acres of the northern part and began a village. At that time there were but three houses on the purchase. At first it was called "New Village," but as it grew it assumed the name of "Morrisania."

The original home of Colonel Lewis Morris of the Barbados is said to have been on the site of Jonas Bronck's house, "Emmaus." Immediate descendants continued to live on or near the estate, but their homes also have disappeared. Governor Tryon, the last Royal Governor, is said to have given special orders to burn the country-seat of Richard Morris at Fordham, because he refused to remain in the office of judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, having sided with the patriot cause. Richard Morris had three children: Lewis R.; Robert, who finally settled at Fordham; and Mary, who married Major William Popham, of Scarsdale, and whose descendants still live there.

The next manor in Westchester County was erected only a month after the erection of Morrisania. It was the huge Manor of Cortlandt, created in June, 1697.

Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt, one of the most prominent and influential citizens of New Amsterdam, and later, of New York, married Annetje Loockermans, daughter of Govert Loockermans, of a wealthy burgher family. His career is outlined in the previous chapter. He died April 4, 1684, and his wife followed him about a month later. They left seven children: Stephanus, who married Gertrude Schuyler. Maria, who married Jeremias Van Rensselaer. Johannes, who died a bachelor. Sophia, who married Andries Teller. Catherine, who married (first) John Dervall; (second) Frederick Philipse. Cornelia, who married Brandt Schuyler. Jacobus, who married Eva Philipse.

Stephanus, the eldest, had a career even more brilliant than that of his father. At one time or another he held every prominent office in the Province except that of Governor. He was born in New Amsterdam in 1643, and was given an excellent education. He

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became a successful merchant. His first appointment to public office was that of member of the Court of Assizes. When he was only thirty-four years old, he became the first native-born mayor of the City of New York, which office he held almost continuously all the rest of his life. He was a member of the Governor's Council through all the administrations from Dongan's until his death. Shortly before his death he was appointed Chief Justice.

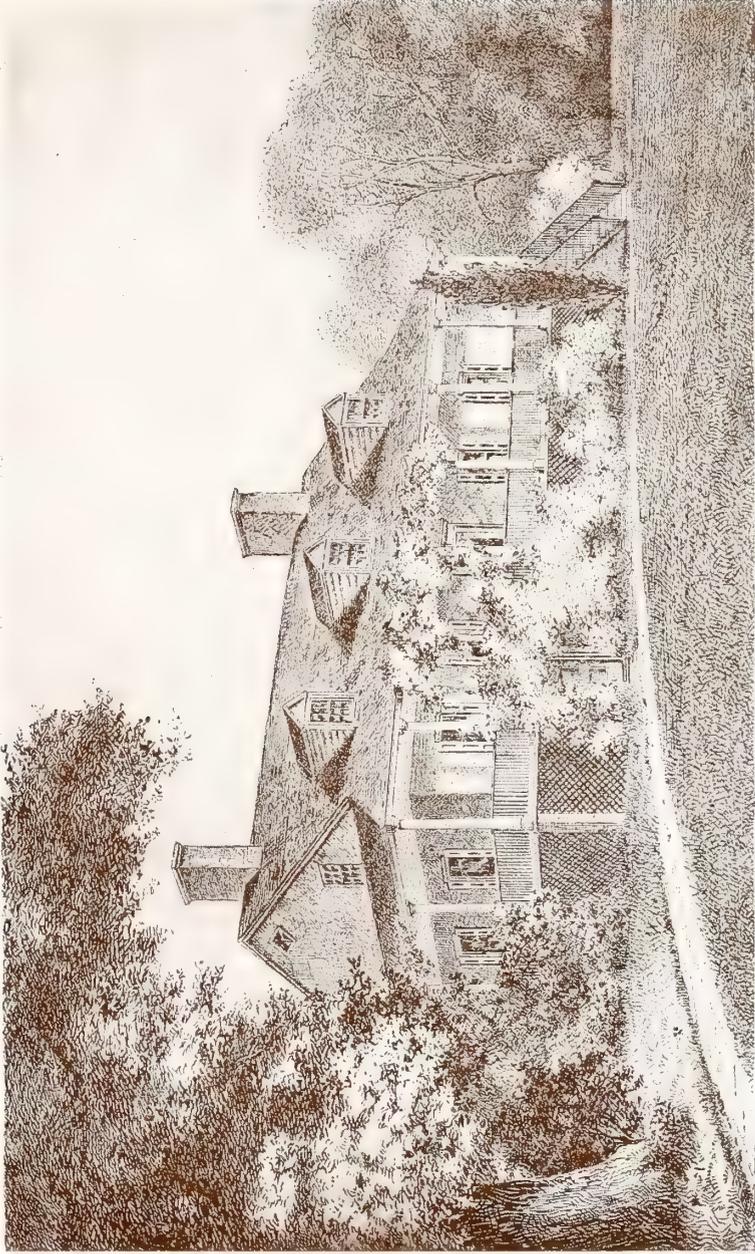
The properties which he bought in Westchester County at various times, amounting to virtually the whole of the northern part from the Hudson to the first Connecticut boundary line and about ten miles in width, totalling 86,203 acres, plus 1,500 acres on the west side of the Hudson, he finally consolidated into the Manor of Cortlandt, a lordly realm about five times the size of Manhattan. It was patented to him in June, 1697. Bolton asserts that the manor-grant was in recognition of large sums of money advanced by Stephanus to the government. Perhaps this was his reward for repairing the fort, and "victualling" the garrisons of New York and Albany during the Leisler interval.

One special right of this manor was its absolute control of hunting and fishing. The region was remarkable for game and fish. Beaver lived in its streams until early in the nineteenth century, the last having been killed near Lake Waccabuc in 1837. One branch of the Croton River was called the "Beaver Dam," and a wooded ridge near it "Deer's Delight."

As in all manor-grants, silver and gold mines were reserved to the Crown, and in the case of the Manor of Cortlandt the reservation was actually acted upon, when, in the eighteenth century, a Crown-grant was made of a silver mine near Sing Sing village.

Apparently, Stephanus never organized a manorial court, perhaps because the population was so small during the short time that he was proprietor.

There was a trading station at the mouth of the Croton—a stone fortified building erected perhaps about 1683. Van Cortlandt lived in New York City, but he naturally needed a temporary residence on the manor for his visits there, and he improved the old trading post for that purpose. It is a tradition that Governor Dongan originally had the idea of establishing a hunting and fishing lodge here. At any



(Courtesy of Westchester County Historical Society)

THE OLD VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE, CROTON

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rate, he was a personal friend of Stephanus and is said to have visited him there often. Subsequently, the old house was enlarged and became the still existing, well-known manor house. From the days of Stephanus it has always been the property and residence of one of his name, and it is still in possession of the Van Cortlandt interests.

Stephanus died in 1700. There was never a second "lord of the manor," but there was always a recognized "head of the family."

Stephanus and his wife had fourteen children, as follows: Johannes Van Cortlandt, the eldest. He married Anne Sophia Van Schaack. Their one child, Gertrude, married Philip Verplanck, grandson of Abraham Isaacson Verplanck, the first of that family in America. The Verplancks were not associated with the Manor of Cortlandt until this marriage in 1718. Verplanck's Point was named later. Margaret Van Cortlandt married Colonel Samuel Bayard, only son of Nicholas Bayard, who was the youngest nephew of Director-General Stuyvesant. Ann Van Cortlandt married Stephen DeLancey and later Stephen Kemble, the first of that family in New York. Oliver Van Cortlandt died unmarried. Maria Van Cortlandt married (first) Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, fourth patroon and first Lord of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck; and (second) John Milles, M. D., of Albany. Gertrude Van Cortlandt died unmarried. Philip Van Cortlandt married Catherine de Peyster, daughter of the first Abraham de Peyster. From this couple sprang the eldest line of the Van Cortlandts, who became British subjects. Stephen Van Cortlandt married Catalina Staats. Gertrude Van Cortlandt (the second of the name, the first having died young as above noted), married Colonel Henry Beekman. Gysbert Van Cortlandt died young. Elizabeth Van Cortlandt died young. Elizabeth Van Cortlandt (second) married Rev. William Skinner, of Perth Amboy. Catherine Van Cortlandt married Andrew Johnston, of New Jersey. Cornelia Van Cortlandt married Colonel John Schuyler, of Albany. They were the parents of General Philip Schuyler.

At Stephanus' death, the Manor of Cortlandt was left to his eleven surviving children in equal shares (except that the eldest, Johannes, received in addition to his share, the two thousand five hundred-acre tract now known as Verplanck's Point). Stephanus' widow survived him for twenty-three years, and during her lifetime nothing

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was done toward splitting up the estate. One of the heirs, Oliver, died childless and his interest was divided among the other ten.

Johannes died at a comparatively early age. In 1730 the heirs divided that part of the manor north of the Croton. Philip Verplanck, who had married Johannes' daughter Gertrude, was a surveyor, and he laid it out into thirty lots, the estimated value of the whole portion north of the Croton being at that time £9,625, or about \$48,000. In 1733 the part south of the Croton was divided; and thenceforward, gradually, the heirs sold or leased their lands.

After the deaths of Johannes and Oliver, Philip, third son of Stephanus, became "head of the family." He was born in 1683, and seems to have inherited his father's abilities. From 1730 until his death in 1746 he was a member of the Governor's Council. He and his wife, Catherine DePeyster, had five sons, Stephen, Abraham, Philip, John, and Pierre, and one daughter, who was killed when only thirteen, by the bursting of a gun at the Battery when the King's Birthday was being celebrated.

Abraham, Philip and John, all died unmarried. Stephen, the eldest, who succeeded his father as head of the family, was born October 26, 1710; married, in 1738, Mary Walton Ricketts, and died October 17, 1756. He left two sons, Philip and William Ricketts Van Cortlandt. Philip, the elder, fourth head of the family, born November 10, 1739, entered the British Army and fought on that side during the Revolution. He died May 1, 1814. He had married Catherine, daughter of Jacob Ogden, of New Jersey, and they had twenty-three children—(several twins)—of whom twelve lived to maturity. The five sons all became officers in the British Army. William Ricketts Van Cortlandt, born March 12, 1742, married Elizabeth Kortright and had two sons and two daughters. Some of their descendants have continued to own and live upon property inherited from his grandfather when the manor was divided.

Pierre Van Cortlandt, youngest son of the first Philip and grandson of Stephanus, ultimately became the leading member of the Van Cortlandt family living on the manor. He was born January 10, 1721. He married Joanna, daughter of Gilbert Livingston and granddaughter of Robert, first Lord of Livingston Manor. Unlike his nephew, Philip, he took the American side in the Revolution. He

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represented the manor in the Assembly from 1768 to 1775, was a member of the Provincial Convention, the Council of Safety and the Provincial Congress, and upon the organization of the State government in 1777 was chosen Lieutenant-Governor of New York and served until 1795. In 1787 he was president of the convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. He died in the manor house May 1, 1814, more than ninety-three years old.

His four sons, Philip, Gilbert, Stephen, and Pierre, and his four daughters, all were born in the manor house. Gilbert and Stephen died unmarried. The eldest son, Philip, became the famous General Philip Van Cortlandt of the Revolution. That part of the manor containing the manor house had descended to him, and it was his residence during the latter part of his life. He, too, died unmarried, and it was inherited by his youngest brother, Major-General Pierre Van Cortlandt, born August 29, 1762. This Pierre married (first), in 1801, Catharine, daughter of Governor George Clinton, and (second), Anne Stevenson, of Albany. He lived on the manor all his life and represented Westchester County in Congress. He died in 1848. He had no children by his first wife, but by his second he had one son, Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, who married Catherine, eldest daughter of Theodrick Romeyn Beck, M. D., of Albany. Colonel Pierre died July 11, 1884, leaving one son, James Stevenson Van Cortlandt, died unmarried, and two daughters, Catharine, wife of Rev. John Rutherford Mathews, and Anne Stevenson Van Cortlandt. Anne died 1939, the last of the Van Cortlandt name to live in the manor house at Croton.

The "Yonkers branch" of the Van Cortlandts, descended from Jacobus, youngest son of Oloff, has been mentioned in the chapter on the Colonial Period. Their estate, though important, was not a manor.

The manor house is a remarkable relic of its period. It is built of a reddish Nyack free-stone, with high basement, and walls nearly three feet thick, pierced with T-shaped loopholes for guns, the Indians being numerous in the upper part of the county after they had become few elsewhere. The low Dutch roof has dormer windows. A piazza of comparatively modern construction extends along the front. Standing above the mouth of the Croton, the house commands a magnificent view over the Tappan Sea.

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Despite division, the manor continued to be a distinct political area, with its original privileges, such as separate representation, until the division of the county into townships in 1788. Quit-rents were paid until their final extinction by acts of the Legislature and the action of the State government of New York, as late as 1823. DeLancey says:

In every township in the Manor, very many of the descendants of the original tenants still live, as owners in fee, upon the same lands which their ancestors originally took upon leases, and thus have held them for four, five and sometimes six generations.

The seventeenth century had just turned into the eighteenth when the last of the county's manors was erected—the Manor of Scarsdale. Because of difficulties over the White Plains area, the actual length of Caleb Heathcote's manor was about nine miles, by an average width of a little more than two miles. It was scantily populated, and at no time ranked in importance with the two largest manors, but the distinguished, able and humane personality of its proprietor was reflected by it to an unusual degree.

Caleb Heathcote was born in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, England, in 1665. He came to America about 1691, and immediately became prominent in the City and Province of New York. There is a tradition that he came to this country because the girl to whom he had been engaged married his brother Gilbert. At any rate, his abilities were at once recognized here and he served in numerous important public positions. At various times he was Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Customs for the Eastern District of North America, judge of the Court of Admiralty for the Provinces of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, member of the Governor's Council, judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County, colonel of the county militia, and first mayor of the borough town of Westchester. He was mayor of New York City at the same time that his brother Gilbert was Lord Mayor of London. He was a devoted member of the Church of England, and is said to have done more than any other man of the period to promote it in New York. He was one of the founders of the parish of Trinity Church in New York City, and took the lead in establishing the parishes of Westchester, Eastchester and Rye in Westchester County. In 1696 he took the first steps toward

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the creation of his manor, and on March 21, 1701, he secured letters patent for it from Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan. Its boundaries are described in the previous chapter. He called it Scarsdale, for "the Hundred of Scarsdale" in Derbyshire, where he was born.

At the head of Mamaroneck Harbor, on what is still known as "Heathcote Hill," he built a large brick manor house, with suitable outbuildings, including negro quarters, and here he lived for the rest of his life. So far as is known, he did not establish a manorial court; probably for the same reason that Stephanus Van Cortlandt did not; the small population was sufficiently served by the regular county courts. But he gave unusual personal attention to the manor, instead of having a steward to take care of it. Even in their private affairs, tenants came to him for help and advice. Family disputes were often referred to him; he drew wills; and he took an active interest in the welfare of the settlers at Mamaroneck who were not included in the manor.

Caleb Heathcote died of an apoplectic stroke, February 28, 1720-1721. His property descended to his two daughters, the only survivors of his six children. Anne married James DeLancey, eldest surviving son of Etienne DeLancey; Martha, the other daughter, married Lewis Johnston, of Perth Amboy. They kept the manor intact for years. Before the Revolution, however, it was dispersed to various purchasers. His brick mansion (between the present DeLancey and Fenimore roads, Mamaroneck) was burned during the Revolution. His grandson, John Peter DeLancey, fought on the British side, but after the war he retired from the army and built a house in 1789 on the site of the old manor house. In it DeLancey's daughter was married to Fenimore Cooper. That DeLancey house has now been moved to the corner of Fenimore Road and the Boston Post Road, Mamaroneck, where it is at present used as a gas station. Old bricks can still be found around the foundation of "Heathcote Hall," and not long ago, when sewers and water mains were being put in on the Hill, workmen uncovered the bones supposed to be of soldiers.

It can easily be seen how great an influence these manors exerted in the county, and in the Province. The proprietors themselves, however, were divided as the Colonial period drew to a close, some turn-

MANORS, GRANTS AND GREAT PATENTS

ing toward the patriot cause, while others remained determinedly attached to the aristocratic system in which their positions were rooted. On the manors, therefore, as in the rest of the county, there were conflicting sympathies.

With the exception of the Manor of Philipseborough—by that time known as Philipsburgh—which was confiscated and sold at the close of the Revolution, the war left the manors, so far as their legal position was concerned, in whatever situation it found them. Quit-rents were thence forward paid to the State of New York instead of to the Crown; and the State was substituted for the King in points concerning the sovereign power, and the ultimate ownership of the land. These were significant and important changes, but did not affect sales, leases, or special political rights.

The existence of the manors as political divisions was ended by the organization of the county into townships in 1788. Eleven of the twenty-one townships into which the Township Act of that year divided the county were formed wholly out of the manors—Morrisania, Yonkers, Greenburgh, Mount Pleasant, Pelham, Scarsdale, Mamaroneck, North Salem, Cortlandt, Yorktown and Stephentown. Two, Salem (now Lewisborough) and Poundridge, were partly so formed. But leases and purchases remained undisturbed under this Act. The difficulty of getting entirely rid of all possible claims growing out of the old manor system is illustrated by a bill passed by the New York Legislature as recently as 1911, "to extinguish the claim of the heirs of Philip Philipse by the acquisition of their mineral and mining rights in certain lands in the counties of Putnam and Dutchess heretofore conveyed by the Commissioners of Forfeiture of the State of New York." (This referred to parts of Adolph Philipse's great Highland Patent north of Westchester, which it will be remembered was divided between the third Frederick and his sisters Susannah and Mary, wives of Colonel Beverly Robinson and Colonel Roger Morris, respectively.) The bill provided that "if Mary Philipse Satterlee, Margaret Gouverneur Philipse and Catharine Wadsworth Philipse, as sole remaining heirs of Philip Philipse and claimants to an undivided one-third interest in the mines and minerals in one hundred thousand acres, more or less, of certain lands in the counties of Putnam and Dutchess heretofore sold by the people

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of this State as forfeited by the attainder of Roger Morris and Mary his wife and Beverly Robinson and Susannah his wife," would relinquish all their rights therein, they should be paid \$225,000. The bill was vetoed by Governor Dix. According to Edward Hagaman Hall, "The existence of these old mineral rights of Philipse Manor frequently prevents the giving of a clear title to real estate, and is said by the representative of a prominent title insurance company of New York seriously to retard real estate development in certain parts of the old Manor."

The ancient laws relative to manors have now entirely disappeared from the statute books, with the single exception of the clause in the Constitution of the State which still saves from forfeiture "all the lands of the loyal lords of the manor."

Ritter, Kuntz and Allied Families

Salisbury, Pennsylvania AD. PHIA. PENNSYLVANIA



The Ritter and Kuntz families, together with that of [unclear] of German immigrants, furnished many of the pioneer settlers in the [unclear] of Pennsylvania, as well as members of the [unclear] of western Pennsylvania.

[unclear] patriotism and useful public service
RITTER

—Argent, a bullock's head crossed proper.
—Two elephants' trunks, crossed alternately argent and argent.
(Ritter: "Annuaire Général.")

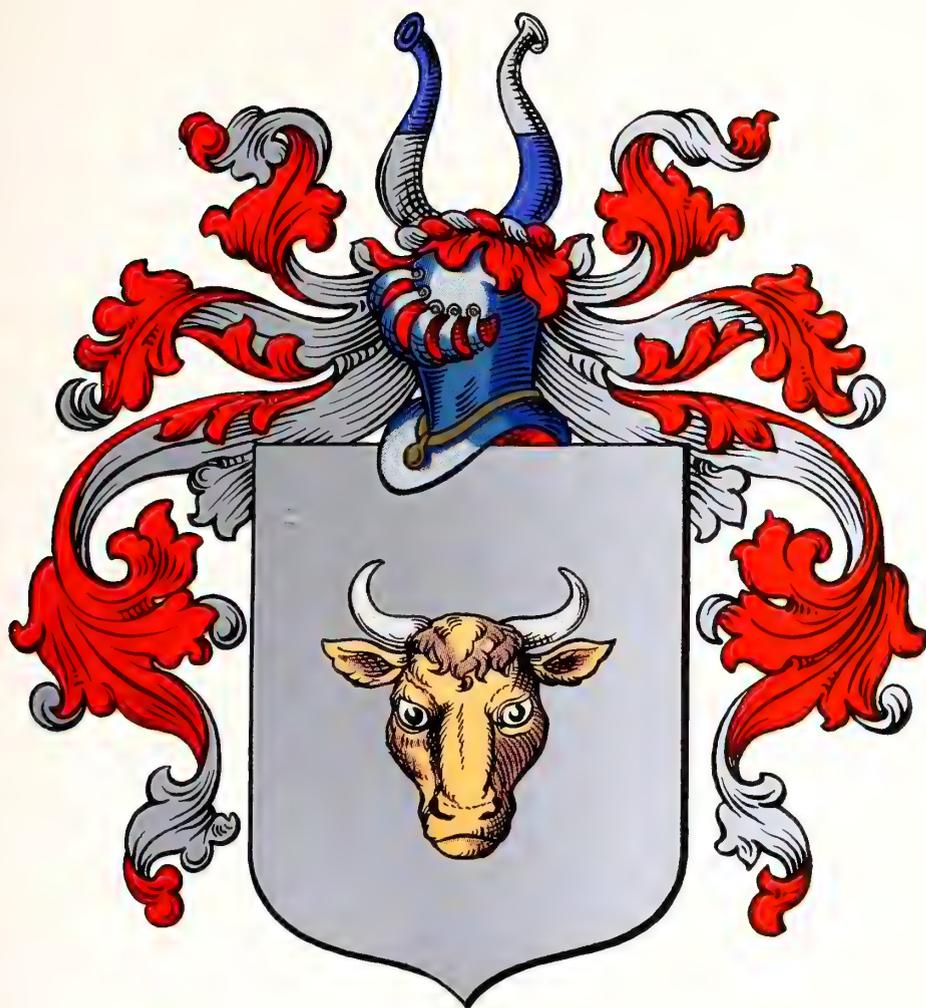
—The shield is surmounted by a helmet and crest. The helmet is encircled by a wreath of oak and olive. The crest is a hand holding a sword. The shield is supported by two figures, a man and a woman. The motto is "Fides et caritas vincunt."

with a stone chimney. The mantle from over the [unclear] with the [unclear] on it, is now in possession of the Lehigh [unclear]. He was naturalized September 11, 1740. He lived in Salisbury Township, Lancaster County, where he owned a farm of 200 acres; became prominent in local affairs and was [unclear].

Ritter married Mary Elizabeth, whose surname is not of [unclear]. 1. Caspar, of whom further [unclear]. 2. [unclear] married Anna Margaret Steininger. 3. Henry [unclear] born February 20, 1751. 4. John Theobald, born June 11, [unclear]. 5. Barbara Ann, born in 1758.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

[unclear] son of Henry and Mary Elizabeth Ritter, was born at Salisbury, Pennsylvania, in 1747 and died at North White-



Ritter

RITTER, KUNTZ AND ALLIED FAMILIES

hall, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, in 1822. His Revolutionary War record is set forth in the "Pennsylvania Archives," as follows:

Caspar Ritter appears as corporal in the 5th class of a return of Captain Lerk's Company, Northampton County, Pa. Militia, now in active service on the Frontier, September 15, 1781.

Caspar Ritter appears as corporal in 6th class, 4th Battalion, Northampton Co. Pa. Militia, April 29, 1782, Captain Felix Good's Company.

Caspar Ritter, Clarck (clerk), Captain Ballard's *Compynee*, 5th Battalion, Northampton Co. Pa. Militia, April 26, 1782.

Caspar Ritter married Ottila Hertz. A son was John, of whom further.

("Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. VIII, Series V, pp. 158, 337, 392. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. John Ritter, son of Caspar and Ottila (Hertz) Ritter, was born in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, February 11, 1768. He lived in the Whitehall section of Lehigh County.

John Ritter married Maria, whose surname is not of record. Of their thirteen children one was Daniel, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. Daniel Ritter, son of John and Maria Ritter, was born September 5, 1795, and died about 1875. Daniel Ritter married Maria Moyer. A son was Thomas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Thomas Ritter, son of Daniel and Maria (Moyer) Ritter, was born in Whitehall Township, near Laury's Station, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, September 25, 1828, and died October 16, 1920. He was a leading contractor in the mining of hematite iron ore, on land formerly owned by his family, near Balliettsville, Lehigh County. Later he retired to a farm near the town where he spent the balance of his life.

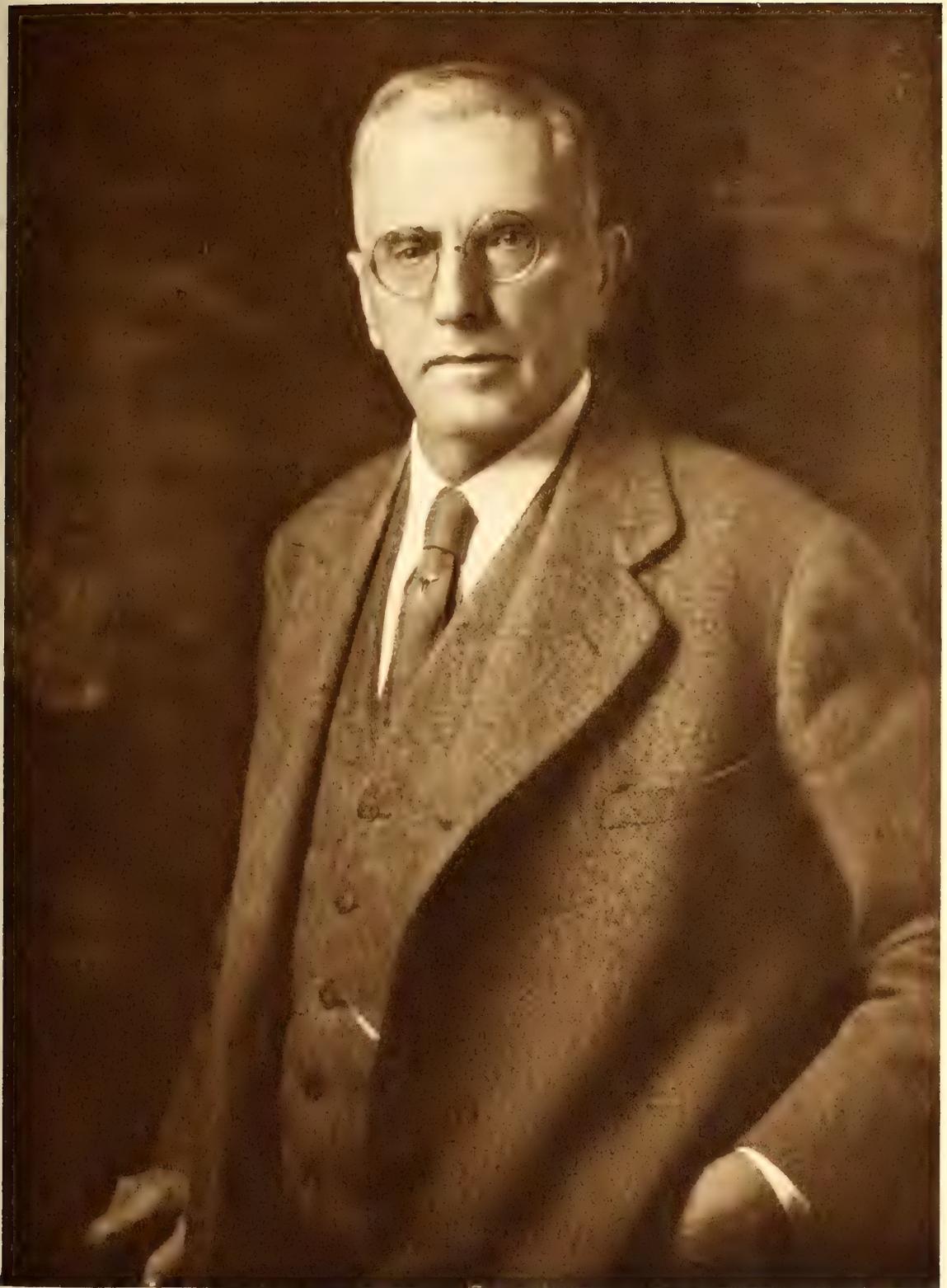
Thomas Ritter married Eliza Schierer, who was born April 26, 1836, and died October 22, 1896. The ceremony was "by pastor Mendsen, November 8, 1850." Children: 1. Charles A., born Feb-

RITTER, KUNTZ AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ruary 8, 1855; married Sallie Mengle. 2. Benjamin F., born September 15, 1856, died November 23, 1910; married Sarah Frebolin; children: i. Herbert. ii. Erwin, died in 1918. 3. Francis O., of whom further. 4. Willoughby D., born April 8, 1861; married Rosa Diebert; child: i. Clarence E., born January 10, 1885; married Elizabeth Ringer. 5. Henry S. J., born October 30, 1864, died November 4, 1913; married, in 1889, Maggie Kuhns; children: i. Marcus. ii. Thomas. iii. Titus. iv. Robert. v. Dorothy. vi. Harold. vii. Anna. viii. Ruth. 6. Edwin, born August 6, 1869, died August 14, 1917; married Sarah Wuchter; children: i. Irma, born in 1898; married, February 25, 1915, Ray J. Spengler. ii. Verna, married Russell Miller. iii. Garnet, married Norman Dorsett. 7. Orville, born August 16, 1872; married, in 1894, Ida E. Peters, who was born December 11, 1874; children: i. Florence M., born March 28, 1896; married, August 24, 1921, Walter L. Bumgardner, superintendent of public schools of East Aurora, New York. ii. Beatrice E., born January 13, 1899; dean of Nursing School Temple University, Philadelphia. iii. Paul O., born April 17, 1902; lawyer in Washington, District of Columbia. iv. Russell W., born December 4, 1904; editor of a local paper, Stroudsburg. 8. Milton, born January 17, 1879; married Estella Effie Frey, born March 31, 1883; children: i. Dorothy Estella Rebecca, born December 7, 1905; teacher in public school, Palmerton, Pennsylvania. ii. Lester Elwood, born May 28, 1907. iii. Earl Milton, born September 12, 1908.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Dr. Francis O. Ritter, son of Thomas and Eliza (Schierer) Ritter, was born in Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, September 9, 1858, and died at Allentown, Pennsylvania, February 11, 1938. At the age of fifteen he was teaching a rural school. Later he attended Kutztown Normal School, now Kutztown State Teachers' College, and matriculating in 1878 in the Medical School of the University of Maryland, at Baltimore, he graduated with the class of 1881, and began his practice at New Tripoli, removing later to Schnecksville. He then took a special course at the University of Pennsylvania in nose, ear, eye and throat. In 1889 he again took up



J. O. Ritter



Carrie M. Ritter Michler

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the practice of medicine at Slatington, continuing until 1898, when he came to Allentown and later affiliated with the organizers of the Merchants National Bank. One of the original directors in 1903, he was elected cashier in 1908, which office he held until 1924, when he was chosen president and so remained until his retirement in December, 1935. He acted as chairman of the board until his death. Among his prized possessions were letters of commendation for his bank from bank examiners, the comptroller of the currency and the National City Bank of New York City. Formerly a member of St. John's Lutheran Church, Dr. Ritter became one of the organizers of Christ Lutheran Church and was always interested in its work. For twenty years he was a member of the executive board of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and was a delegate to the New York Convention for the merger of the United Lutheran Church. He was president of The Slatington Slate Company, and a member of Slatington Lodge, No. 440, Free and Accepted Masons, at the time of his death. Upon his death the Allentown "Morning Call" published a long editorial eulogizing him, which closed by saying:

It may be said that he was successful both in his profession and in business, and it can be further said that whatever he undertook he did well. His type is rare. He will stand out as a definite example to the younger business men who will have to guide the destinies of the city and country.

Dr. Francis O. Ritter married (first) Ellen Hunsicker, who died September 24, 1887. He married (second), August 28, 1890, Irene A. Kuntz. (Kuntz VI-A.) Child of first marriage: 1. Carrie M., graduated from the Allentown High School with honors, and the youngest member of her class; attended Irving College and Music Conservatory, being graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts; took a postgraduate course in elocution, receiving her Master of Arts degree; is a member of Liberty Bell Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and of the Allentown Delphian Study Club; married, at Allentown, March 27, 1913, Rev. Arthur T. Michler, a Lutheran minister, who served Holy Trinity congregation, Lebanon, Pennsylvania, four years; Incarnation, Philadelphia, three years; and Redeemer, Philadelphia, ten years, where he was pastor at the time

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of his death, May 7, 1927. Mrs. Michler is much interested in the affairs of Christ Church, especially the Woman's Missionary Society.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Kuntz Line)

The surname Kuntz, found in Germany in the fifteenth century, and in Switzerland during the Reformation, has come to be written in different ways in America, as Kuntz, Kuhns, Koons, Kountz, Coons, and Cuntz.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

Cuntz (Kuntz) Arms—Vert, a fess argent disjointed at the middle, one-half raised toward the chief, the other lowered toward the base, with their corners touching; two crescents or, one canton in the sinister chief and the other canton dexter base.
Crest—A woman issuant, hair in braids, dress quartered argent and vert, the arms replaced by wings.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

I. *John Jacob Kuntz*, son of John George and Anna Catherina (Miller) Kuntz, and immigrant ancestor of the line, was born February 16, 1692, at Niederbronn, Alsace. He arrived from Rotterdam, Holland, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the ship "Charming Nancy," November 9, 1738; his wife having died aboard ship. He settled in that part of Philadelphia County which later became Berks County. In the journal of the Proprietary Land Office dated March 3, 1739, is the entry "Hans Jacob Kuhns, rec'd in part for land at Colebrookdale, Five Pounds."

John Jacob Kuntz married (first), in 1719, Anna Margaretha Palsgraff, born September 22, 1695, and died at sea in 1738, daughter of John Jacob and Margaretha Palsgraff. He married (second), in 1742, Susanna Klein, born in 1711, daughter of John Jacob and Anna Catharina Klein, of Hangeweiber, Upper Alsace, where John Jacob Klein was a weaver. Children of first marriage: 1. Jacob. 2. Bernhard, of whom further. 3. Christina, married, in 1745, by Rev. Muhlenberg, in the Oley Mountains, to John Philip Stambach. 4. Mary Catharine. 5. Anna Barbara. 6. John George, died in 1766; married Elizabeth Margaret Newhard, of Whitehall Township.

(*Ibid.*)

II. *Bernhard Kuntz*, son of John Jacob and Anna Margaretha (Palsgraff) Kuntz, was born in Alsace, December 3, 1723, and came

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with his parents to America. He died July 14, 1807, aged eighty-three years, seven months and two weeks, and lies buried, along with his first and second wives and seven of his children at Indianland Churchyard, Lehigh Township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania. He is first mentioned at Whitehall on March 31, 1746, when John Frederick, his son, was baptized at Jordan Lutheran Church, Whitehall Township. He located in Lehigh Township, where he was assessed for £5 in 1761, and in 1768 was assessed with "50 acres of land, three horses, three cows, and Benninger's place."

Bernhard Kuntz left a will, dated January 8, 1806, and proved August 3, 1807, an abstract of which follows:

Bernard Kuntz, of Lehigh township, Northampton County and State of Pennsylvania, yeoman.

Item. All my clothing and whatsoever there be and remaining shall be equally shared and divided to and amongst my children. Property shall be sold by my executors at public vendue and money collected from said sale, shall be divided in equal shares, unto my children hereinafter named: Frederick, Phillip, George, Peter, Jacob, John, Daniel, Catharine, wife of John Sager and Barbara, widow of Henry Best.

Executors George and Jacob Kuntz.

BERNARD KUNTZ

(Signed in German.)

Bernhard Kuntz married, in the Oley Mountains, in 1745, the ceremony being performed by Rev. Muhlenberg, Anna Catharine Eberhardt. (Eberhardt II.) He married (second) Anna Oplinger, born at Schwartzena, Germany, in 1724, and died in Lehigh Township, December 28, 1804. Children of first marriage: 1. Frederick, born December 25, 1746 (tombstone record), or November 16, 1745 (church records), and died March 26, 1832; a farmer and a member of the militia in the Revolutionary War; married Barbara, surname unknown. 2. Philip, born April 1, 1747. 3. Anna Catharine, born July 14, 1749, died October 18, 1809; married John Saeger, born May 3, 1743, died February 7, 1820. 4. George, born April 1, 1751, died October 2, 1817. 5. Elizabeth Barbara, born March 18, 1753, baptized at the Blue Church in Upper Saucon Township, and died August 23, 1835; married, in 1771, Henry Best. 6. Adam,

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born April 17, 1755, died April 25, 1777. 7. Peter, born September 12, 1757, died December 16, 1846; married, in 1784, Barbara Reing. 8. Jacob, of whom further. 9. Bernhard, Jr., born August 2, 1763, died August 16, 1767. 10. John. 11. Daniel.

(*Ibid.* "Register of Wills, Easton, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, Will Book," Vol. IV, p. 282.)

III. Jacob Kuntz, son of Bernhard and Anna Catharine (Eberhardt) Kuntz, was born February 28, 1759, and died October 31, 1841. He and his brother, Peter, were confirmed by Rev. John Andrew Frederici in 1774, at Kreidersville Lutheran Church. Jacob was sent to New York City to school and received a good education. He lived in Lehigh Township, where he was a farmer and tanner as well as justice of the peace for Lynn and Towamensing townships, receiving his commission March 28, 1796. Both he and his wife are buried in Indianland Churchyard.

Jacob Kuntz appears on the muster roll of the 4th company, 4th battalion, Northampton County Militia, under "Fife and Drum," June 18, 1777, Captain John Homer, Colonel Michael Brobst.

Records in the Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, District of Columbia, disclose the following:

Jacob Kuntz, private in H. Fisher's company, Colonel N. Houseger's Pennsylvania German Regiment, Revolutionary War, appears in a book copied from the records of above organization. Date of enlistment July 27, 1777. Term of service; War. Discharged July 30, 1779.

This book appears to have been copied from the original records in the Office of Army Accounts under the Paymaster-General, U. S. A., who was authorized by Congress, July 4, 1783, "to settle and adjust all accounts."

Jacob Kuntz married Christina Mosser. (Mosser II.) Children: 1. John, born near Cherryville, September 25, 1790, died at Leighton, January 25, 1855; married Mary Snyder. 2. Joseph. 3. Jacob D., of whom further. 4. Daniel. 5. Susanna, married William Mosser. 6. Elizabeth, married Benjamin Smoyer. 7. Salome, married a Mr. Stewart. 8. Catharine, married Daniel Gross.

(*Ibid.* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. VIII, Series V, p. 232. Records of the Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, District of Columbia.)



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IV. Jacob D. Kuntz, son of Jacob and Christina (Mosser) Kuntz, was born May 6, 1797, and died February 11, 1847. He lived in North Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, and later removed to Heidelberg, now Washington Township, Lehigh County, in 1833. He operated the mill for years known as "Kuntz's Mill" and later as the "Oswald Mill." He and his family were members of Frieden's Lutheran Church and he served in various offices, being a member of the original building committee. He is buried in the old Lutheran Churchyard.

Jacob D. Kuntz married Rachel Butz. (Butz V.) Children: 1. William, died in infancy. 2. Thomas, born January 30, 1821, died May 31, 1895; married Rachel Benninger. 3. Tilghman, married Caroline Peters. 4. Moses. 5. Henry, of whom further. 6. Rev. David, of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, born December 7, 1832, died in December, 1918; married Eliza Mickley. 7. Lewis. 8. Elvina, married William Scherer. 9. Lucy, married Thomas Yundt. 10. Matilda, married William Miller.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Henry Kuntz, son of Jacob D. and Rachel (Butz) Kuntz, was born in Washington Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, September 9, 1830, and died at Slatington, Lehigh County, June 8, 1905, and was buried in the Union Cemetery at Slatington.

Henry Kuntz was reared on his father's farm, attending the local schools and later the academy near Coopersburg. After teaching and then clerking in a general store, about 1849, he took a trip to Philadelphia and then returned to Oldenwelders, Northampton County, where he opened a store of his own which promptly proved unsuccessful. He returned in 1850 to Slatington, where he began prospecting and opened his first slate quarry.

After forty-five years of long and varied experience in connection with seventeen quarries (involving heavy expenses and some failures), by dint of perseverance, close observation and study of the various deposits of slate material, he secured control of the choicest slate deposits.

The oldest and largest quarry, opened in 1846, known as the Franklin Quarry, came under his control in 1880. In addition to the

RITTER, KUNTZ AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Franklin Quarry, four other quarries were operated. The Old Washington Quarry, opened in 1848, the Washington-Bangor, the Mountain Quarry, the Lynnport Quarry and four of the largest and best equipped blackboard and general slate structural factories. The combined capacity of the quarries was from 25,000 to 30,000 squares of roofing slate and from 300,000 to 400,000 square feet of blackboards annually. This gave employment to as many as from 250 to 300 men. The remarkable success attending this enterprise is evidence of honorable dealing, thorough integrity, and reliable slate goods.

From January, 1884, he did business under the name of The Slatington Slate Company. On December 26, 1895, the company was incorporated and his immediate family admitted as members. This is still a major industry of eastern Pennsylvania. Aside from his many business cares he served as a justice of the peace for twenty-six consecutive years and, in 1892, was burgess of Slatington. His keen civic consciousness made him a benefactor to the community. He was as liberal with land donations when the town needed streets as he was with the care of the many men in his employ. St. John's Lutheran Church was his cherished interest, and when the new edifice was under construction, it was largely through the efforts of two members, of whom he was one, that it was dedicated free from debt. He was superintendent of the Sunday school for over fifteen years, and taught a large Bible class. He showed his interest in all local institutions which he considered of benefit to the community, and gave liberally to all local charities. He was a charter member of the Knights of Honor.

Henry Kuntz married (first), May 27, 1849, Violetta Kern, who died July 20, 1863, daughter of Jonas Kern, a miller of Slatington. He married (second), January 21, 1865, Elizabeth Boyer. (Boyer VI.) Children of first marriage: 1. Amanda Isabella, born December 3, 1849; attended public school and Freeland Seminary, Collegeville, Pennsylvania; married Henry A. Kline. 2. Zenia F., born March 4, 1851, died September 7, 1933; after public school she attended Freeland Seminary, Collegeville, Pennsylvania; she married W. W. Bowman. They had two sons: i. Raymond Bowman, who is an optician at Reading, Pennsylvania. ii. Rev. Charles B.



Amanda J. (Kuntz) Kline

Zenia F. (Kuntz) Bourman

Damielita L. (Kuntz) Kuntz

Kate A. (Kuntz) Grosh

Carrie V. (Kuntz) Sandt

Martha J. (Kuntz) Sandt

Irene A. (Kuntz) Ritter

Lillie M. (Kuntz) Costenbader

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Bowman, who is a professor of economics at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania. 3. Damietta, born December 18, 1853, died December 10, 1896; attended public school and married Dr. William H. Kuntz. 4. Catharine, born January 5, 1855, died February 27, 1935; she studied voice culture under an opera singer, Adel Leonard, and made the support of missionary students a philanthropic responsibility; married Walter Bushong Grosh. 5. Caroline V., born December 27, 1857, died June 30, 1933. She attended public school and Millersville Normal School and later educated a student for foreign missionary work; she married (first) Thomas H. Drake; (second) Rev. Charles M. Sandt. 6. Martha, born June 23, 1859, and died November 21, 1940; she was educated in public school and Millersville Normal School, and also supported foreign missionary students; married Rev. George W. Sandt. Children of second marriage: 7. Irene A., of whom further. 8. Lillie May, married S. Benjamin Costenbader, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI-A. Irene A. Kuntz, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Boyer) Kuntz, was born at Slatington, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, February 27, 1866. She was graduated from Wyoming Seminary and the following year studied at the New England Conservatory of Music, a piano pupil of Carl Farlton, a noted teacher of piano and theory of music under the eminent teacher Dr. Elson. While still a young woman she supervised the Sunday School music of her church and much of the church organ music. She is a life member of Liberty Bell Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and served as regent from 1915 to 1919. In 1917 she was elected Pennsylvania State Corresponding Secretary of this society, serving for five years. These offices made her work quite arduous during the period of the World War, as the requirements of the State headquarters were unusual and mandatory. She was also vice-chairman of the Lehigh County Branch of the Women's Committee, Pennsylvania Council of National Defense, and served on the Advisory Board of the Women's Division of the Liberty Loan Drive in Allentown. She is a member of the National Society of Patriotic Women of America; a charter and

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life member of the Society of Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century; of Margaret Nash Chapter of the Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania and of the Huguenot Society of Manakin, Virginia; an active member of the Valley Forge Historical Society, the Lehigh County Historical Society and the Flag Day Association; one of the organizers, a charter member and first vice-president of the Woman's Club of Allentown; in 1916, a charter member of the Allentown Delphian Study Club, and a sustaining member of the Young Women's Christian Association. She is a charter member of Christ Lutheran Church of Allentown, and a member of its societies, including the Sunday school and the Bible class, of which her nephew, Rev. Charles B. Bowman, is the instructor.

Irene A. Kuntz married Dr. Francis O. Ritter. (Ritter VI.)

(Records in possession of the family.)

VI-B. Lillie May Kuntz, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Boyer) Kuntz, was born at Slatington, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, July 19, 1868. She attended public school, studied at the Wyoming Seminary, and is a graduate, 1889, of the Neff School of Elocution and Oratory of Philadelphia, and is a dramatic reader as well as an artist. She is a writer of poems, some of which have been published in the "Book of Modern Poems." She is a member of Liberty Bell Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution; the Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania; the Women's Club of Slatington; St. John's Lutheran Church, and is an active Red Cross worker. "Victory Park," a memorial to the World War veterans of Slatington, was named by her.

Lillie May Kuntz married S. Benjamin Costenbader, son of William H. and Ella (Pitt) Costenbader. The Pitt family came from England and settled in Essex County, Virginia. Larkin Pitt, father of Ella Pitt, fought in the War of 1812. Her mother was Elizabeth Page.

William H. Costenbader was the son of Henry and Caroline (Koch) Costenbader. William H. Costenbader served in the War Between the States. The first seven days after his enlistment he was around Richmond, namely: Gaines Mill, one day; Mechanicsville, one day; Malvern Hill, one day; Cedar Mountain, one day; Second



The Lewis Historical Pub. Co.

Steel Engraving by M. J. Lane

Anne A. Ritter

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Manassas, three days; he was wounded at Ox Hill; was at Fredericksburg, three days; Wilderness, two days; Spotsylvania, one day; wounded at Hanover town; was at Funkstown or Falling Waters; and Warrenton Springs in a heavy skirmish.

The following is a list of officers under whom he served, the number of his company, etc.: He enlisted at Rappahannock in 1861; belonged to Company E, 55th Virginia Infantry, Captain J. B. Jett, afterward Jim Wharton, then William E. Baker; Colonel Mallory, of Rappahannock; Field's Brigade, afterwards Heath's, and then Walker's; A. P. Hill's Division, Stonewall Jackson's Corps, Robert E. Lee, commander-in-chief.

Mr. Costenbader was in prison at Point Lookout. While loading logs, used in building mess houses for the soldiers, he made his escape to the banks of the Potomac, where he found an old canoe, having only one oar, and with this he rowed across the Potomac and reached his family in safety in Westmoreland County. The authorities soon learned that he was at home with his family and again pressed him into active service. When his company went into the third days' fight at Gettysburg, his colonel told him to have a lookout for the colors and should the color bearer fall, he must see to it that the colors were brought off the field. The color bearer was shot, but this was not discovered until the main army had retreated a considerable distance; when Mr. Costenbader discovered that the color bearer had fallen, he went back alone to get the colors. When the Union soldiers saw him coming back for the flag, they began to cheer and shout. This made him angry, and he rammed the colors into the ground, faced the enemy and deliberately fired three volleys towards them, and then followed up the rest of the army. This was in Pickett's charge, and very few escaped being shot. On the second day at Gettysburg, he with six other men captured twenty-two Union soldiers in a barn. Mr. Costenbader was awarded the Southern Iron Cross of Honor for this deed. Children: 1. Frances Costenbader, who graduated from the Moravian Seminary with honors, and from the New England Conservatory of Music at Boston, Massachusetts. She received a Fellowship from Westminster Choir College, the home of the famous "Westminster Choir," and now as minister of music at

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Allison Methodist Episcopal Church, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, conducts the Woman's Choral Club of Dickinson College, Allison being the College Church. Frances Costenbader married Leslie A. Karper. 2. Elvin B. Costenbader, who is associated with his father in the management of their quarries. 3. Walter G. Costenbader, who studied in Paris for two years, and is an interior decorator at New York City. 4. Henry Costenbader, who died September 10, 1937, leaving three sons, Henry Larkin Costenbader, Jr., Frank Costenbader, and Richard Costenbader.

(Records in possession of the family.)

(The Boyer Line).

The Boyers are descendants of Beyers or Bayers of the Bavarian Rhine country. These names appear early on the records of both Germany and France. Many of them became Protestants and the following persecutions drove them to America.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

I. Andreas Beyer, with his four sons, emigrated from the Palatinate, Germany, and landed at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 5, 1738. He was naturalized at Philadelphia, March 25, 1749. The name of his wife has not been ascertained. Children: 1. John Philip, born in 1709. 2. John Jacob, of whom further. 3. Philip. 4. Martin.

(*Ibid.*)

II. John Jacob Beyer, son of Andreas Beyer, was born in the Palatinate, Germany, about 1716. He came to this country with his father in 1738 and later settled near Lehigh Gap, in Northampton, now Carbon County, where he took up land in 1755 and carried on farming. He erected a log blockhouse for protection against the Indians, but one day while working in the fields with his son Frederick, they were surprised by Indians. John Jacob Beyer was scalped and Frederick and two daughters were seized and carried away. Frederick was found, five years later, a prisoner of the French and Indians, and was exchanged and sent to Philadelphia and easily found his way back to Lehigh Gap. Of his sisters, little is known of Cathrina, who had reddish hair, but Dorothea was married to an Indian; and some years later visited her



PORTRAIT FROM ST. MEMIN SKETCH

Susanna (Uchrikam) Boyer

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brother with two Indian sons. The Indians idolized her and for years held stated ceremonies at her grave.

The name of the wife of John Jacob Beyer is not recorded. Children: 1. Dorothea. 2. Cathrina. 3. Frederick, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Frederick Boyer, as he spelled his name, son of John Jacob Beyer, was born in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, December 31, 1742, and died October 31, 1832. After his capture by the Indians and subsequent return to Philadelphia in an exchange of prisoners, he found his way to his old home, secured his father's land, and returned to farming.

Records in the "Pennsylvania Archives" show:

Frederick Boyer, private 6th class, Northampton Co. Pa. Militia, Captain Abraham Horn's Company, May 20, 1782.

friderich Boyer, private 6th class, Captain George Wolf's Company, Northampton Co. Militia, July 6, 1780.

Frederick Boyer married Susanna Mehrkam, who was born in 1750 and died June 6, 1815, having been "married 49 years," the daughter of Conrad Mehrkam, who was in the Revolutionary Army. An effort has been made to determine his Revolutionary record, but unsuccessfully, probably because his name was so misspelled by the clerks that it is impossible to recognize it. Susanna Mehrkam was noted for her beauty. Children: 1. George, born in 1768, died in 1861; married Christina Kline. 2. John Jacob, of whom further. 3. Henry, married Magdalena Strohl. 4. Andrew, married Mary Grunswieg or Greenawald. 5. Mary, married Joseph Buck. 6. Susan, married a Mr. Hess. 7. Elizabeth, married Leonard Beltz. 8. Catharine, married Andrew Zeigenfus. 9. A daughter, who married Peter Lenhart.

(*Ibid.* "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. VIII, Series V, pp. 129, 180.)

IV. John Jacob Boyer, son of Frederick and Susanna (Mehrkam) Boyer, was born November 4, 1780, and died July 8, 1872. He was a farmer of Lehigh County. John Jacob Boyer married, July 5, 1804, Elizabeth Schneider. (Kern-Schneider IV.) Children: 1.

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John A., of whom further. 2. Jacob. 3. Samuel. 4. Daniel. 5. David.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

V. John A. Boyer, son of John Jacob and Elizabeth (Schneider) Boyer, was born near Aquashicola, Pennsylvania, March 30, 1806, and died February 2, 1879. He was a man of activity and character and more than usual ability. For fifteen years he was justice of the peace. He was employed in the construction of the Lehigh Canal in 1827, and later became a successful merchant at Slatington.

John A. Boyer married, June 6, 1833, Elizabeth Christman, who was born November 10, 1809, and died February 18, 1890. The Christman pioneers hailed from Holland and settled in that part of Northampton County that later became Monroe County, prior to the Revolutionary War. Of the two brothers, one was captured by the Indians, but subsequently made his escape. A descendant of this family was David Christman, who owned much land in Monroe County and became a man of influence. He married Mary Andrew, and had three children: 1. Elizabeth, of our concern. 2. Catharine. 3. Thomas, who married Mary Smale, and had twelve children. Children of John A. and Elizabeth (Christman) Boyer: 1. Lavinia, married Robert Muschlitz. 2. Franklin. 3. Abel. 4. Edward. 5. Elizabeth, of whom further. 6. Mary, married Stephen Boyer. 7. Priscilla, married Samuel Kostenbader. 8. Matilda, married Alfred Klotz. 9. John. 10. Henry. 11. Levi. 12. James. 13. A son, died in infancy.

(*Ibid.* Roberts, Stoudt, Krick and Dietrick: "History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania," Vol. II, p. 183.)

VI. Elizabeth Boyer, daughter of John A. and Elizabeth (Christman) Boyer, was born at Aquashicola, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, September 23, 1838, and died at Slatington, Pennsylvania, June 3, 1895. She inherited the keen insight into human nature and the good judgment of her father, and became an outstanding figure in community affairs. She helped to organize and worked with all the societies of St. John's Lutheran Church. Well known for her welfare work, her charities were many, and the sick and needy found in her a helpful

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and sympathetic friend. Her husband found that he could rely on her judgment and throughout his career she aided and abetted him in the very successful conduct of his business affairs.

Elizabeth Boyer married, as his second wife, Henry Kuntz. (Kuntz V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Kern-Schneider Line)

I. *Nicholas Kern*, who died in 1749, emigrant ancestor of the line, sailed from Rotterdam, Holland, on the ship "Adventurer" and arrived at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 2, 1727. He is first mentioned in Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, September 23, 1734, when he and his wife were sponsors at the baptism of Peter Troxell. It is probable that he lived in Whitehall Township for some time before securing title to any land. His first application for a land warrant was December 3, 1735, for one hundred and fifty acres; second, February 24, 1737, for one hundred acres; and third, October 28, 1737, for fifty acres. The first and third warrants were surveyed on a branch of Lehigh Creek in Bucks County, and the second warrant was soon surveyed, as on February 27, 1739, Nicholas Kern and his wife, Maria Margaret, sold these tracts. Nicholas and Maria Margaret Kern appear as sponsors of baptisms in the records of Egypt Reformed Church in 1736, 1739, 1740 and 1741. After 1741 no further mention is found of Nicholas Kern in Whitehall Township and it is probable that he removed to his new five hundred-acre tract near Lehigh County and began to improve the land. He was naturalized April 10, 1742. "Warriors Run," used continually by Indians, passed the house and mills of Nicholas Kern. Wigwams were located only one hundred and fifty feet from the gristmill. The Indians were very friendly with the Kerns. A gristmill and a sawmill were erected and operated by himself and his sons and, according to his will, were to be continued until the youngest son was of age. Kerns Mills became an important point, not only as a source of supply for much needed flour and lumber, but from a military point of view, as the route through there commanded the connecting roads between Albany township on the west, to Nazareth, Bethlehem and Easton on the east and Forts Lehigh and Allen on the north. During the Indian uprising

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it was necessary to have a squad of military men stationed there continually. (Recorded in "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. XIII, pp. 618-742.) The village soon added two more stores, a "post," and was called Kernsport.

His will, probated May 11, 1749, was in German, and one of the first recorded by an inhabitant of this section. It was translated into English, September 18, 1749, and entered at Philadelphia in "Will Book I," page 120. In it he lists all his children and names his "wife Maria Margaretha and Jacob Farber to be guardians of my children and executors of all my estate." Nicholas Kern married Maria Margaretha, whose surname is not of record. Children: 1. Henry. 2. Frederick. 3. Cornelia. 4. William, of whom further. 5. Nicholas. 6. John. 7. George. 8. Lorentz. 9. Maria Barbara.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. William Kern, son of Nicholas and Maria Margaretha Kern, was born in 1725 and died at Stemlersville, near Lehigh Gap, Lehigh County, August 18, 1800. He is buried at Unionville, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. In 1762 he was taxed for £20; in 1763 he was tax collector, and taxed £24, of which £14 was abated. In 1764 he was taxed £6 on 260 acres and in 1782 £2 8s. on forty acres of cultivated and two hundred acres of uncultivated land, a gristmill, three horses and three cows. In the "Pennsylvania Archives" appears the following record:

William Kern, Sr., private in Conrad *Ritter's* Company, Northampton Co. Pa. Militia, fifth class, 1778.

William Kern Jr. and Sr., in Captain *Rader's* fifth company, 6th battalion, Northampton Co. Pa. Associators and Militia, second and fifth classes respectively.

Benjamin Franklin ordered the necessary lumber for the building for Fort Allen from "W^m Kerns truckers," which he delivered at what is now Weissport, Pennsylvania, according to Benjamin Franklin's letter of January 25, 1756. William Kern also conveyed provisions to the different forts and used his own house as a fort, called "Captain Nicholas Wetherhold's station, south of Lehigh Gap, at Kern's Mill." In later years he also kept a tavern at his house. Up to this time the

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government of Pennsylvania had been in the hands of various committees, and on May 15, 1776, Congress recommended a government which in the opinion of representative people would be best for the conduct of the happiness and safety of the people. William Kern, on May 3, 1776, at Easton, Pennsylvania, was elected a member of the general committee for the purpose of holding a Provincial Conference that men might be selected from the district to convene with those of other districts and frame a new government. The conference was held at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, June 18 to June 27, 1776.

William Kern married twice, but the name of his first wife, whom he married about 1745, is not of record. He married (second) Maria Salome. Children, order of birth not certain: 1. William, Jr., born January 16, 1751; married Maria Wert. 2. Elizabeth Catharine, of whom further. 3. Christopher, married Susanna Bauman. 4. Jacob. 5. George. 6. Nicholas, born October 2, 1773. 7. Salome. 8. Juliana. 9. John, born November 2, 1777; married Magdalene Peters.

(*Ibid.* "Pennsylvania Archives," Series V, pp. 234, 510.)

III. Elizabeth Catharine Kern, daughter of William Kern and his first wife, was born October 3, 1764, and died July 8, 1842. She married Jonas Schneider, who was born June 24, 1755, and died October 17, 1828, a native of Lehigh County. A daughter was Elizabeth, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. Elizabeth Schneider, daughter of Jonas and Elizabeth Catharine (Kern) Schneider, was born in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, September 13, 1784, and died May 9, 1852. She married John Boyer. (Boyer IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Butz Line)

I. John Butz, founder of the line in Pennsylvania, landed at Philadelphia, November 9, 1738. According to the family Bible he was a native of Hertzogberg, near Kromanenberg, in the lower part of

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Bavaria. The name of his wife is not of record. Children: 1. Peter, of whom further. 2. Catharine.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. *Peter Butz*, son of John Butz, was born in Bavaria in 1718 and died at Longswamp, Berks County, Pennsylvania, March 18, 1780. Soon after his arrival at Philadelphia he removed to Longswamp, locating near Topton until 1760, when he purchased and removed to a farm of 236 acres in what is now known as Lower Macungie Valley, and because of the number of the farms held by his descendants is now frequently referred to as "Butz's Valley." He was one of the organizers of the Longswamp Reformed Church in 1748.

Peter Butz married, October 22, 1743, Anna Barbara Carl or Carlin, the latter being the feminine form of the name, who was born in Hessen-Nassau, Germany, November 26, 1718, and died March 6, 1795, being buried at Longswamp. She was a sister of Dewald or Theobald Carl, who sailed to Philadelphia on "Robert and Alice," and took the oath of allegiance, September 3, 1739. The list of women on the ship has not been preserved, but it is very probable that his sister, Anna Barbara, accompanied him. Theobald Carl settled at Longswamp and raised a family. He was one of the contributors to Longswamp church. When he made his will, probated February 3, 1800, Samuel Butz, a son of his sister, was named one of the executors. The family Bible, in possession of Dr. M. L. Bertolet, of Mt. Penn, Pennsylvania, a descendant, opens the family register thus:

Oct. 22, 1743. I, Peter Butz and Anna Barbara Carlin entered the state of matrimony. God grant His blessings that we may dwell in peace and attain eternal life.

Children: 1. Mary, baptized October 16, 1744; married (first) Christian Miller (Miller I, Child 1); (second) a Mr. Schwartz. 2. Catharine, baptized April 19, 1746; married a Mr. Romig. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Samuel, baptized August 10, 1750. 5. Peter, baptized April 8, 1754. 6. Elizabeth, baptized April 13, 1758, died in infancy. 7. Elizabeth (again), baptized June 22, 1761.

(*Ibid.*, citing records in possession of the Berks County Historical Society. Roberts, Stouidt, Krick and Dietrick: "History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania," Vol. II, p. 171.)

CARL

Arms—Sable, an old man issuant habited or, emerging from a mound with three summits vert, holding an iron mace resting on his dexter shoulder.

Crest—Two elephants' trunks coupé or and sable.
(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

EBERHART (EBERHARDT)

Arms—Azure, a wild boar rampant or, on a mound with three summits vert, a bordure or.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

KERN

Arms—Gules, three ears of corn stripped, or, on a mound, vert, between two mullets of the second.

Crest—A man issuant, habited gules, bordered or, with neck-band of the same, holding in his right hand the three ears of corn, the left hand resting on his hip.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

MOSSER

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, azure a lion or, crowned of the same, the one in the first quarter contournée; 2d and 3d, gules three reeds proper upon a mount argent.

Crest—A lion issuant affrontée or crowned of the same, holding in each paw a reed proper.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

BUTZ

Arms—Or, a sinister arm, armored azure, issuant from the side holding in the hand proper, a halberd of the second.

Crest—A sinister arm embowed in armor azure, without the halberd.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

KEISER

Arms—Or, three crosses pattée sable.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

HERTZ

Arms—Azure, on a heart or a dove argent, holding in its beak a stem bearing two acorns stripped or.

Crest—An angel issuant, habited argent, wreathed or, neck-band of the same, holding in the sinister hand a dove argent.

(Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Symbolic:

CARL

The shield of black signifies constancy. Green stands for hope and joy, and gold for generosity. The human figure is used a great deal in continental heraldry with just what special symbolism it is hard to say. Possibly the old man with the iron mace, which would naturally be heavy, has a meaning similar to the elephants' trunks, which symbolize great strength and ability.

EBERHART (EBERHARDT)

The shield of blue stands for loyalty and truth. Green signifies hope and joy, and gold, generosity and trustworthiness. The boar is the emblem of a fierce and utterly fearless nature, while the bordure generally serves as a difference to distinguish between various branches of a family.

KERN

The shield of red denotes military valor and courage. Gold signifies generosity, and green hope and joy. The ears of corn or grain denote hospitality and plenty and mullets indicate superior qualities of virtue, learning and piety. The man of the crest with the three ears of corn probably symbolizes the hospitality of the bearer toward those in need.

MOSSER

A quarterly shield generally shows the arms of two families united by marriage. The blue field stands for loyalty and truth, and the golden lion for a brave, resourceful and generous warrior. The red field signifies prowess and courage along military lines, and the reeds issuing from the mount may perhaps depict the good which grows from just and honest dealings. The lion holding aloft the reeds doubtless furthers this idea.

BUTZ

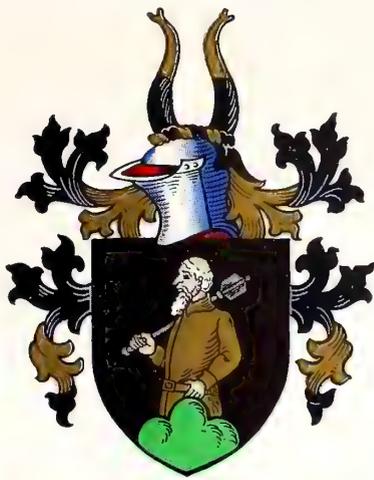
The shield of gold stands for generosity. Blue denotes loyalty and truth. The arm in armor holding the halberd may perhaps portray the bearer as one who ever upholds and lends his strength and resources to his chosen cause. The crest has the same meaning, the halberd being omitted to give variety.

KEISER

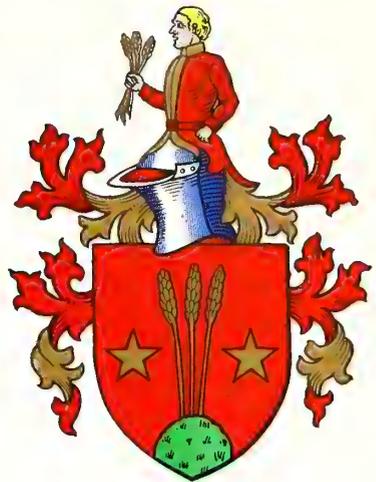
The shield of gold signifies generosity and trust. Black stands for constancy. The cross in all its forms indicates a Crusader bearer, one of the countless thousands who dared all the dangers of a journey to the Holy Land for a cause they believed right.

HERTZ

The shield of blue stands for loyalty and truth. Gold signifies generosity and silver stands for purity and justice. The dove standing on the heart with the branch of acorns may possibly symbolize one who proved to be staunch and true, and a bearer of good tidings. The angel probably has a very similar meaning, and possibly there is intended the idea that the bearer guided his people to better things.



Carl



Kern



Mosser



Keiser



Hertz



Eberhart
(Eberhardt)



Butz

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III. John (1) Butz, son of Peter and Anna Barbara (Carlin) Butz, was born November 20, 1747, and died January 7, 1827. He lived on the homestead in Lower Macungie Valley and was a blacksmith by trade. When the second Longswamp church was built, in 1780, he forged many of the nails that were used.

In the "Pennsylvania Archives" appears the following record:

John Butz, private in Captain Adam Serfoos' Company, Northampton Co. Pa. Militia, payroll dated September 22, 1781.

John Butz, additional pay for State Bounty, September 22, 1781.

John (1) Butz married Maria Elizabeth Miller. (Miller II.) Children: 1. Barbara, born January 10, 1769, died December 30, 1851; married Jacob Breming. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Peter, born March 22, 1773, died April 10, 1847; married, December 25, 1804, Elizabeth Schmoyer. 4. Abraham, born April 26, 1776, died December 10, 1826; married Esther Egner.

("Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. VIII, Series V, pp. 594, 599. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. John (2) Butz, son of John (1) and Maria Elizabeth (Miller) Butz, was born November 6, 1771, and died February 15, 1839. He lived on a farm adjoining the old homestead in Butz's or Lower Macungie Valley.

John (2) Butz married, March 10, 1794, Maria Catharine Schmoyer. (Schmoyer III.) Children: 1. Mary, born June 28, 1795, died April 7, 1825; married, as his first wife, George Ludwig. 2. Rachel, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, married George Schlicher. 4. Catharine, born June 10, 1803, died February 22, 1829; married, as his second wife, George Ludwig. 5. Reuben, born August 1, 1806, died October 12, 1860. 6. James, born April 11, 1815, died May 29, 1881; married Mary Butz.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

V. Rachel Butz, daughter of John (2) and Maria Catharine (Schmoyer) Butz, was born February 28, 1800, and died November 14, 1884. She married Jacob D. Kuntz. (Kuntz IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

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(The Schmoyer Line)

The Schmoyer family are from the Palatinate of Germany. The name has been variously spelled in Pennsylvania as Schmeier, Schmeier, Schmoyer, Schmyer and Smoyer.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

I. Philip Schmyer, ancestor of the line, with his wife, Maria, and children, Johann and Elizabeth, came from either Zweibrücken or Mannheim, in the Palatinate of Germany, in the brigantine "Pennsylvania Merchant," of London, John Stedman, master, to Philadelphia, arriving September 18, 1773. On December 3, 1735, he was granted a land-warrant for two hundred acres of land in Macungie Township, Bucks County, stating therein "whereon he has been about two years settled." A patent deed for this land, called "Schmeyerhausen," was granted to his son, Daniel, March 9, 1789. Philip Schmyer was naturalized, at Philadelphia, April 11, 1743. The date of his death is not known, but it must have occurred before 1775, when his sons, Daniel and Christian, were noted as stepsons of William Figel (Fegley).

Philip Schmyer married, in Germany, Maria, whose surname is not of record. Children, first two born in Germany, the others in Bucks County, Pennsylvania: 1. Johann. 2. Elizabeth. 3. Peter. 4. Daniel, of whom further. 5. Christian, born in 1741, died May 10, 1761. 6. Anna Margaretha. 7. Michael. 8. John Philip.

(*Ibid.*)

II. Daniel Schmeier, as he spelled his name, son of Philip and Maria Schmyer, was born on the family farm in Macungie Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about 1738 and died in 1812. He was a blacksmith by trade, residing along the road from Trexlertown to Macungie, and his shop stood in the meadows at the iron bridge across the Little Lehigh River. He dealt in real estate, and from 1799 to 1801 held a license for an apple-jack distillery, paying a duty of six cents a gallon. In 1784 he was a member of the building committee for the Second Lutheran Church of Lehigh. During the Revolution he served in the militia of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, and in 1780 he became a member of the Deutschen Gesellschaft of Pennsylvania.

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Daniel Schmeier married (first) Elisabeth Scherer; (second) Catharine Barbara Keiser, who was born September 3, 1756, and died June 9, 1843. Children of first marriage: 1. Daniel. 2. Philip. Children of second marriage: 3. Maria Catharine, of whom further. 4. John, born July 20, 1779; married Sarah Weitzel. 5. Peter, married (first) Maria Barbara Moser; (second) Maria Lick. 6. Elizabeth, born November 18, 1785; married Peter Butz. 7. Solomon, born April 25, 1788; married Catherine Schmeier, daughter of Jacob Schmeier. 8. Sarah or Salome, married John Heist. 9. Susanna, married Dewald Albrecht. 10. Benjamin. 11. Joshua, born March 24, 1796; married Dinah Trexler. 12. James, born January 14, 1801; went to Ohio; married Miss Jacoby.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Maria Catharine Schmoyer*, as she spelled her name, daughter of Daniel and Catharine Barbara (Keiser) Schmeier, was born in Macungie Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, June 20 or 25, 1776, and died in Lower Macungie Valley, Lehigh County, May 14, 1859. She married John Butz. (Butz IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Miller Line)

Miller, as a surname, derives from the occupation which has given rise to other forms of the name such as Milner, Milne, Mills, Milman and Milward.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. *Christian Miller*, the immigrant ancestor of the line, was born in Switzerland about 1706 and died in Lynn Township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, about 1785. He first settled in Longswamp Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, but soon removed to Lynn Township, from which he was driven during the French and Indian War, by the savage Indians, when he returned to Berks County. However, he later returned to Lynn Township and settled upon his land which he had taken up by warrant in 1749, 1750 and 1767, 208 acres in all, and he later added other tracts. In 1765 he took the oath of allegiance as a foreign Protestant, having then been in the Province at least seven years.

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On May 20, 1768, he was of Longswamp Township when he and his wife, Barbara, deeded land to Valentine Tickenshit, which had been granted to him under date of December 14, 1762, by Thomas Penn and Richard Penn. This was located in Upper Milford Township, Northampton County. Although he removed to Lynn Township he must have retained property in Longswamp Township, since he was taxed there in 1770, 1774-75, 1779, 1780, 1784 and 1785, when he disappears from the lists. The fact that he is not found after 1785 strengthens the family tradition that he died about that time.

Christian Miller married Barbara, whose surname is not known. It is said that they were married in Longswamp Township. The marriage must have taken place before 1745, for in that year we find record of the baptism of a child at Jordan's Lutheran and Reformed Church, South Whitehall Township, Lehigh (then Northampton) County, Pennsylvania. Children: 1. Christian, born January 6, 1741, died in 1778; married Maria or Mary Butz. (Butz I, Child 1.) 2. Andrew. 3. Anna Margaretha, "little daughter," born November 1, 1745, baptized December 28, 1745. 4. Maria Elizabeth, of whom further.

(C. R. Roberts: "History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, and a Genealogical and Biographical Record of Its Families," Vol. III, pp. 894, 896. Church Register Collections in the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania. "Publications of the Huguenot Society, London," Vol. XXIV, p. 117. "Northampton County, Pennsylvania, Deed Book," B 1, p. 163. "Records of Jordan's Lutheran and Reformed Church," p. 7. "Pennsylvania Archives," 3d Series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 244, 375, 633, 761. "Berks County, Pennsylvania, Tax Lists, 1754-1790," pp. 278, 336, 389, 461. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Maria Elizabeth Miller, daughter of Christian and Barbara Miller, was born January 4, 1747, and died February 12, 1827. She married John Butz. (Butz III.)

(The Mosser Line)

I. John Mosser, the first of the line to be of record, was born April 16, 1741, and died October 11, 1810. He is probably identical with the John Mosser who first appears in the 1772 tax lists for White-

RITTER, KUNTZ AND ALLIED FAMILIES

hall Township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania. On December 3, 1790, John *Moser*, of Northampton County, yeoman, mortgaged land in Whitehall Township to Samuel Morris, of Philadelphia. His signature on this instrument appears as "Hannes," a contraction of Johannes. On March 1, 1802, John *Moser*, of Whitehall Township, yeoman, and his wife Elizabeth, deeded land to Jacob Kuntz, of Lehigh Township, Northampton County. This was the same tract of land that figured in the transaction with Samuel Morris and consisted of "56 acres 6 perches."

John Mosser served in the Revolutionary War and first appears on a roll of the 2d Company, 2d Battalion, Northampton County Militia, dated May 21, 1777. In a muster roll dated May 14, 1778, his name is given with the rank of first lieutenant of the same company and battalion, commanded by Colonel George Breinig and Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Balliet. From November 1, 1781, to January 1, 1782, he served with the rank of lieutenant in the 7th Company of the 1st Battalion commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Balliet.

John Mosser married Elizabeth Acker. (Acker II.) A daughter was Christina, of whom further.

("Pennsylvania Archives," 3d Series, Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 127; 5th Series, Vol. VIII, pp. 58, 102, 105. "Northampton County, Pennsylvania, Deed Book," E 1, p. 642; G 2, p. 310. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Christina Mosser, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Acker) Mosser, was born June 1, 1764, and died August 8, 1836. She married Jacob Kuntz. (Kuntz III.)

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Acker Line)

I. Philip Jacob Acker, the American progenitor of this line, was born in Germany in 1696 and landed at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 25, 1732, from the ship "Loyal Judith," with his brother, Henry Acker. At that time he was thirty-six years of age. He settled in the district which at that time was called Macungie in Bucks County, now Upper Macungie Township, Lehigh County, about six miles west of Allentown, on what was later known as the Koch farm.

RITTER, KUNTZ AND ALLIED FAMILIES

He was naturalized at the session of the Supreme Court at Philadelphia on September 27, 1743, and in 1745 he was one of the organizers of the Ziegel Church, located in Weisenburg Township. On March 30, 1757, David Schultze surveyed land for Philip Jacob Acker in Macungie, and on January 11, 1759, Philip Jacob Acker was granted land adjoining his other land in Macungie Township. In 1762 he was assessed £10.

Philip Jacob Acker married Anna Maria, whose surname is not of record. Children: 1. Jacob, born July 25, 1736. 2. Elizabeth, of whom further.

(“Pennsylvania German Pioneers,” Vol. I, pp. 87-88. C. R. Roberts: “History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, and a Genealogical and Biographical Record of Its Families,” Vol. II, p. 1. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Elizabeth Acker, daughter of Philip Jacob and Anna Maria Acker, was born April 7, 1743, and died February 5, 1808. She married John Mosser. (Mosser I.)

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Eberhardt Line)

I. Frederick Eberhardt, the first of the line to be of record, was born about 1712 and died in 1792. He was a resident of Penn Township, Northumberland (now Carbon) County, Pennsylvania, and appears there as late as 1785, when he is listed as having one hundred acres of land and one horse. He married, but the name of his wife is not known. A daughter was Anna Catharine, of whom further.

(“Pennsylvania Archives,” 3d Series, Vol. XIX, p. 601. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Anna Catharine Eberhardt, daughter of Frederick Eberhardt, was born in 1730 and died September 17, 1780. She married Bernhard Kuntz. (Kuntz II.)

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)



Chas A Mangold

Mangold and Allied Families

BY J. C. FOX, DALLAS, TEXAS

I



ANDREAS MANGOLD was born about 1590. He married Catharina. Child: 1. Henn, of whom further.

(Parish Registers at Buchenau and Neukirchen, both Kreis Hünfeld, Germany.)

II. Henn Mangold, son of Andreas and Catharina Mangold, was born at Neukirchen, Kreis Hünfeld, Germany, about 1620. He was a tailor.

Henn Mangold married Elbabeth (Elb), who was from Wüstfeld. Child: 1. Matthias, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Matthias Mangold, son of Henn and Elbabeth Mangold, was born February 2, 1655, and died at Neukirchen, Kreis Hünfeld, Germany, September 27, 1733. He married, in January, 1685, but the name of his wife is not known. He most probably was the father of: 1. Johann Georg (1), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Johann Georg (1) Mangold, most probably a son of Matthias Mangold, was born about 1699 and died March 20, 1775. He married, April 30, 1726, Anna Barbara Eisenbach. Child: 1. Johann Georg (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Johann Georg (2) Mangold, son of Johann Georg (1) and Anna Barbara (Eisenbach) Mangold, was born October 17, 1734, and died at Neukirchen, Kreis Hünfeld, Germany, July 17, 1796. His trade was that of a shoemaker. Johann Georg (2) Mangold married, May 10, 1763, Anna Maria Feller. Child: 1. Johannes, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

MANGOLD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VI. Johannes Mangold, son of Johann Georg (2) and Anna Maria (Feller) Mangold, was born at Neukirchen, Kreis Hünfeld, Germany, January 20, 1764. He was a shoemaker.

Johannes Mangold married Dorothea Elisabetha Quanz. Child: 1. Johann Adam, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Johann Adam Mangold, son of Johannes and Dorothea Elisabetha (Quanz) Mangold, was born August 26, 1796, baptized at Buchenau, Kreis Hünfeld, Germany, August 27, 1796, and died in 1846. He was a shoemaker.

Johann Adam Mangold married Catharina Elisabetha Schüttrumpf, who was from Holzheim. Child: 1. Adam, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Adam Mangold, son of Johann Adam and Catharina Elisabetha (Schüttrumpf) Mangold, was born in Buchenau, Kreis Hünfeld, in the Electorate of Hesse, Germany, May 30, 1826, was baptized June 4, 1826, and died in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 1, 1886. Landing in New York City on November 15, 1848, he immediately left for Cincinnati, Ohio, where he arrived November 22, and where he continued to make his home until his death. He found work in a brewery on Main Street, where he introduced the brewing of "lager beer," being the first person to brew this type of beer in Cincinnati. Later, he founded a produce business on Fifth Street, Cincinnati, which he operated four years, removing then, on June 14, 1863, to Hunt Street, north of Liberty Street, where he established a grocery business. This he continued to operate very successfully until his death. Though he came to this country with little means, his industry, ability and enterprise brought him great success and gained him a position of importance and influence in the community. He was one of the charter members of Jefferson Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows and, at the time of his death, was one of the oldest members of the German Pioneers Society of Cincinnati.

Adam Mangold married, September 25, 1858, Margaret Zittel, born in the Palatinate, Germany, January 9, 1834, died in Cincinnati,

MANGOLD AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Ohio, at the age of eighty-seven years. Among their children was:
1. Charles Adam, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IX. Charles Adam Mangold, son of Adam and Margaret (Zittel) Mangold, was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 31, 1860. It was his native State, Ohio, that gave Charles Adam Mangold his "book" education, and his father, a man of large interests and affairs, his practical training. He was connected with the liquor business in the earlier days and traveled in the North extensively as a salesman for fourteen years out of Lexington, Kentucky. He came to Dallas in 1885 and established the firm of Swope & Mangold, which was continued for about thirty years thereafter. During this period, it acted as distributors of the world's finest liquors, imported and domestic, in the Southwest.

This short paragraph, while stating certain facts, gives none of the color and interest of the early phases of Mr. Mangold's career. His education was gained while he did odd jobs about the wholesale liquor establishment of Strauss, Pritz & Company. He worked days and attended night school. He also paid an instructor out of his sparse earnings to teach him arithmetic and bookkeeping. At nineteen years of age he was journeying through the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky, and the tale of his adventures there would fill a good-sized book. Although it is a difficult task to win the confidence of the mountaineers, he had their respect and was successful in his purpose. At one time he traveled over all Europe as the private secretary of Mr. Strauss, a member of the firm. Later, he was sent to the Southwest to open new distributing points, and remained in Dallas, Texas, because he believed in its future development.

It is impossible to tell in detail the business activities of Mr. Mangold during his nearly fifty years in Dallas. He refused many more financial opportunities than he ever accepted; he had not the time to accept. He organized the Morten Investment Company in 1916. He built, in 1917, the Jefferson Hotel, the first skyscraper which greets the eye of the visitor to Dallas by rail. It cost originally more than half a million dollars, and by 1921 it represented an investment

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of \$1,500,000. He served as its vice-president and general manager until 1929, when he accepted the presidency of the organization. Profits of the Jefferson Hotel were reinvested in other hotels and apartments in Dallas, thus giving employment to citizens of the city in accordance with Mr. Mangold's principle of keeping Dallas people at work. In 1929 he also built Cliff Towers, and he was president of the company from the beginning. He owned numerous other hotel and apartment properties, and a ranch near Wichita Falls.

Mr. Mangold was one of the first men to dream of "a city west of the river," when Dallas was only a straggling village and Oak Cliff was a wilderness of rocks and trees. Along with T. L. Marsalis and other pioneers he helped make the original plans for the laying out of the first streets and the building of the first small group of houses in that section. Later, when Oak Cliff had become an independent city, he organized and for many years owned and managed Lake Cliff Park. He made it one of the show places of the Southwest. He built and managed the old Oak Cliff Casino and there staged early dramatic performances presented in Dallas. He brought to this city the big names in the show world at the turn of the century.

In 1910, Mr. Mangold started the movement for a viaduct between Oak Cliff and Dallas. His critics said that such a bridge would cost more than the citizens could ever pay, that it would fall as a result of its own weight, and that it would be so high that no one would dare use it. Undaunted, Mr. Mangold continued his crusade and was finally successful in seeing built between the two parts of the city what was then the longest concrete viaduct in the world.

However devoted to business and finance, Mr. Mangold was motivated by a strong sense of stewardship which manifested itself in a marked devotion to enterprises of a public character. He helped the Texas State Fair in its infancy and had the oversight of many of its concessions in the early days. He was a vice-president of the fair in 1903 and 1904, and general manager of the racing department, and about the only man to make it pay. He loved well-bred horses and his own "turnouts were about the finest in the State." Mr. Mangold was also president of the State Saengerfest in 1904, and again in 1914, and was responsible for bringing Marcella Sembrich to Dal-

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las for a State meeting held there. He was the organizer of the Grand Order of Caliphs, a local organization, which fostered a celebration something like Mardi Gras, and which was active in the late nineties. Always a believer in parks for large cities, he aided in organizing Dallas' first park board and as a member laid the basis for the present system. In 1929 he made a gift of the lot on which the Oak Cliff Little Theatre was established. His donations to all worthy causes were liberal, and he will be long remembered for his generous support of humanitarian, philanthropic and cultural projects.

In addition to his connection with the Grand Order of Caliphs, Mr. Mangold was active in other fraternal and social organizations, particularly where their activities included civic endeavor. He helped organize and was one of the early presidents of the Oak Cliff-Dallas Commercial Association. He was a member of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, the Knights of Pythias, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Fraternal Order of Eagles, the Sons of Hermann and the Travelers' Protective Association. He served as Exalted Ruler of the Dallas Elks Lodge and as District Deputy Grand Exalted Ruler of this order. In 1928-29 he served as president of the Texas Elks State Association, and at the expiration of his term was presented with a gold medal as a memorial of his tenure of office. Wilford B. Smith, editor of "The Elks Bulletin," the official organ of Dallas Lodge, No. 71, was designated to make the presentation speech, and reported on this occasion in "The Elks Bulletin" as follows:

It was an easy obligation to fulfill on the part of this writer. Brother Charley Mangold is an easy subject to talk upon. He has so many admirable qualities and his service in the ranks of Elkdom has been so active and so useful through so many years. Brother Mangold accepted the gift in his characteristic manner of grace and modesty, responding in a brief address to the Lodge with expressions of his appreciation of the honor and his affection for our great fraternity.

He was a past president of the Dallas Hotel Association and the Texas Hotel Association. In 1930 he was international president of the Hotel Greeters of America. He was also an honorary member of the American Legion and the Veterans of the Spanish-American

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War. An extensive traveler, Mr. Mangold had friends and admirers all over the United States and Europe and kept in touch with many of them until the last. One of his great hobbies was baseball. He was one of the most enthusiastic baseball fans in Dallas and for many years rented a box at the local ball park by the year. Not only did he greatly enjoy seeing the local games, but he was especially interested in keeping his own score card which he liked to compare after each game with the official scorekeeper's record.

Charles Adam Mangold married, at Hermann, Missouri, April 23, 1889, Anna Honeck, daughter of Henry and Maria Louisa (Weber) Honeck, both members of fine German families. (Weber VI.) Children: 1. Lawrence William, born at Dallas, Texas, July 25, 1890. He was educated in the city grade and high schools, and attended St. Matthew's Cathedral, a parochial institution, for three years, and completed a course at a local business college. He began his active career as a teller for the First National Bank of Dallas, with which he remained for two years. Then, after serving for a time as bookkeeper and paymaster for the Trinity Portland Cement Company, he went to Chicago for two years of experience as manager of an apartment hotel, preparatory to joining his father as assistant general manager of the Jefferson Hotel in Dallas. Just at the time when he was becoming used to his new duties at Dallas, the United States entered the World War. He enlisted and was sent to San Antonio for training, but the day before his company was ordered to sail, he injured his ankle and was forced to remain in camp. Subsequently he was transferred to the commissary department with the rank of sergeant and served in that capacity overseas. He was abroad for eighteen months, participating in four major campaigns and in many of the principal battles of the American Expeditionary Forces, including those in the Argonne and at Belleau Woods. After the Armistice he served with the Army of Occupation in Germany for one year before receiving his honorable discharge. On his return to the pursuits of peace he became chief assistant to his father in operating the numerous Mangold enterprises and, because of his father's ill health in the last five years of his life, assumed the full responsibility for their management. He is now manager of the Jef-



Steel Engraving by M. J. Conn.

Mrs. Anna Mangold

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erson Hotel and the Morten Investment Company, and a member of the Apartment Hotel Owners Association, the Hotel Greeters Association and the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. He is fond of baseball and hunting, which are his principal diversions. He married Mrs. Ella Dillworth, who has one daughter, Anna Belle, by her first marriage. 2. Irma Margareth, born at Dallas, February 15, 1893, was graduated from Dallas High School and from Mrs. Cocke's School of Expression. She has been interested throughout her life in the theatre, taking part at first in amateur theatricals, but after only two years of experience, joined the professional company at the Casino in Oak Cliff Park, the Little Theatre Guild of today. She has always played leading rôles, including those in "The Swan," "The Dybbuk," "Jeanne d'Arc" and others. Although she has been in ill health for some time, and is now recuperating in California, she intends to resume her career in the theatre if she recovers sufficiently to do so. She married, but has resumed her maiden name and has one son: i. Charles Adam Mangold, III, born at Dallas, Texas, July 12, 1919; attended Oak Cliff High School, where he was a member of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps; he is much interested in mechanical engineering, especially aviation, and is said by friends of the family to show many of his grandfather's characteristics. 3. Charles (Carl) Adam, Jr., born at Dallas, Texas, February 17, 1900. He was educated in the Dallas Public School, Mrs. Morgan's Private School, and Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. He enlisted from college soon after the World War had begun, attending officers' training school at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, and was transferred later to Camp MacArthur, Waco, Texas, and was stationed there when the Armistice was signed. After receiving his honorable discharge he returned home and attended business college, later accepting a position with Smith Ice Cream factory. Some months later he resigned from this position to assist his father in the building of the annex to the Jefferson Hotel. He was made bookkeeper and paymaster of the construction work, and when the annex was completed he became assistant manager of the hotel, in which capacity he served for eight years. At the death of his uncle, Albert Mangold, he assumed the management of the American Laundry Company, which he still

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retains. He married Ila Pollard. Child: i. Edward Pollard. 4. Olga Anna, born September 18, 1896, at Dallas, Texas; was graduated from Dallas Grammar School and from Mrs. Morgan's Private School. She married Joseph Cushing, now associated with the Humble Pipe Line Company, and they have a son: i. William (Billy) Thomas, born at Dallas, Texas, August 8, 1920; attended the Oak Cliff High School, where he belonged to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, fitting himself for a military career.

Charles Adam Mangold, Sr., died at Dallas, Texas, August 26, 1934, at the age of seventy-three years. In accordance with his expressed desire, his funeral services were in charge of Dallas Lodge, No. 71, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, with George W. Loudermilk, Exalted Ruler, officiating. Burial was in Laurel Land Memorial Park, and the outstanding business and professional men of Dallas and vicinity, including many prominent Elks, acted as honorary pall bearers. In reporting Mr. Mangold's death, the "National Elks Horn" paid him the following tribute:

"Uncle Charlie" Mangold, as he was affectionately called, had a legion of friends throughout the country. No civic leader and Elk leader was genuinely more loved than this generous, friendly, kindly man. His family have lost a devoted husband and noble father; his friends a dependable and loyal friend; his city, a great builder who did much for Dallas; the nation a patriotic citizen who always was faithful and dutiful; and the great Order of Elks, one of its greatest members who was ever faithful to its principles. He not only preached but practiced the Golden Rule.

The city mourned him publicly and people throughout the entire Southwest paid tribute to the life of one who had done more than any other single figure of his day for the development of Dallas. There exist many monuments to his memory in the tall buildings, the parks, the material improvements, the richer community spirit in this municipality. He is perpetuated not alone in commercial structures and organizations, but in the entire flourishing city he helped to make and in the esteem and affection of a community that is better for his having lived and wrought.

Among the many other tributes paid to his memory were resolutions passed, respectively, by the Texas Elks State Association and

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Dallas Lodge, No. 71, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, as well as a personal tribute from Judge William Hawley Atwell of the United States District Court:

IN MEMORIAM

TO

CHARLES A. MANGOLD

Past President of the Texas Elks State Association

A Resolution

Introduced by W. R. Dudley, Past Exalted Ruler of Dallas Lodge of Elks, No. 71, at the annual session of the Texas Elks State Association meeting in Fort Worth, Texas, May 12, 1935.

WHEREAS, Our Heavenly Father has deemed it wise to call Brother Charles A. Mangold from the paths of this humble life to the higher grounds of celestial glory, and

WHEREAS, Brother Mangold gave so generously of his time, his energy, and his substance to the promulgation of Elk doctrine through the entire span of his adult career; and

WHEREAS, We are in deep mourning on account of the absence of Brother Mangold on this occasion; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we extend our fraternal love to the loving wife and mother of his four children: Irma, Olga, Lawrence W., and Charles A., Jr.; and, be it further

Resolved, That we express to the members of Brother Mangold's family our sincerest affection and appreciation of the signal service rendered to Texas Elkdom by the illustrious Charles A. Mangold, Sr.; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this session of the Texas Elks State Association, of the date May 12, 1935, and that a copy of this resolution be mailed to Sister Mangold under our official seal.

Upon adoption of the above Resolution, Brother Wilford B. Smith, Past Exalted Ruler of Dallas Lodge, No. 71, B. P. O. Elks, was appointed by the State President to have said Resolution prepared and presented to Mrs. Charles A. Mangold and family.

E. KNITSCH, *President*;

W. H. ZIMMERMANN, *Secretary*.

CHAS A. MANGOLD

Ideal Elk—Ideal American

Friend—Counselor—Civic Leader—Fraternal Brother

DEVOTED to principle and possessing invincible courage, he represented a high moral type of American manhood and character. There

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was no gloom in his sunny nature and he threw a charm over everyone with whom he came in contact. Over a long period of years he was an outstanding leader in the civic life of his city that he loyally helped emerge from an unknown village into "The City of the Hour."

For forty years he has been a member of B. P. O. Elks, No. 71, was a Past Exalted Ruler, and served the Order he esteemed so highly with honor and distinction; and when called upon to head its State organization he cheerfully undertook the task and extended Elkdom into localities where it had never been known before.

The membership of No. 71, all of whom have been the beneficiaries of association with him, now testify through the medium of the undersigned committee to his many admirable traits of character.

Adopted by Dallas Lodge, No. 71, B. P. O. Elks, and signed by the committee this the 10th day of September, 1934.

Many men pass along life's road in a hesitant, uncertain way. They do not seem to realize that all of the fullness of nature and fellow-beings is to be enjoyed. Likewise, some pass along the road who are not alert to opportunities for the doing of good, and for the enrichment of the communities through which they pass.

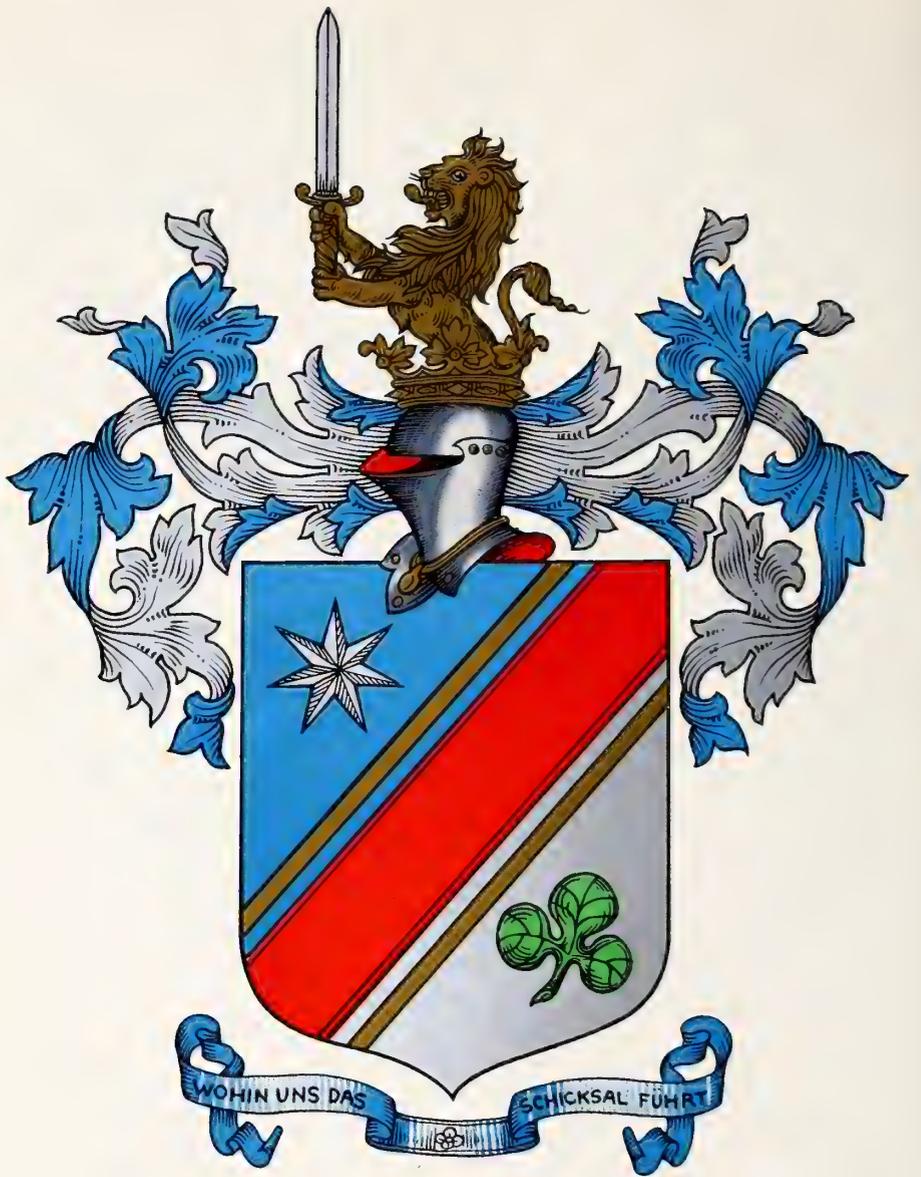
Charles A. Mangold, whom I knew for forty years, was unlike either of such persons. He was alive to and enjoyed all the beauty and pleasures of the journey. He took advantage of every moment for doing good or building.

He was a real man in every sense.

(Signed) W. H. ATWELL.

The city of Dallas, Texas, owes a great deal of its present greatness to the dreams, the work and the means of Charles Adam Mangold. A man who had business and executive ability of the highest order, he won a deserved financial success. His capacity for leadership, his ability to arouse and retain the loyalty of others, his broad vision and high ideals, were qualities that he exerted in the field of altruism for the good of the city and its people, in the introduction of music, culture and uplift, long before the days when the city itself could make any provision of such beneficent influences. To trace the story of his life in Dallas is like writing the history of the municipality in miniature, so vitally was he identified with nearly every progressive movement over a period of nearly half a century.

(Records in possession of the family.)



Weber

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(The Weber Line)

Arms—Per bend sinister, azure and argent, over the line of division a bend gules cottised or, between a seven pointed star argent, above, and a clover leaf vert below.
Helmet crowned.

Crest—A lion issuant, or, holding a sword between both paws.

Manling—Azure and argent.

Motto—*Wohin uns das Schicksal führt.* (Wherever fate leads us.)
(Siebmacher: "Wappenbuch," Vol. V, Part 7, p. 59, Table 58.)

The German family name Weber is of occupational derivation originally used to designate a weaver.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. Carolus Weber, the first of this line of whom record is found, was born at Hatgenstein, Germany, about 1700-10, and died at Feckweiler, Germany, February 4, 1779. He married Anna Maria, who died at Sauerbron, Germany, May 5, 1777. They were the parents of: 1. Johann Stephan, of whom further.

(Parish Registers of the Roman Catholic Church at Birkenfeld, near Oldenburg, Germany.)

II. Johann Stephan Weber, son of Carolus and Anna Maria Weber, was born at Dienstweiler, Germany, May 24, 1739, and died at Abentheuer, April 7, 1773. He married, February 8, 1763, Anna Maria Weis, who was born at Abentheuer, December 20, 1741. They were the parents of: 1. Adam, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Adam Weber, son of Johann Stephan and Anna Maria (Weis) Weber, was born at Dienstweiler, Germany, June 6, 1765, and died at Abentheuer, Germany, January 19, 1834. He married Maria Elisabeth Maurer, born at Berglangenbach, Germany, in 1755, died at Abentheuer, October 25, 1830. They were the parents of: 1. Johann Nicolaus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Johann Nicolaus Weber, son of Adam and Maria Elisabeth (Maurer) Weber, was born at Abentheuer, Germany, January 28, 1804, and died there, January 22, 1840. He married Anna Maria Burr (or Bohr). They were the parents of: 1. Maria Louisa, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

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V. Maria Louisa Weber, daughter of Johann Nicolaus and Anna Maria (Burr or Bohr) Weber, was born at Abentheuer, near Birkenfeld, Oldenburg, Germany, January 14, 1838, and died in Hermann, Missouri, in May, 1904, and was buried in the City Cemetery at Hermann. She came to America at the age of fifteen years, joining her family who had preceded her and were living in Chicago, Illinois. In 1861, four years after her marriage, she and her husband came to Hermann, Missouri. In writing of her at the time of her death, a local newspaper said that she "was the model of a true and affectionate wife, a loving and devoted mother. Modest and unassuming in her demeanor and of a true, womanly disposition, she found her chief source of happiness in the fulfillment of the duties of her domestic sphere." Her religious affiliation was with the Roman Catholic Church.

Maria Louisa Weber married, in Chicago, Illinois, January 1, 1857, Henry Honeck, born in Baden, Germany, in 1833, died at Dallas, Texas, June 25, 1920. He came to America as a young man of about eighteen years. In Germany he had become an expert mechanic, having learned general wagon making, blacksmithing, painting, upholstering, furniture making and buggy making. After being employed for about four years in Chicago, he came to Hermann, Missouri, where he opened a blacksmith and wagon maker's shop and dealt in farm implements. By hard labor and good business policy he made a great success of his business and became well-to-do. After the death of his wife he withdrew entirely from business. For a number of years one of his daughters, Mrs. Mary Mertens, resided with him and attended to him in his advancing years. About two years prior to his death and after he had sold his real estate interests in Hermann, he accompanied his daughter to Dallas, Texas, where he made his home until his death. During his residence in Hermann he was one of that town's most prominent business men, known and esteemed highly throughout the county. He took an active part in all the civic affairs of the town and was a faithful member of every organization formed for the advancement of its interests as well as for the good of the citizens. He was also prominent in the social life of the town. For over forty years he was president of the Hermann

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Fire Insurance Company and for many years he was president of the Mutual Savings Society. He was also a member of the Harmonie, a male chorus that was the center of all social life in Hermann until its dissolution about 1905. He was one of the oldest members of Robert Blum Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, at Hermann, under whose auspices his funeral was held at Hermann, where he was buried in the City Cemetery beside his wife. His religious affiliations were with the Lutheran Church. He became the father of eleven children and he taught his trade to all of his six sons. In reporting his death a Hermann newspaper said of him:

Mr. Honeck was an exemplary citizen. His was a life of good deeds, redounding to the welfare of the community in which it had been granted him to spend so many useful years. He was one of the pioneer citizens who helped to build and mold the present Hermann.

Henry and Maria Louisa (Weber) Honeck had among their children: Anna, of whom further.

(Ibid. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VI. Anna Honeck, daughter of Henry and Maria Louisa (Weber) Honeck, was born in the German settlement of Hermann, and was educated in the local German-English schools. After her graduation she came to Dallas to visit her sister, and the German Frohsinn Society, recognizing her fluency in the German tongue, enlisted her services as an interpreter for their theatrical work. These plays were produced for educational purposes and the advancement of German culture. The Frohsinn Society at Dallas naturally met with the German Singing Societies of that era, and during one of these gatherings, Miss Honeck met her future husband, marrying Charles Adam Mangold shortly afterwards. (Mangold IX.)

Their long life together was one of mutual love and happiness. Mr. Mangold was devoted to his wife and children, and their welfare was always his primary consideration. He was a loving father in the truest sense of the term, desiring only the best for his children, yet he realized that the greatest gift he could give them was an adequate training for meeting the responsibilities of life. For this reason, particularly with the boys, he kept them busy at various tasks within their

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capacity, teaching them the meaning of the duties they must soon assume for themselves and how to find pleasure from a task well done.

Mrs. Mangold, with the children, was undoubtedly the center and inspiration of Mr. Mangold's achievements and benefactions. Cultured, understanding, of dauntless spirit and breadth of outlook, she was always a source of encouragement in quiet ways, when this was needed, and through her patient persuasion notably exemplified the manner in which womanhood can affect the careers of men. Since her husband's death, Mrs. Mangold has kept in close touch with the various family interests and meets daily with her two sons to discuss business problems. She has lent her support to many civic movements, contributes to all worthy charities and keeps alive in every way the fine traditions long associated with the family name. Mrs. Mangold, a war mother, is now rearing her two grandsons.

(Family data.)

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1, 1941.
State of New York, }
County of New York } ss.

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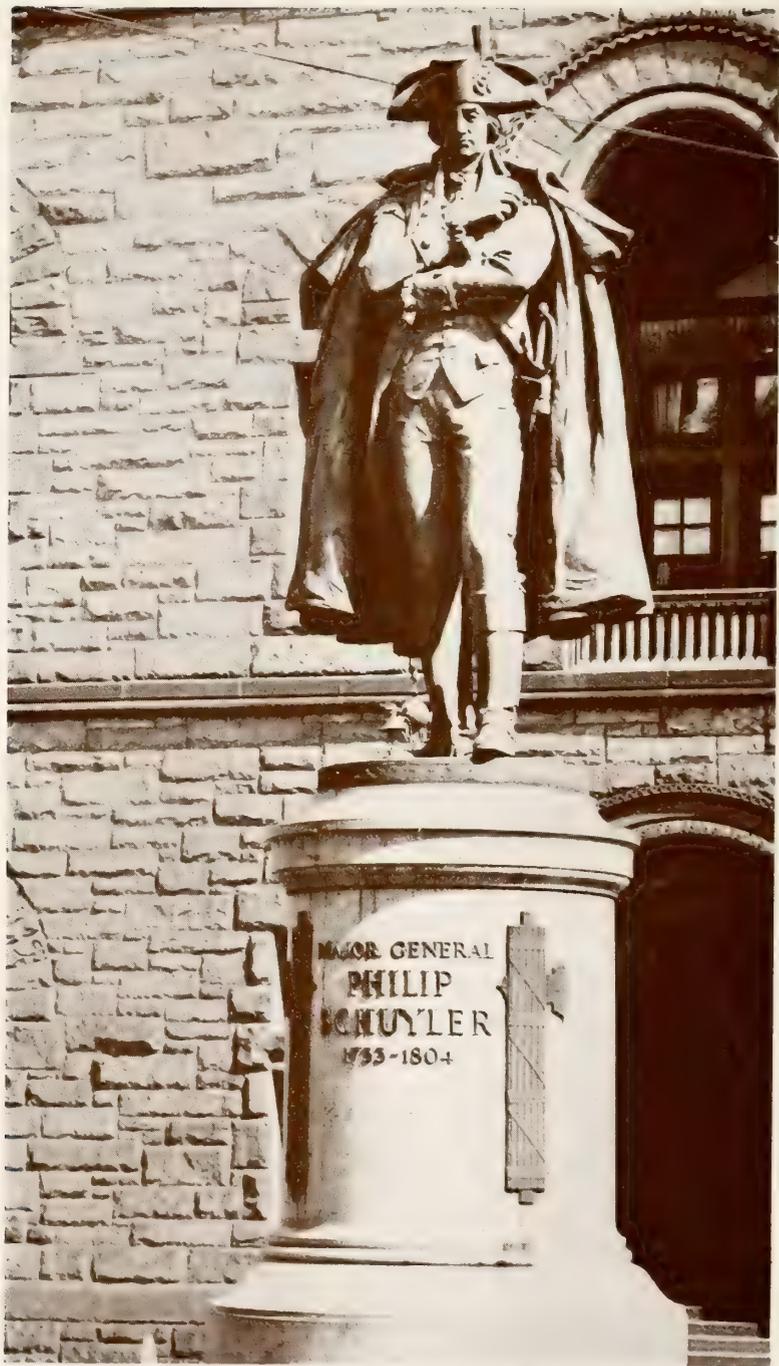
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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of September, 1941.

(Seal.)

ROSE HALPIN,

Notary Public, New York County.
Clerk's No. 22, Register's No. 2-H-53.
Commission expires March 30, 1942.



STATUE OF GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER AT CITY HALL, ALBANY

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED

APRIL, 1942

VOLUME XXXVI . NUMBER 2



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, Inc.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY

NEW YORK CITY

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AMERICANA

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All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor. All communications should be addressed:

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC.,
Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

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AMERICANA

APRIL, 1942



The Genesis of Weems' "Life of Washington"

BY WILLIAM ALFRED BRYAN, M. A., DUKE UNIVERSITY,
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

I



MR. EMILY ELLSWORTH FORD SKEEL'S publication in 1929 of his letters and a scholarly bibliography of his writings¹ made it possible to see several modern aspects in the most famous work of Mason Locke Weems. In newspaper offices all over America today, there is material ready to be published upon the death of prominent men such as Henry Ford and Herbert Hoover. When George Washington died on December 14, 1799, Weems had his biography ready for the press, and he brought out his first printing about a month later. The book was an early example of fictionized biography, a literary type which has been practiced with indubitable success by André Maurois and others in the last two decades. Furthermore, Weems' purpose was to write a popular life of Washington, to make his book a best seller, a purpose in which he was eminently successful.

1. Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, *Mason Locke Weems, His Works and Ways*, 3 Vols. (Privately printed, 1929.) Mrs. Skeel devotes a volume to Weems bibliography, and two volumes to his letters, with generous notes and appendices. The Duke University Library has in manuscript three additional letters of Weems which I am publishing in an early issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

During the last thirty years of his life,² Weems traveled from New York to Georgia, but usually south of the Potomac, selling books for Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia. At the same time, he was an ordained minister of the Episcopal Church and occasionally held charges; while traveling, he performed weddings, baptisms, and funeral services, and preached whenever and wherever the opportunity arose. His auctorial activities, for which he is remembered, were an outgrowth of the combination of his bookseller's view of what the public would buy, and his ministerial impulse to do good through the printed word. The impression to be gained from his letters and his *Life of Washington* is that he considered this book as primarily a journalistic work for children and the masses of adults, and secondarily as an attempt to improve the same two classes.

2. Weems was born at Marshes Seat, Maryland, in 1759, the nineteenth son of his father, who was at the time married to his second wife. Very little is known of his childhood. While in school, he secretly started classes for the instruction of underprivileged children. He made voyages abroad in ships owned by his elder brothers. At his father's death in 1779, he freed several slaves that came to him; he did not believe in slavery. During the Revolution, he seems to have been studying medicine or surgery in Edinburgh; his family was Scottish, the name having originally been spelled "Wemyss." In 1784 he appeared in London seeking ordination in the Anglican Church. He wrote the American Ambassadors at Paris and the Hague, Franklin and Adams, concerning his difficulty in securing orders without taking the oath of allegiance to the King. He was eventually ordained and was in charge of several churches in Virginia before he was employed as bookseller by Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, about 1794. From this time till his death in 1825 Weems was never out of touch with Carey for as long as a year, though they quarreled violently and for two or three years he was more closely associated with C. P. Wayne, publisher of John Marshall's *Life of Washington*.

In 1794 Weems married Frances Ewell, of Belle Air plantation, near Dumfries, in Northern Virginia, and thereafter he made his home at Dumfries. About 1808 he came into possession of his wife's ancestral acres. Ten children were born of the union.

While carrying on his activities as bookseller and minister, Weems wrote biographies of Washington (1800), Marion (1810), Franklin (1815), and Penn (1822). He was also the author of twenty-two short, didactic pieces including "Hymen's Recruiting Sergeant" (1799), "The Virginia Almanac" (1799-1800), "God's Revenge Against Murder" (1807?), "God's Revenge Against Gambling" (1810), and "God's Revenge Against Adultery" (1815). He published or prepared for publication fifteen works of other authors. Among hundreds of titles which he sold for Carey and Wayne, four noteworthy items were Goldsmith's *Animated Nature* (1795), *The Works of Thomas Paine* (1797), *The Bible* (1801), and Marshall's *Life of Washington* (1804-07). His own works sold as well as any he dealt in.

Mrs. Skeel's sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the outlines which she has in her *Mason Locke Weems* (II, xi-xxiv), and the biographical appendices there included (III, 365-439) are more recent and dependable than two biographies of Weems: Lawrence C. Wroth, *Parson Weems* (Baltimore, 1911), and Harold Kellock, *Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree* (New York, 1928). Kellock's book is based largely on Wroth's. Mrs. Skeel's work is not a biography, as its name might imply, but is the best source of biographical information. Under the heading "Parson Weems' Fable" there is a color print of Grant Wood's satirical painting which bears this title, with a column of discussion, in *Life*, February 19, 1940, pp. 32-33.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

The story of the composition of Weems' *Washington* covers more than a decade and is entangled with the story of his activities as salesman for Mathew Carey and also for C. P. Wayne, who published John Marshall's biography of Washington. From his letters it appears that as early as 1797 Weems became interested in books about Revolutionary heroes because the public was asking the bookseller for them. Since no other writer undertook to meet the demand, he began to write about Washington himself, and had some sort of book nearly completed by the middle of 1799; it was undergoing the polishing process when Washington died on December 14 of that year. Weems made such necessary revisions as change of tense, added an account of Washington's death, and published the pamphlet early in 1800. It went through several editions in that and the following year, but then Weems became a salesman for the publisher of John Marshall's *Life of Washington* and instead of enlarging his own work made it for a number of years secondary to the more ambitious one. When Marshall's biography proved unsuccessful, Weems returned to his own and brought out in 1806 an enlarged edition containing the cherry tree story and much other new material. He made a few further revisions and additions, but by 1810 the text was frozen in the form in which it has come down through more than sixty subsequent editions.

II

Before attempting to follow from year to year the complicated interwoven stories of Weems-Carey business relations, Weems-Wayne business relations, the editions of Weems' masterpiece, and especially the growth of its text, it is desirable to glance at the final form of the text. Weems stated in his preface that he was writing for children. Furthermore, he stated a theory of biography which appears to be a reaction against Marshall's unsuccessful five-volume work in which Washington was impersonally portrayed as a public figure:³

True he has been seen in *greatness*: but it is only the greatness of public character, which is no evidence of *true* greatness; for a public character is often an artificial one. . . .

3. See below, p. 163.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

It is not, then, in the glare of *public*, but in the shade of *private life*, that we are to look for the man. . . .

Since then it is the private virtues that lay the foundation of all human excellence—since it was these that exalted Washington to be "*Columbia's first and greatest Son*," be it our first care to present these, in all their lustre, before the admiring eyes of our children give us his *private virtues!* In *these*, every youth is interested. . . .⁴

In later years, Weems asked two ex-Presidents for endorsements, and on each occasion he referred to his *Life of Washington* as a school book. On February 1, 1809, Weems wrote to Jefferson as follows:

This is the seventh edition—10,000 copies have been sold—and some flattering things said—But if, on perusing this private *Life of Washington* your Excellency should be pleas'd to find that I have not, like *some* of his Eulogists, set him up as a Common Hero for military ambition to idolize and imitate—Nor an Aristocrat, like *others*, to mislead and enslave the nation, but a pure Republican, whom all our youth should know, that they may love and imitate his Virtues, and thereby immortalize "*the last Republic now on earth.*" I shall heartily thank you for a line or two in favor of it—as a school book.⁵

Weems' claim that he had presented Washington as "a pure Republican" was another reaction against Marshall's biography. Marshall's *Life of George Washington* (1804-07), in five volumes, at three dollars each, was authorized by Judge Bushrod Washington, nephew and literary executor of George Washington. Though he expected thirty thousand subscribers, Judge Washington was not so injudicious as was the inexperienced publisher, C. P. Wayne, who paid \$100,000 for the copyright. John Marshall was chosen to

4. Mason L. Weems, *A History of the Life and Death Virtues and Exploits of General George Washington* (New York, 1927), pp. 8-13. In his biographical theory, Weems was consciously or unconsciously a follower of Dr. Johnson and his circle. See Donald A. Stauffer, *The Art of Biography in Eighteenth Century England* (Princeton, 1941), I, 386ff.

5. Skeel, *op. cit.*, II, 389. In 1819 Weems asked James Madison for an endorsement of his *Life of Marion* as a schoolbook, stating incidentally that his Washington, "written for that purpose," was in its "21st edition." *Ibid.*, III, 242.

Certain editions advertised are not now extant, and others printed anonymously may have been revised without the author's consent; because of these and similar complications the study of Weems editions is a slough of despond. I have throughout used the word *edition* to refer to items in Skeel's bibliography, *Ibid.*, I, 1-96, but technically some of them may be *reprintings*.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

write the work not because he had any qualifications for such a project, but because he was an old friend of George Washington's. His first volume was a dull history of the Colonies to the Peace of Paris, 1763, in which his subject figured only as a participant in Braddock's disastrous campaign of 1754. Jefferson set obstacles in the way of the sale of the book because he feared it would be Federalist propaganda for the election of 1804. Marshall, disappointed in his expectation of huge rewards, wrote much more slowly than he was scheduled to write. As one of the principal selling agents, Weems was thoroughly disgusted before the last volume was issued. His enlarged book, dating from 1806, contrasts strongly with Marshall's effort, in which Washington is a lifeless personification of "public virtue."⁶

An outline of his book given in a letter from Weems to Carey⁷ is substantially correct. The first twelve chapters follow the hero from his birth to his death, with occasional sidelights on the English, American, and international situations. Chapter eleven consists mainly of the "Farewell Address" and two less important documents. Apparently Weems never wrote his intended chapters on Washington's temperance and justice, but his thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters deal with his hero's piety, "Magnanimity," industry and patriotism, as he said they would. Washington's will forms the conclusion.

Aiming at schoolboys and the masses of adults, Weems fell into a way of writing, which, in contrast with two other manners clearly discernible in the book, may be described as the juvenile-homiletic style. Such are the cherry tree story and the forgotten story of the cabbages which Washington's father planted in the form of the letters of the hero's name, to impress the moral that there is an organizing Deity. Such is a paragraph on Washington at school, which would recommend the book to many an early nineteenth century schoolmaster harassed by the internecine strife of his young barbarians:

6. A good account of Marshall's biography is in A. J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston and New York, 1919), III, 223-74. Beveridge quotes generously from the Weems letters to make a lively chapter. See also John Marshall, *The Life of George Washington* (Fredericksburg, Va., 1926).

7. See below, p. 154.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

About five years after the death of his father, he quitted school for ever, leaving the boys in tears for his departure: for he had ever lived among them, in the spirit of a brother. He was never guilty of so brutish a practice as that of fighting himself; nor would he, when able to prevent it, allow them to fight one another. If he could not disarm their savage passions by his arguments, he would instantly go to the master and inform him of their barbarous intentions.⁸

Sometimes mingled with the juvenile-homiletic passages or with those of a third type to be described presently, but often clear-cut and independent of the narrative are Weems' anecdotes. They are usually short jokes, or bits of repartee, in which one or two individuals are dramatically presented speaking in the first person. At times they are not humorous but marvelous, and of this type are the dream of Washington's mother, in which she foresees the whole course of the Revolution while he is still a child, and the incident of a little man named Payne knocking Washington down at a political gathering.⁹

The anecdotes were adapted to the taste of large numbers of adult readers, as was also Weems' third definite manner, which is the one most frequently discussed in connection with his name. This is the manner he used in describing battles, Indian massacres, and a wide variety of moving accidents. Enthusiastic, eloquent, rhythmical, making use of poetic circumlocution, personification, and extended simile, this would be mock heroic if there were any reason to believe Weems was not serious when he was writing. It is exaggerated, eighteenth century epic style, in prose:

As when a mammoth suddenly dashes in among a thousand buffaloes, feeding at large on the vast plains of Missouri; all at once the innumerable herd, with wildly rolling eyes, and hideous bellowings, break forth into flight, while, close at their heels, the roaring monster follows. Earth trembles as they fly. Such was the noise in the

8. Weems, *op. cit.*, p. 36. The cherry tree story is on pages 21-25, the cabbage story on pages 25-31. For other examples of this style see pages 19-20, 32-35, 35-37, 37-39, 42-45, 67, 83-85, 97, 168-69 and 316-18.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-96 for the dream and pp. 311-16 for the Payne story. For other anecdotes see pages 45, 51, 53, 55-56, 61, 65, 72, 93-96, 104, 119, 132 and 327-30. Use of anecdotes in biography is advocated by Dr. Johnson. See above, note 4, p. 150.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

chase of Tarleton, when the swords of Washington's cavalry pursued his troops from the famous field of Cowpens.¹⁰

III

As early as 1797, Weems wrote Carey that cheap books on Revolutionary heroes would sell. Though he did not mention the name of Washington in his list of possible subjects, the "&c" with which the list concluded shows that it was not exhaustive:

Experience has taught me that small, *i. e.* quarter of dollar books, on subjects calculated to *strike* the Popular Curiosity, printed in very large numbers and properly *distributed*, w^d prove an immense revenue to the prudent and industrious Undertakers. If you could get the life of Gen^l. Wayne, Putnam, Green &c., Men whose courage and Abilities, whose patriotism and Exploits have won the love and admiration of the American people, printed in small volumes and with very interesting frontispieces, you w^d, without doubt, sell an immense number of them. People here think nothing of giving 1/6 (their quarter of a dollar) for anything that pleases their fancy. Let us give them something worth their money.¹¹

The extant letters contain nothing more about Revolutionary heroes for two years after January, 1797, but in March, 1799, Weems repeated his idea that cheap books on Revolutionary heroes would be a good venture.¹² Early nineteenth century American publishers seem to have been disposed to print expensive books exclusively; knowing his public from personal contact with it, Weems throughout his career argued in favor of cheaper books and a larger volume of sales.¹³ If in March he had not already begun work on his biography, or if he did not exaggerate his progress in his next significant letter, he must have been composing energetically in the spring of 1799, for in June of that year he announced that his work was nearly finished:

10. *Ibid.*, p. 184. The Washington mentioned here is not George Washington, but Colonel William Washington. For further examples of this style see pages 50-51, 54, 58-61, 62-63, 68-70, 81-83, 90-91, 107-09, 115-18, 139-42, 171-73, 182-85. Weems referred to Marshall's *Life of George Washington* as "the Washingtoniad." See below, p. 158.

11. Skeel, *op. cit.*, II, 72. In a footnote on this letter Skeel remarks that this is Weems' first mention of his interest in books on Revolutionary heroes. Her comment is the germ of the present study.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

13. See Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author, and Publisher* (New York, 1912), pp. 22 and 30-33.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

DUMF. June 24, 1799

I have nearly ready for the press a piece christen^d, or to be christen^d, "The Beauties of Washington." tis artfully drawn up, enliven^d with anecdotes, and in my humble opinion, marvellously fitted, "ad captandum—gustum populi Americani!!!!["] What say you to printing it for me and ordering a copper plate Frontispiece of that HEROE, something in this way. George Washington Esq^r. The Guardian Angel of his Country "Go thy way old George. Die when thou wilt we shall never look upon thy like again" M. Carey inver. &c.

NB. The whole will make but four sheets and will sell like flax seed at quarter of a dollar. I cou'd make you a world of pence and popularity by it.¹⁴

Three months later and two months before Washington's death, Weems said again that he had nearly finished the book:

DUMFRIES, Octob. 21, 1799

I have now on the Anvil and pretty well hammer^d out a piece that will sell to admiration.

THE TRUE PATRIOT
OR
BEAUTIES OF WASHINGTON
Abundantly Biographical and Anecdotal
Curious and Marvellous¹⁵

Less than a month after Washington's death in December, 1799, Weems excitedly wrote Carey that he was ready for the press with a book which would be of interest to millions. Probably he changed tenses and added some account of Washington's death, in order to rush into print while the moment was favorable. Here he outlined the book as it was in the form which it eventually reached:

JAN. 12, or 13, 1800

I've something to whisper in your lug. Washington, you know is gone. Millions are gaping to read something about him. I am very nearly prim^d & cock^d for 'em. 6 months ago I set myself to collect anecdotes of him. You know I live conveniently for that work. My plan! I give his history sufficiently minute—I accompany him from his start, thro the French and Indian and British or Revolu-

14. Skeel, *op. cit.*, II, 120.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

tionary wars, to the Presidents chair, to the throne in the hearts of 5,000000 of People. I then go on to show that his unparalleled [*sic*] rise & elevation were owing to his Great Virtues. 1 His Veneration for the Diety [*sic*], or Religious Principles. 2 His Patriotism. 3^d his Magninmity [*sic*]. 4 his Industry. 5 his Temperance and Sobriety. 6 his Justice, & &c. Thus I hold up his great Virtues (as Gov^r M^cKean prays) to the imitation of Our Youth. All this I have lin^d and enliven^d with *Anecdotes apropos interesting and Entertaining*. I have read it to several Gentlemen whom I thought judges, such as Presbyterian Clergymen, Classical Scholars &c. &c. and they all commend it much, it will not exceed 3 royal sheets on [*sic*] long primer. We may sell it with great rapidity for 25 or 37 Cents and it w^d not cost 10. I read a part of it to one of my Parishioners, a first rate lady, and she wish^d I w^d print it, promising to take one for each of her children (a bakers dozen). I am thinking you cou^d vend it admirably: as it will be the first. I can send it on, half of it immediately. . . .¹⁶

Apparently Carey did not show as much interest in the manuscript as Weems thought he might, for three weeks later Weems wrote that he had already made arrangements for printing his book. The four editions or printings which came out in 1800 are undated, but upon convincing evidence Mrs. Skeel bases her belief that the first came out at Baltimore, the second at Georgetown, and the third and fourth at Philadelphia. Weems seemed to expect Carey to print the book, because he authorized him to make changes as he saw fit, and probably Carey made arrangements for the two Philadelphia printings. Weems took little pride in the technique of his literary productions, to which he later referred as "my little trumpery";¹⁷ he simply wanted something to sell. However, as a minister he took pride in the moral value of his efforts, as appears several times below:

DUMF, Feb. 2nd 1800

I sent you on a sample of History of Washington—In consequence of not hearing from you I resolv^d to strike off a few on my own acc^t. It is in our power to make this thing profitable and beneficial—Everybody will read about Washington—and let us hold up his Great Virtues—Some, may go and do likewise—There is a beautiful likeness of Washington in one of the Ladies Magazines; he was *young, beau-*

16. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 375. Weems to C. P. Wayne, March 3, 1808.

THE GENESIS OF WEEMS' "LIFE OF WASHINGTON"

tiful and interesting when that was taken. If you have to have that engrav^d on Copper as a Frontispiece to our little book it might have a happy effect. Our book will not make more than 4 sheets Royal, small pica Type. I could sell thousands of them—The title page, Dedication, (which I have thought of turning to M^{rs}. Washington) and Preface, are yet a corps de reserve.

Retouch, as you go along; you are a good hand.

I know you desire to do Good, your Selections show it—We may preach through the Example and Virtues of Washington—Adams & Jefferson both will approve of our little piece.¹⁸

From the above letter it is clear that by February 2, 1800, Weems had made arrangements to print the first edition of his pamphlet. This makes Mr. Lawrence Wroth's conjecture that the *Life of Washington* grew out of a sermon seem highly improbable. Mr. Wroth's biography of Weems was written before the Weems letters were published, and he is followed by Harold Kellock when he gives an account of Weems' masterpiece which appears in substance in the following sentence:

For the rest of his days he was collecting new materials for the successive enlargements and embellishments of the work which, from an anniversary sermon became his most important contribution to literature.¹⁹

Though it is not unlikely that Weems gave sermons on the occasion of Washington's death, they could hardly have had much connection with a book which was complete, in some form, when Washington died.

On April 19, and on May 21, 1800, Weems again requested Carey to have some of the books printed for him; he mentioned at the same time his work entitled "The Philanthropist" (1799), which seemed equally important to him; apparently he wanted the format of the new edition of *Washington* to be as good as that of the "Columbian Spelling Book."²⁰ Evidently Carey eventually had some share in the printing, for Weems wrote him in July as if he had long been involved in it:

18. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

19. Lawrence C. Wroth, *Parson Weems* (Baltimore, 1911), p. 64. See also Harold Kellock, *Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree* (New York, 1928), p. 80.

20. Skeel, *op. cit.*, II, 129-30.

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DR. SIR. Again I send you ten Dollars—And again I beg you to keep in mind that the sooner you can *dispose* of the present (the 2^d) edition of Washington's life the *better*. Hang me, if I am not *dog-sick*, on looking at it. And nothing but *necessity* cou'd make me lug it out even on Journeymen. Hatters & Blacksmiths. But that's always your way to *overlook* the *present profitable*, and to keep your eye on the *precarious future*. Wou'd to God you wou'd lay about you to send off as many of the Life of Washington *as possible*. I must have a capital edition this Fall.²¹

An edition of the book printed at Fredericktown in 1801 brought the total to five.²² The text was in a state of flux during the first five or six years of the life of the book, but it was not substantially enlarged. Throughout 1801 Weems continued to be closely associated with Carey, but he made in July of that year the contact which eventually led to his selling Marshall's biography for C. P. Wayne. Apparently he was first approached by Bushrod Washington, nephew and literary executor of George Washington:

DUMFRIES!!! July 4, 1801

I have a letter from B. Washington (*alis [sic] Judge W*) begging me to assist him in the *great works* of his Uncle, the Immortal George. I shall try to get it into your hands. It may make our fortunes & also furnish a good field for us to figure on.²³

Twice in August of the same year, Weems wrote Carey regarding this project, stating on one occasion that he had again seen Judge Bushrod Washington, but that the great work would not be ready till the spring of 1802,²⁴ and on the other that "The Memoirs of Washington are going on under the hands of the Chief Justice."²⁵

The sixth edition of the *Life of Washington* was printed at Elizabethtown in 1802, and the seventh at Albany, in the winter of 1802-1803.²⁶ The letters Weems wrote Carey in 1802 have nothing to do with authorship, being concerned with details of business, but he

21. *Ibid.*, p. 132. Skeel notes that the reference is to one of the two undated editions printed by John Bioren, of Philadelphia.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 16ff.

23. *Ibid.*, II, 193.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 194-95.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-96.

26. *Ibid.*, I, 18-22.

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mentioned several times the fact that he had accepted responsibility for a church:

DUMFRIES. Nov. 1, 1802

I told you many months ago that after the long waiting in vain for the Bibles, and seeing my precious days running down to waste, I had, in a fit of despair engag^d to preach in the Mount Vernon Church once a fortnight, till now. Confind to such narrow space, it was impossible to push my paper beyond its former limits.²⁷

Apparently Weems did not keep his position as "Rector of Mt. Vernon Parish" more than a month or two. Later, in November, 1802, he said he hoped to begin soon the sale of Marshall's biography, "The Washingtoniad."²⁸ A month later, in his first extant letter to C. P. Wayne, publisher of Marshall's work, he appears to have begun working for him successfully, but not entirely satisfactorily:

BALTO. [Dec.?] 8. 1802.

I told you not to look for squalls till I got on the subscriptioneering ground. I arriv^d here 3 days ago. I average 12 Sub^s. pr day. *Thank God for that.*

I want a change in our plan of remuneration. Your present allowance will not allow me to do anything for you, thro' the adjutancy of others. You give to the Tag Rag and Bobtail 1 for 15. What will you give to your
MASON L. WEEMS?²⁹

During the remainder of 1802, Weems wrote four more letters to Wayne, and after this first one, the Wayne letters become much more numerous than the Carey letters. In the four December letters to Wayne, the parson twice advised his new employers not to neglect the rural buyers,³⁰ warned him against making Marshall's book Federalist party propaganda,³¹ and advised use of anecdotes, patriotic appeals,

27. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 250-51. What Weems refers to as "Mount Vernon Church" was actually Pohick Church, Truro Parish, Virginia, which George Washington attended at times, though Weems wrote him a letter shortly before his death which shows that they were unacquainted. In 1808 Weems added "Rector of Mt. Vernon Parish" to the title page of his book. Before that he had used it in advertisements in the papers. See Skeel, I, 30, and II, 117, 247, 296, etc.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-52. Weems evidently considered Washington a subject for epic. See above, p. 9.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 255 and 257.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

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and "Gazette Puffs," while complaining of the smallness of the commission allowed.³²

In April, 1803, Weems wrote Wayne three noteworthy letters: the first was optimistic except for a doubt concerning the quality of the paper to be used;³³ the second chronicled the taking of seventeen subscriptions in spite of opposition to the book because of its alleged Federalist prejudices;³⁴ in the third he said, "Look well to your Paper-Makers. . . . If they prove Villains, farewell to Weems—'his Occupation's gone.'"³⁵ In August he mentioned a suggestion from Carey that he sell the Bible along with Marshall's work, but he did not seem interested.³⁶ In September he sent funds and discussed bindings.³⁷ At some time in this year, the eighth printing or edition of Weems' *Washington* came out in Philadelphia.³⁸

The next significant letter was dated "Feb. 15, 1804"; in this year there were almost no letters to Carey, and there was no edition of Weems' *Washington*. Weems advised against bringing out Marshall's first volume, "having no word about Washington in it," before the second also was complete.³⁹ The same advice was repeated in April,⁴⁰ and in September another word was written in favor of uniform bindings;⁴¹ Weems was more concerned with the format of Marshall's book than with its contents. In October another agent was cutting in on his profits, and everything was going wrong.⁴²

Early in 1805 Weems was exasperated with Wayne and his publishing venture as a whole:

NORFOLK, January 25, 1805.

D. SIR: I am sorry you are under such a mistake. I told W. [Bushrod Washington]. & Genl. M[arshall]. that you had printed a 2d Edit. on a paper so thin as to make the vol. look but half as thick as the former, and this is to be given to *new sub^s*. I said *then*, and I

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-59. Weems believed in puffs. Several of the later editions of his book published before his death contained several pages of them. See his letters to Jefferson and Madison, above, p. 150 and n. 5.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

38. *Ibid.*, I, 22.

39. *Ibid.*, II, 292-93.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 294-96.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

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shall *forever say* that this is utterly wrong. Sub^s. will all think themselves entitled to books of the same excellent quality, and will as Genl. M. well observed, think themselves *cheated* if worse books be put upon them. . . .

But vain it is for me to counsel; my counsel has ever been contemned. For six long months before the work was printed I begg'd and pray'd as if for *salvation*, that you w^d have but one style of *ornamenting the books*. You have 2, 3, or 4. . . .⁴³

In 1805 or early in 1806 another edition of Weems' book came out at Albany,⁴⁴ but through 1805 there are still five letters to Wayne against every one to Carey. Weems wrote Wayne twice in February, again advising against "variegated bindings."⁴⁵ In March he had taken "100 new subs. nearly,"⁴⁶ but in August he lamented, saying: "If Job were in my situation he w^d outcurse a Boatswain of a British Man of War. The Binders! the Binders! Oh! God help the Binders!"⁴⁷ In September he recommended cheap books in addition to the fifteen-dollar *Life of Washington* by Marshall⁴⁸—this was the same thing he had said to Carey⁴⁹—and he mentioned an interview with Bushrod Washington in which publication of George Washington's correspondence was discussed.⁵⁰

In May of 1806 he again recommended subsidiary publications connected with Washington—"fine Washingtonian fraght [*sic*]"⁵¹—but in June he expressed desire to see the end of the business of Marshall's work,⁵² and in August he returned to his own *Life of Washington*:

AUG. 17—[18]06

[To C. P. Wayne. Postmarked Augusta Ga. Oct. 20.]

I begg^d you to strike off & send me with all possible dispatch 1500 of my large likeness of Washington—tis for a little pamphlet of the private & moral sort, supplementary to your large work—I told you & now tell you again that it is my wish that you shou'd participate in

43. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

44. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 23-24.

45. *Ibid.*, II, 313-16.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 316-18.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 327-28.

49. See above, p. 10.

50. Skeel, *op. cit.*, II, 328.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

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the profits of that & of every other little or big work that you [or] others print [for me?] while our Washingtonian Connexion continues—⁵³

Weems was here anticipating the important and rare Augusta edition of his work, which came out late in 1806; this was the edition in which the cherry tree story first appeared. Throughout the previous nine printings, the text had been changed and rearranged freely, but it had not been enlarged. The text of the Augusta edition was about twice as large as any previously used text. Because of his dissatisfaction with Marshall's work, Weems had expanded his own, to make a book more in conformity with the wishes of the buyers. His text was now approaching its final form.⁵⁴

Six months later Weems indicated to Carey that he would like to reënter his employ, but was unwilling to do so without a clear understanding that he should have a voice in the decision of what books he would sell:

AUGUSTA, Dec. 2d [1806]

See here Citizen Carey,—*I love you*. I've had a hell of a time in your service that's certain—but I believe you *honest*, I believe you generous & noble, *I love you*—But I'll be no slave. . . .

Treat me with *respect*, and if I *quit* Wayne (a thing very likely, for the young man has set me down for a Fool from the moment we met) I may perhaps put you into a way of doing good things, but, mind, I'll be no Slave, which as I said, *I certainly shall be*, if disregarding *my choice*, you are to chuse for me.⁵⁵

Weems mentioned his cherry tree edition again in a letter to Carey written five months later, in May, 1807. Here he summarized his relations with Wayne and hoped that they would soon be concluded. In spite of his wishes, throughout the next decade he continued to complain of Wayne occasionally, and as late as January, 1817, he said he would be much indebted to Carey if the latter "cou^d prevail on M^r. Wayne to settle this long & complicated—& to *me* most vexatious & unprofitable affair. . . ."⁵⁶ In the letter of May, 1807, he seems to have become as well aware of certain shortcomings

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-41.

54. *Ibid.*, I, 25-29.

55. *Ibid.*, II, 353-54.

56. *Ibid.*, III, 173-74.

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in the content of Marshall's book as he was of those mechanical deficiencies which had disturbed him from the first:

SAVANNAH. May 24. [18]07

SIR You ask me to write you fully. I am not disengag^d from M^r. Wayne but tis likely I shall be on winding up this heavy Washingtonian affair which probably will be soon. I am not in my element, tis chiefly the best Religious Work Moral & Political (*i. e.* Republican) Books that I wish to circulate. ergo in this History of Washington I *feel* no great interest. It is not half so moralizing & Republican as my own of which by the way I publish^d here this winter and have nearly sold off the whole impression 1500 copies (of a 5th edition improv^d. without frontispiece) at half a do^{llr}.

Wayne has no stock—and has met with such disappointments in this affair of Washington—gave so much for it—got so few sub^s. in comparison of what he expected. I obtained more than Ormrod & all his Post Masters & Aids throughout the Continent, put together, and yet my muster roll made short of 4000—such vexatious delays from mismatchings—defalcations of Subscribers &^c &^c that I don't think he will do much more at the printing business.⁵⁷

There was apparently no printing of Weems' book in 1807. In the course of the year his correspondence with Wayne decreased, while his correspondence with Carey increased in inverse concatenation corresponding. Throughout 1808 Weems continued to write fewer letters to Wayne, and comparatively more to Carey. In this year he tried to get Carey to take over the printing of his *Washington*, or to buy the copyright, and he indicated that there were still improvements to be made.⁵⁸ There were during the year three editions of the book, all done at Philadelphia. A sentence in the book shows that, in 1808, or shortly before or after, there were changes in the text of chapter sixteen; a discussion of the evils of disunion therein contained must have been suggested by talk of secession arising out of dissatisfaction with Jefferson's embargo. "At present," says Weems, "the plea for this most horrible measure, is the mischievous effects of the *embargo*."⁵⁹ There were several similar insertions and revisions after the larger version came out at Augusta in 1806.⁶⁰ The story of

57. *Ibid.*, II, 362. John Ormrod handled the New England sales for Wayne, and all postmasters were authorized agents.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 382-83.

59. Weems, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

60. Skeel, *op. cit.*, I, 25ff.

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Mrs. Washington's dream, the story of a Quaker named Potts finding Washington in prayer at Valley Forge, and Weems' claim to have been "Rector of Mt. Vernon Parish" appeared in an 1808 edition.⁶¹ The present preface, reacting against Marshall, seems to have been first included in the same year.⁶²

The letters of 1809 have very little to do with the content of the book, being devoted to business, but one is noteworthy because it throws a bright light on Weems' attitude toward historicity and toward the public. A good anecdote must not be lost because it was contrary to fact and offended someone, but it must be tactfully rewritten:

COLUMBIA. Jan'y 15. [18]09

Mr. Wayne (son of Genl Wayne) will have it that his Father cou'd not have committed [the] faux pas mention'd of him at page 209 Wash. Life. They say it was Col^o Ethan Allen. The gentlemen here say the anecdote must not be lost but given to Allen. Then say the "*Hero of Ticonderoga*."⁶³

It is evident from the above letter that at this time Carey was publishing Weems' *Washington*. In the same month Weems wrote Carey that the book was "not half finished,"⁶⁴ but there is no indication that he ever composed the half which still existed in his mind alone. Four 1809 editions were printed by Corchran of Philadelphia, but Carey's imprint was on one edition of 1809, and thereafter most of the editions preceding Weems' death in 1825 were published by Carey or by Carey & Lea. The text seems to have become fixed in 1808 and 1809.⁶⁵

IV

Weems' commercial sagacity and some of his sales methods are well displayed in a letter written to Carey in August, 1809:

I pray you to lay to heart what I told you yesterday about my plan of pushing Washington. Be assur'd it is the best on earth.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 30. For Mrs. Washington's dream and the story of Potts, see Weems, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-96 and 300-01. Much of the extensive literature of Weems is concerned with the historicity of the cherry tree story and of one or two less famous anecdotes such as these, or with Weems' sources or suggestions for them.

62. Skeel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 37. See above, p. 149.

63. *Ibid.*, II, 386. General Wayne is still represented as having mistaken the French words "*bon repos*" for the name of a hero. See Weems, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

64. Skeel, *op. cit.*, II, 387.

65. I have examined the texts of the 1927 edition, of a German one done for Carey in 1810, and of three others dated 1816, 1818 and 1840, and find them practically the same.

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Such is the Idolatry towards that Industrious Countryman of theirs, that the American People *will* have his history if cheap, especially if a little excited thereto by some genial touch. Well, my plan embraces excitement. The Lawyers, the Doctors, the Squires and Revolutionary Majors Colonels, &c scatter'd up & down the country have *great weight*. And that weight they are very ready to exert for Washington, especially when they are to receive one copy for every eight or ten that they shall distribute among their young friends. . . . I send you a hand bill of 300 which I had printed for you t'other day at Baltimore. . . . Well suppose now some Country Squire or Col^o. (whom I shou'd pitch on) had 10 Copies of Washington, and with his enthusiasm for that Great Man, and one of these Advertisements, printed in a *flaming* ad captandum style brandish^d in his hand at a barbecue a *muster* or what not, do you verily believe he w^d not knock 'em all off in 10 minutes? . . . Depend upon it that 17 years have made me pretty short sighted.⁶⁶

Weems was not such a fool as he may have seemed to Wayne. By the end of 1809 there had been eighteen editions of his *Life of Washington*; by the time of his death in May, 1825, the number had increased to 40. Between that date and 1932, when the latest edition was printed, there were around forty more, to make a total of about eighty.⁶⁷ In 1845 William Gilmore Simms said:

If we deny to Weems the merit of the historian, we cannot deny that he was a man of genius. His books have had a vast circulation, have exercised a wondrous influence over the young minds of the country, have moulded many of our noblest characters. His racy and excellent frankness, his orientalisms, his fluency, the fervency of occasional passages, the spirit of the dialogues,—the cleverness with which he would make his persons swear and swagger, and rebuke them for it,—the pleasing diversity of his pictures,—the great knowledge of life which they present, and the proper morality which elevated all that he wrote—have united to exercise a greater spell over young America, in past days, than almost any collection of writings within our experience. His style was a possession of his own.⁶⁸

Nearly a century later some of the points made by Simms have little cogency, and the author whom he called a genius may seem

66. Skeel, *op. cit.*, II, 419.

67. See above, p. 150, n. 5.

68. William Gilmore Simms, *Views and Reviews, Second Series* (New York, 1845), p. 125.

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valuable mainly for his unconscious humor. Nevertheless, though Parson Weems' masterpiece was a potboiler, and may be neither history nor literature, his cherry tree story is immortal. Furthermore, now that we are at war with nations which foster ideologies radically different from that of the enthusiastic parson, we may do well to give serious thought to his masterpiece. Marshall's marble Washington, and Weems' sainted Washington are equally passé. For several decades the realistic and factual emphases of historians have made debunking fashionable. The present crisis may produce a demand for old-fashioned patriotism and consequently for an idealistic but pragmatic view of the founding fathers.

The Effect of Henry Ward Beecher's English Speeches

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I. THE SETTING

N a consideration of this subject it would be well first to note the condition of British public opinion in 1863. It suggests the context into which the speeches may be fitted, the background which furnishes some intimation of their value. With regard to America, Englishmen were divided into three classes.¹ In the first were those warm friends of the South who desired official recognition of the Confederacy, and who were not over-concerned with its consequences. Because of its aristocratic background, this small group appeared stronger than it was. A second and larger group favored the reunification of the American states; it possessed good leadership, but was weak among electors and weaker in Parliament and society. The largest body of Englishmen, aside from the inarticulate masses, maintained an attitude of "irritated neutrality." It contained, however, much anti-slavery feeling and was finding itself being pushed progressively into an anti-Southern attitude. This division of opinion was destined to remain in a condition of approximate stability until near the close of the war.

With this situation in mind one can well understand why the contemporary Northerner in England thought the prospects of his cause far from bright. On every hand he found persons of the first and third groups who were extremely articulate both *viva voce* and in print. Henry Ward Beecher exaggerated in saying that every Englishman he met was a Southerner in sympathy,² but probably the general

1. In this paragraph I follow the account of Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War*, 162-63, which is the only study to consider the division of public opinion in 1863. Hereafter cited as Jordan and Pratt, *Europe*. Short titles are employed throughout this paper in making subsequent references to works once cited.

2. Speech at Brooklyn, November 19, 1863, printed in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, November 28.

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opinion of Americans abroad in 1863 was that the majority of those encountered in England were either cold or openly antagonistic toward the North.³

Few, however, doubted that the North commanded the sympathies of the English masses. The necessity of maintaining the loyalty of this non-voting class was, indeed, one of the arguments used to win Beecher's consent to speak, according to the Brooklyn preacher's own statement to some friends.⁴ The "Southerners"⁵ planned to hold great public meetings, but if Beecher would speak, the abolitionists said, he could stop a movement without whose support Parliament would not dare take action toward recognition.⁶

II. THE IMMEDIATE AUDIENCE

All of the public addresses of Henry Ward Beecher in important British cities were enthusiastically received; huge audiences gathered in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, and London. The usual phrase of the reporters was that "you could literally have walked upon the heads of the people."⁷ In Edinburgh some holders of platform tickets failed to secure admission.⁸ An American in Liverpool obtained a ticket only because of a death in the family of a person holding some.⁹ At Exeter Hall the speaker was able to enter only with the aid of the police.¹⁰

Pro-Southerners, too, were not inactive in preparing a welcome. Generally the streets of the cities in which the addresses were to be delivered were posted with scurrilous anti-Beecher placards. Those in Glasgow charged Beecher with demanding at the time of the *Trent* affair that the "best blood of England must flow for the outrage England has perpetrated on America."¹¹ Another in Manchester read in

3. J. M. Buckley, "Beecher at Liverpool," *Century Magazine*, XV, 240 (December, 1888).

4. Lyman Abbott and S. B. Halliday, *Henry Ward Beecher: A Sketch of His Career*, 169. For a complete stenographic report of Beecher's account of his English experiences see *ibid.*, 165-74.

5. The term includes both British subjects and Confederate citizens abroad who favored the South.

6. Abbott and Halliday, *Beecher*, 169-70.

7. H. R. Haweis, "Henry Ward Beecher," *Contemporary Review*, XIX, 32 (February, 1872).

8. Jordan and Pratt, *Europe*, 179.

9. Buckley, "Beecher," 241.

10. Lyman Beecher Stowe, *Saints, Sinners and Beechers*, 292.

11. Copy of placard, printed in *Liberator*, November 20, 1863. All newspapers cited hereafter are for the year 1863.

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part, "What reception can you give this wretch, save unmitigated disgust and contempt? His impudence . . . is only equalled by his cruelty and impiety. . . ."12 Other examples of like tenor could be cited.

As to the composition of the audiences there was some difference of opinion, probably dependent in part upon the degree of success or importance which a particular writer sought to attach to the venture. But in every meeting considerable numbers of "Southerners" were present, seeking to confound the speaker and to create a general confusion.¹³ (In the English meeting, any attempts to prevent a speaker from being heard were legitimate so long as physical violence was not used.)¹⁴ No doubt some of these persons were paid for their services from Confederate funds.¹⁵

While the primary concern of this paper is not with the content of the speeches, but with their effect, the chief subjects of discussion must be briefly noted. At Manchester the speaker detailed the history of slavery in America, interpreting the war as a phase of the struggle between slavery and freedom; at Edinburgh he averred that the South had rebelled when it could no longer rule the United States in favor of the slave interests; at Glasgow he showed the working man reduced to poverty because of competition with slaves; and at Liverpool he impressed the commercially-minded with the fact that the slave population purchased nothing and the white population very little.¹⁶ In Exeter Hall, London, Beecher emphasized that slavery was the sole cause of the war; that sympathy with the South aided in building a slave empire; that the North was struggling not only for its existence, but for free labor and free institutions throughout the world.¹⁷

There can be little doubt that the effect of the speeches on their immediate audiences was generally favorable to the speaker and to his cause. There was always considerable opposition to overcome or contend with; at Liverpool it required one and one-half hours'

12. Stowe, *Saints*, 290.

13. Henry Ward Beecher, *Patriotic Addresses* . . . , 642-49.

14. Lyman Abbott, *Henry Ward Beecher*, 252.

15. On the use of paid agitators during this period, see Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 192, 565-66.

16. Beecher, *Addresses*, 437-545.

17. *Ibid.*, 545-75.

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effort before the speaker could make himself heard.¹⁸ But even this meeting, which Beecher declared to have been worse in its opposition than all the rest combined,¹⁹ was successful; an American on the platform (J. M. Buckley) wrote later that the entire assembly finally was made to feel the greatness of the United States, the justice of its cause, and the certainty of its triumph.²⁰ In Liverpool an American who had never admired the speaker before was forced to admit that a man who could stand before such a meeting bristling with Southern sympathizers was certainly something of a hero.²¹

The most publicized and least tumultuous meeting was held in London,²² where "Northerners" were in such a majority as to make Confederate efforts futile.²³ Cheers for Beecher were now and then replaced by groans for the *Times*, for Mr. Mason, and for other unpopular organs of the press and individuals.²⁴ When the minister, after referring to the detainment of the Laird Rams, indicated he would have a different opinion of English sentiment to relate to his people, a boisterous demonstration took place.²⁵ The usual resolution thanking the speaker and expressing sympathy with his cause passed the assembly with only three dissenting votes.²⁶ Justin McCarthy thought the speech did not convert the opponents; it reduced them to silence for two reasons: they wanted to hear all that was said; they knew it would be useless to interrupt.²⁷

III. THE ATTITUDE OF THE LONDON PRESS

The attitude of the British press toward Beecher was quite naturally predetermined by political connections, but he was received with warmth by both sides. Among the pro-Southern journalists one, in anticipating Beecher's arrival, wrote that "the fellow will be received with open arms by a large party of tea and muffin-stuffing lunatics

18. Abbott and Halliday, *Beecher*, 177.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Buckley, "Beecher," 243.

21. Letter to *New York Post*, reprinted in *Cleveland Herald*, November 3.

22. Abbott and Halliday, *Beecher*, 179.

23. Article, *London Times*, October 20, reprinted in *New York Tribune*, November 3.

24. Editorial, *London Star*, October 21, reprinted in *Living Age*, LXXIX, 403 (November 28, 1863).

25. *Ibid.*

26. *London Star*, October 21, reprinted in *Ntl. Anti-Slavery Std.*, November 14, in *Liberator*, November 13.

27. *Famous Americans*, 25-26.

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here, and will doubtless be planted on the platform of Exeter Hall Let us hope the man will be treated with indifference."²⁸ The enormously influential *London Times*, reflecting the mind of upper middle-class and aristocratic England, combatted Beecher's arguments with something less than its usual invective. It admitted that the eloquent abolitionist spoke in a manner not to be forgotten by his hearers, but he was not the man to convert the British people to the Federal cause.²⁹ *Punch*, following the lead of the *Times*, tried to break the effect of the orations.³⁰ Though this minister had acquired a sort of distinction in a nation of mediocrities, he erred, according to another print, in believing that the intelligent classes of England would accept his dictum on any important question.³¹ Another quoted Falstaff, "He spoke very wisely, but we regarded him not."³²

Flaws were exposed in the man's personal appearance: he was coarse and heavy, with a countenance certainly not intellectual; in fact he was of vulgar aspect, one whom it would be difficult to imagine as being able to claim the rank of minister even in America.³³

Beecher offended some in presenting the war as a holy one.³⁴ This fellow, together with his brother war Christians, had promulgated a doctrine to supersede Christianity—a belief in the Union one and indivisible, with Beecher as its prophet and the sword as evidence of the faith!³⁵

While the pro-Northern press vigorously presented an opposite view, its journalism was not as influential.³⁶ Of the London sheets, the *Daily News* and *Star* were consistent defenders of the Northern cause. With reference to the London address, the latter in its evening edition made clear that the speaker was as much concerned with

28. Jordan and Pratt, *Europe*, 179. No source cited.

29. News item, *New York Tribune*, October 30.

30. Editorial, *Boston Transcript*, November 16.

31. Editorial, *London Herald*, October 22, reprinted in *Ntl. Anti-Slavery Std.*, November 21.

32. *London Era*, n. d., cited by Hibben, *Beecher*, 194.

33. Editorial, *London Herald*, October 22, reprinted in *Ntl. Anti-Slavery Std.*, November 21.

34. Editorial, *Spectator*, October 10, reprinted in *Albion*, October 24. However, the *Spectator* supported the North.

35. Editorial, *Boston Transcript*, November 16.

36. See H. D. Jordan, "The Daily and Weekly Press of England, 1861," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVIII, 302 *et seq.* (July, 1929).

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England as with America.³⁷ He was eager to justify America in the eyes of England, but at the same time emphasizing that she was not dependent on old England's moral succor.³⁸ At Islington Congregational Chapel where Beecher, unannounced, joined in a Thanksgiving service, he spoke judiciously, in a spirit promotive of good feeling.³⁹ All in all, the pastor would bear witness at home that the English Government was honestly neutral and the people cordially sympathetic, "and that he found them so."⁴⁰ The *Daily News* felt sure Beecher was convinced of the truth of Earl Russell's assertion that the great body of English people were with the North.⁴¹

In summary, the space devoted to Beecher by the pro-Southern London newspapers indicates something of his importance in 1863. Even the pro-Northern sheets, however, give no hint that he was changing public opinion or influencing governmental policy. They do infer that he was sounding public opinion out and would correctly interpret it to America.

IV. AMERICAN OPINION ON THE EFFECT OF THE ADDRESSES

According to Henry Ward Beecher, his tour was eminently successful since the idea of staging Southern mass meetings was abandoned, and the enthusiasm of the whole country was turned in the opposite direction.⁴² As a matter of fact, the pro-Southern agitation continued into the year 1864,⁴³ although the embarrassment caused by Southern attachment to slavery checked the movement.⁴⁴ Beecher contributed his part to its decline in publicizing the relation of slavery to the war. But the idea of holding Southern meetings was not abandoned, nor was the enthusiasm of the whole country reversed.

In the Federal states important papers reported the English speeches, usually commenting on them editorially. Thus before his return, Beecher was known in America as the conqueror of the British, to the delight of American vanity. Even as early as the Manchester address, the manner in which it was received proved to one

37. Editorial, reprinted in *Liberator*, November 13.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *London Evening Star*, n. d., reprinted in *Ntl. Anti-Slavery Std.*, November 14.

40. Editorial, *London Evening Star*, n. d., reprinted in *Liberator*, November 13.

41. News item, *New York Tribune*, October 30.

42. Abbott and Halliday, *Beecher*, 180.

43. Owsley, *King Cotton Dipl.*, 195.

44. Ephraim Douglass Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, II, 222.

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paper that the power of the Confederacy was utterly broken among the people.⁴⁵ No representative of the North in England had been able to awaken the interest which Beecher had; his widely read speeches could hardly fail to have a marked influence on British sentiment.⁴⁶ No doubt he had converted the better half of England to ardent friendship.⁴⁷ His work would prevent foreign intervention in our affairs.⁴⁸

Extreme statements on the other side were also prevalent. The Irish element charged this "infamous calumniator" with accusing them of the outrages committed on the colored people.⁴⁹ Elsewhere a derogatory column was entitled: "Beecher, the Satanic Parson, in England."⁵⁰ It was difficult to imagine any man of reason being won by Beecher's "erratic and inconsistent and illogical and *ad captandum*" appeals.⁵¹ He failed to produce any solid impression on the British mind.⁵² There was scarcely a man of influence at all his meetings.⁵³ But this was of little consequence since the English Government was substantially on the Northern side.⁵⁴ Yet an anti-Beecher paper admitted one beneficial result: he had softened the bitter tone of the American press until even severe journals opined that England and America were beginning to understand each other.⁵⁵

Looking to individual expressions of opinion, it is not difficult to discover pro-Beecherites. A gentleman who was present at Exeter Hall credited Beecher with turning the tide of English opinion and preventing the recognition of the Confederacy.⁵⁶ A responsible person on General Lee's staff stated that in Lee's opinion recognition would have come had it not been for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Beecher's

45. Editorial, *Ohio State Journal*, October 26.

46. Editorial, *New York Tribune*, October 22; November 17.

47. Editorial, *New York Commercial Advertiser*, n. d., reprinted in *Boston Transcript*, November 19.

48. Editorial, *Ntl. Anti-Slavery Std.*, November 24.

49. Editorial, *Boston Pilot*, n. d., reprinted in *Liberator*, November 20. In his Liverpool address Beecher declared the negro to be well treated in the North. Someone in the audience asked, "How about the New York riots?" Beecher replied, "Pro-slavery Irishmen made that."—Beecher, *Addresses*, 537.

50. Editorial, *New York Herald*, November 5, reprinted in *Liberator*, November 13.

51. Editorial, *Albion*, November 7.

52. *Ibid.*, November 21.

53. *New York Times*, November 18, cited by Hibben, *Beecher*, 195.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Editorial, *Albion*, November 7.

56. Thomas W. Knox, *Life and Work of Henry Ward Beecher*, 26.

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addresses.⁵⁷ It was reported that Lincoln told his cabinet near the close of the war that there would be but one man, Beecher, to raise the flag at Fort Sumter, for "without Beecher in England there might have been no flag to raise."⁵⁸ Oliver Wendell Holmes designated him "The Minister Plenipotentiary" in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*; his was "a more remarkable embassy than any envoy who has represented us in Europe since Franklin pleaded the cause of the Young Republic at the Court of Versailles."⁵⁹

Among the early biographers these over-enthusiastic opinions are continued. The best, but not impartial, writer of the period is of the opinion that his friend made English interference impossible.⁶⁰ Furthermore, he is credited with making possible the subsequent arbitration of the *Alabama* claims and preparing for an unofficial alliance between the two countries.⁶¹ However, the latest and most critical biographer concludes that the English tour was of no great political value to the United States.⁶² The meetings were a meaningless gesture, he avers, since the laboring class had no vote; Henry Ward could talk as much as he liked without affecting Anglo-American relations at all.⁶³ All of these statements will bear scrutiny.

The critical historians have generally failed to accord much importance to the work of Beecher—partly, it would appear, because of its seeming insignificance when compared with the other factors which stabilized an isolationist condition in England.⁶⁴ Several of them do not mention Beecher's service abroad.⁶⁵ To one it is a matter of opinion whether the activities of men like him were helpful or otherwise.⁶⁶ A specialist who has made a thorough study of Great Britain and the American Civil War does not dwell on the tour because its

57. Stowe, *Saints*, 293.

58. Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln: A New Portrait*, I, 106.

59. XIII, 106 (January, 1864).

60. Abbott, *Beecher*, 262.

61. *Ibid.*, 263.

62. Hibben, *Beecher*, 191.

63. Hibben, *Beecher*, 189.

64. Edward Channing avers that the Emancipation Proclamation powerfully affected the attitude of the government; consequently Roebuck's motion for recognition of the Confederacy was withdrawn. And three weeks afterward, the victories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg so changed the military situation that all but the most pro-Southern people of England must have realized that the possibility of intervention had disappeared.—*A History of the United States*, VI, 366.

65. McMaster, Rhodes, Schouler.

66. Channing, *History*, VI, 371.

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influence in "winning England" seems to him "absurdly over-estimated."⁶⁷ However, a recent study of European public opinion with regard to the war notes some important effects of the venture.⁶⁸ The evidence assembled here supports the conclusions of this study.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Sifting the evidence, so much of which bears the stamp of prejudice and exaggeration, what finally can be said of the value of this tremendous oratorical effort?⁶⁹ First, it rallied the pro-Northern and anti-slavery groups in large numbers wherever Beecher spoke. Second, every word of the addresses, often with the addition of editorial comment, reached a vast British (and later American) newspaper audience; these utterances must have aided, in some degree, the development of a better understanding between the people of the North and of England.⁷⁰ At least it was something, as the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* remarked, to have compelled so many hostile papers to circulate so much "truth."⁷¹ Third, the demonstration, too enthusiastic to be ignored, showed "that the friendship for the North released by emancipation was no flash in the pan, and that British favors to the South could be given only in the face of a determined and numerous opposition."⁷² Although the division of public opinion was pretty well stabilized by the year 1863, no one at the time knew that the condition would continue unchanged during most of the war. A demonstration such as this, therefore, was valuable in its contemporary setting.

Neither greater nor lesser effects than these can be allowed where principles of modern historical criticism maintain. Beecher's over-estimate of his own importance, which was improved upon by his friends, believed by important contemporaries, and used as the basis for later over-evaluations, must be revised.

67. Adams, *Great Britain*, II, 184, note 3.

68. Jordan and Pratt, *Europe*, 178-80. See quotation at note 72.

69. It has been impossible to assemble all of the evidence, and the conclusions reached here are not to be considered final; but there are certain supposed facts which are probably true. In determining these, newspapers have been the best single source available. Independent statements, made at the time, and often based on direct observation, are of great value; supposed facts substantiated by both pro- and anti-Northern papers in England and by pro- and anti-Beecher papers in the United States are likely to be true.

70. See p. 172.

71. November 14.

72. Jordan and Pratt, *Europe*, 180.

Colonel William Fleming*

Commissioner to Examine and Settle the Public Accounts in
the Western Country, 1782-1783¹

By WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., PH. D., ALDERMAN LIBRARY,
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I. THE PROBLEM

HE American Revolution was nearing its climax when increasingly numerous reports of corruption in the affairs of the Western Country began to worry and alarm Virginia officials in Richmond. The difficulties arose from the problems of supply and finance which confronted George Rogers Clark in his efforts to occupy the Illinois country and to keep possession of it. Hundreds of miles from the nearest post and still farther from the seat of government, he had little chance to receive help or

*Colonel William Fleming (1729-1795) was a Scots physician who came to America in 1755. He landed in Norfolk, Virginia, and went immediately to the frontier to fight under George Washington against the French and the Indians. When the campaigns were over, he settled in the Valley, first at Staunton, where he practiced medicine for five years, and then in Botetourt County. He became one of the leaders of the western region and commanded a division of the colonial forces at the Battle of Point Pleasant in Dunmore's War, 1774. Wounds received in that encounter kept him from active service in the Revolutionary Army, and he was appointed County Lieutenant of Botetourt, entrusted with the defense of his section of the frontier. In 1779 he was made chairman of the Commission to Settle Land Titles in Kentucky, and when he completed that work the next spring, he took his seat as a member of the Council in Richmond. The British invasion of Virginia in 1781 caused the members of the state government to scatter, and when Thomas Jefferson's term as chief executive expired on June 3, Fleming was the only official available to transact public business, so for a brief period he was Acting Governor, with the defense of the state his chief problem. After the crisis, he retired to his home until the formation of the Commission which took him to Kentucky for the second time.

1. This was the title used by Col. Thomas Marshall, one of the Commissioners, in writing to Lt. Gov. David Jameson, October 14, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* (Richmond, 1875-90), II, 549. Gov. Benjamin Harrison used a longer form in his instructions to the Commissioners, September 6, 1782: "Commissioners appointed to examine State and settle all Accounts with the State upon the Western Waters," MS., Fleming Papers, Washington and Lee University Library. Other titles employed in public and private correspondence include: Commissioners appointed in the Western Country, Commissioners for settling with the Officers, Commissaries, &c., in the Western Country, Commissioners for settling and liquidating claims in the Western Country, Commissioners for the purpose of adjusting affairs in the County of Illinois, Commissioners in the Western Country, Commissioners to (in) Kentucky, and—the simplest of all—Western Commissioners.

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advice, and he was thrown entirely on his own resources. With groups of soldiers scattered throughout the vast region, separated from each other by rivers and forests and dependent almost entirely on the supplies which could be got from the settlers or through occasional shipments from outside, the situation was one to promote uncertainty and chaos. Dishonesty and fraud were inevitable when weak or unscrupulous officers appeared on the scene, and the confusion made even the best men liable to suspicion.

Clark's position was decidedly precarious, because he needed supplies for troops to protect a region as large as any European kingdom. And not only did he have to support his own army, but he also had to provide ammunition, food, and drink for large groups of Indians who drifted in and out of the Cahokia and Kaskaskia settlements.² Henry Hamilton, British commander in the Illinois country, wrote to his superior officer that "the Rebels are enterprising and brave, but want resources."³ The lack was supplied in part by the British themselves, when Clark took over their store of goods in Vincennes after the capture of that post. In addition, a convoy from Detroit valued at ten thousand pounds was seized on its way down the Wabash River. The provisions it contained were taken for the public and the goods divided among the soldiers, the officers receiving nothing except a few necessary articles of clothing.⁴ The people of Kaskaskia furnished Clark during 1778 and 1779 with large quantities of flour, various amounts totalling 54,600 pounds being contributed by twenty-nine inhabitants.⁵

But the amounts seized and donated were not nearly enough, and letters written at all the posts complained of the difficulties of holding forts without food for the garrisons. Capt. James Shelby, writing to Clark from "Post St Vinston" (Vincennes), said he had received no provisions, and the lack of salt rendered at least two-thirds of the men incapable of duty. The post, he said, was in bad condition and would have to be abandoned unless there was speedy relief.⁶ The

2. Joseph Bowman to Clark, Cahokia, October 30, 1778, James A. James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781* (Springfield, Ill., 1912), p. 71; Jefferson to Clark, Williamsburg, January 29, 1780, *ibid.*, p. 390; Linetot to Slaughter, January 11, 1781, *ibid.*, p. 490. (Hereafter cited as James, *Clark Papers*, I.)

3. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

4. John B. Dillon, *A History of Indiana . . .* (Indianapolis, 1859), pp. 157-59, quotes Clark's account of the seizure.

5. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 360-61.

6. Shelby to Clark, October 10, 1779, *ibid.*, p. 370.

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same sort of communication went from Capt. William Shannon at Louisville to Governor Thomas Jefferson. The army was destitute of all kinds of military stores and there were none to be purchased. The only food to be had was beef, corn, and salt, all at most extravagant prices.⁷ Later, Col. Slaughter heard from Capt. John Bailey at Vincennes that the men had been on half allowance for fifteen days, and the garrison could not be kept together any longer without relief. In that region "there is plenty of provisions here but no credit."⁸ John Craig, at End of Long Reach, wrote Clark that, though he was unmolested by the enemy, his men were "almost killed" with fatigue and had been on short allowance of flour for twelve days and often several days without beef. He had, therefore, in order to raise their spirits, contracted with John Waller for twenty-five gallons of whiskey, "for which I have made Bold to Draw an Order on you and your Honouring it will Infinitely Oblige me."⁹ Conditions became so bad that the garrison of Vincennes was withdrawn in 1782 because of the lack of supplies, and the country round about was left in great confusion.¹⁰

The money problem was equally complicated. Clark received twelve hundred pounds in depreciated currency as his military chest for conquering an empire.¹¹ The amount was recognized to be insufficient, for he was told to draw for further sums on Oliver Pollock at New Orleans, who would be instructed to honor drafts signed by Clark.¹² It was difficult to persuade the French inhabitants of the region to accept the money brought by Clark and his soldiers. Peltries and *piastres* were the only currency known to these rugged people, and it was not until Col. Francois Vigo, a Spanish merchant at St. Louis, explained the arrangement to them that they would receive

7. Shannon to Jefferson, December 11, 1780, *ibid.*, p. 473.

8. Bailey to Slaughter, August 6, 1781, *ibid.*, p. 581.

9. Craig to Clark, November 14, 1781, James A. James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1783* (Springfield, Ill., 1926), pp. 13-14. (Hereafter cited as James, *Clark Papers*, II.)

10. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York, 1907-09), II, 181.

11. Minutes of the Council, January 2, 1778, *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, ed. Henry R. McIlwaine (Richmond, 1931-32), II, 56. "Clark's Memoir," in Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Conquest of Old Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1927), p. 43; and in William H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778-1783* . . . (Indianapolis, 1896), p. 468.

12. Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement: The Colonies and the Republic West of the Alleghanies, 1763-1798* (Boston, 1897), p. 117.

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the Virginia paper.¹³ Even then, the money was not well received, and it soon became much reduced in value.

With credit exhausted, Clark was forced to rely to a large extent on bills of exchange which were to be paid on presentation to Pollock. Many of the charges of fraud and dishonesty which arose from the accounts of Clark's army had their origin in the unauthorized drawing of bills for doubtful amounts. Clark, at the end of a table made by Col. Todd to show the depreciation of currency at various times and places, said clearly that all bills drawn by him on New Orleans were passed at a rate of a hard dollar for every one named in the bill, while all drawn on the governor or treasurer of Virginia were for paper money and understood to be at such rate of depreciation as prevailed at the time and place of drawing.¹⁴ Difficulty arose when the bills were returned to Virginia for redemption, and question was raised as to whether the amounts named were to be paid in solid money or in paper currency.

Clark's first communication with Pollock took place shortly after the capture of Kaskaskia. Clark wrote that he had been ordered "by the Executive Power of the Commonwealth of Virginia" to attack British Illinois and in case of success to continue there with a strong garrison. "I have succeeded agreeable to my wishes. & am Necessiated to draw Bills on the State and have reason to believe they will be accepted by you."¹⁵ A short time later, Clark wrote Pollock that the goods purchased in Illinois were most extravagant in price. He hoped Pollock would send a \$5,000 assortment of goods suitable for the soldiers and for presents to the Indians. "I will make you Immediate remittances in Bills."¹⁶ Pollock, an Irish immigrant who had built a fortune in commerce and land speculation, set about helping Clark to the full extent of his resources, shipping provisions, obtaining credit, advancing money, paying bills of exchange, and even mortgaging his own estates in order to meet the demands of Clark's creditors.¹⁷

13. John Law, *The Colonial History of Vincennes* . . . (Vincennes, 1858), pp. 49-50.

14. James, *Clark Papers*, I, 379.

15. Clark to Pollock, Kaskaskia, July 18, 1778, James, *Clark Papers*, I, 55.

16. Clark to Pollock, Kaskaskia, August 6, 1778, *ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

17. James A. James, "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (1929), 67-80. There is a full discussion of Pollock's help to Clark in James, *Oliver Pollock, The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot* (New York, 1937), pp. 140-61.

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While Pollock's was the outstanding account among those connected with Clark's expedition, it was by no means the only one. Major Geoffrey Linctot¹⁸ performed services of a kind different from Pollock's, services perhaps not so materially evident, but nevertheless of great value in bringing about Clark's success. He was a French officer, born in Canada, who, after the Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave England possession of all France's domain in the New World, refused to serve under the English flag, and wandered for years among the savages of the Illinois region. He picked up an extensive knowledge of Indian languages, and this made him most useful to the Americans in counteracting the influence of the British on the various tribes. Col. de la Balme, writing from Fort Pitt to the Chevalier de Luzerne, Minister of France at Philadelphia, described him as "indeed worthy of the greatest praise." His zeal for the American cause had led him to give to the Indians his horses, his goods, and often his clothing, in order to maintain their attachment. At the time Col. de la Balme wrote to M. Luzerne, Linctot was off on a trip to the nations to ward off the blows which were threatening the frontiers of the United States. The collars he gave and the words of peace he uttered were so well received by the Loups, the Shawnees, the Hurons, etc., that the possibility of an Indian problem to add to Clark's troubles was almost entirely removed through Linctot's efforts.¹⁹ He also provided peltries for use in purchasing provisions, and he received in return bills of exchange which formed the basis for part of his claims to compensation when the question arose in later years.²⁰

Charles Gratiot, a Swiss trader connected with the firm of David MacCrae and Company, was one of the Illinois merchants who helped support the credit of Clark's expedition.²¹ He not only advanced considerable sums to assist Clark, but he also loaned money to individual American officers.²² After awhile, however, he declined to furnish anything on the credit of the State of Virginia, because he

18. Linctot was referred to in a variety of ways: Lanctot, Langtot, Lantoe, Lantas, Lantos, Linetot, Lintot. Frenchmen habitually called him Godefroy instead of the Geoffrey used by American officials.

19. Col. de la Balme to Luzerne, June 27, 1780, Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790* (Springfield, Ill., 1909), pp. 163, 166.

20. Two bills of exchange for peltries, both dated at Fort Clark, June 5, 1779, and both marked: "Accepted, G. R. Clark." James, *Clark Papers*, I, 328, 329.

21. Clarence W. Alvord, *Cahokia Records, 1778-1790* (Springfield, Ill., 1907), p. li.

22. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 59-60.

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had been disappointed at not receiving payment of bills drawn on Pollock at New Orleans and had had to borrow funds with which to pay his own debts. Col. John Dodge, who applied to Gratiot for provisions, was forced to pay very extravagant prices (20 *livres* in peltry for powder, 12 for lead) and to promise to pay in three months' time for the seventy packs he obtained.²³ Lt. Col. J. M. P. LeGras was another merchant who used his own resources for the benefit of Clark's army. On one occasion he was forced to sell a negress and her child rather than be put under execution for debt.²⁴

John Gibson, a trader in Pittsburgh, sent Clark proposals regarding supplies for the troops in the West. The goods were to be sold in Pittsburgh, and Gibson was to receive in payment merchantable skins or furs, or in case the entire sum could not be made in peltry, the balance was to be paid in specie or other current money equivalent thereto.²⁵ The invoice listed the articles to be included in such a transaction—spirits, fine linen, white cloth, rum, sugar, wine, coffee, tobacco, chocolate, blankets, blue cloth, handkerchiefs, stockings, brandy, worsted caps, etc.—and gave the purchase price in Philadelphia. An additional sum of 150% was to be laid on for carriage to Pittsburgh, risk, wastage, trouble, expense, barrels, kegs, and the like.²⁶ Other merchants and traders did their part to aid the American cause, including Vigo of St. Louis, Bosseron of Vincennes, Cerre of Kaskaskia, and a host more. Each performed a valuable service, and not a few were reduced to poverty through their efforts in behalf of Clark.²⁷

Governor Thomas Jefferson early recognized Clark's difficulties with the bills of exchange given in payment for provisions. In September, 1780, he wrote asking Clark to countersign all demands for money which arose under him. He (Jefferson) had been obliged to decline many bills which had been presented, bills which very possibly might be just, because they were drawn by unauthorized persons and

23. Dodge to Col. John Todd, Camp Jefferson, Mouth Ohio, June 8, 1780, *ibid.*, p. 159.

24. LeGras to Clark, Vincennes, February 15, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 38.

25. Proposals dated July 11, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 571-72.

26. Invoice dated at Fort Pitt, July, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 573-74. That Clark actually received the supplies from Gibson is borne out by the fact that the invoice was labelled: "Goods as purchased in Philadelphia, for specie, by John Gibson, and by him delivered to Gen. Clarke, in Pittsburg, July the 19th, 1781."

27. A list of the more prominent names is given in Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, p. li. The importance of Vigo's aid is mentioned in Roosevelt, II, 172, and in Winsor, p. 121.

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for services perhaps not directed by Clark. Clark's and Slaughter's drafts were, of course, duly honored.²⁸ Slaughter himself informed Jefferson that he had with great hesitation consented to sign bills for purchases made by the commissary, and did so only because of the probable consequences of his refusal. Since this was done, he had made enquiry into the conduct of the commissaries, and it appeared to him that there was a combination among the officers very pernicious to the State. He mentioned the refusal to buy corn at forty dollars a bushel and then the purchase of the same corn at sixty dollars from an officer who had bought it at the lower price. The same situation, involving the same officers, could be proved in regard to whiskey.²⁹

With facts, figures, and names before him, Jefferson took definite action. He wrote Clark in February, 1781, enclosing papers which, he said, gave real concern as they seemed to show great abuses in the western quarter. He transmitted the papers so that strict enquiry might be made, not by Clark, whose time was otherwise better engaged, but by such persons of known integrity of character as he might appoint.³⁰ Clark, in his turn, was thoroughly aroused by the complaints of dishonest practices in his department. He informed Jefferson a month later that the gentlemen, including Slaughter, might expect to undergo the strictest scrutiny in a short time.³¹ The first to bear the brunt of examination were Capt. William Shannon and Capt. James Francis Moore, purchasing commissaries in the western department. A board appointed by Clark, consisting of John Floyd, Isaac Cox, William Oldham, and Robert Todd, investigated complaints made by Major Slaughter as to Shannon's and Moore's behavior. The latter was charged with purchasing pot metal, paying for it with a bill drawn on the State (Virginia) for the purchase of a quantity of corn. No explanation of this matter is to be found in the records available. Shannon was charged with the questionable deals in corn and whiskey mentioned by Slaughter in his previous letter to Jefferson. The accused commissary explained his conduct in

28. Jefferson to Clark, Richmond, September 8, 1780, James, *Clark Papers*, I, 455-56.

29. Slaughter to Jefferson, Louisville, January 17, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 440-41.

30. Jefferson to Clark, Richmond, February 19, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, I, 508; *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford (New York, 1892-99), II, 460-61.

31. Clark to Jefferson, Youghania, March 27, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, I, 516-18; Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, p. xcix; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 597.

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the corn affair by stating that he thought he had agreed to buy from William Pope at forty dollars a bushel, but when the deal was about to be closed Pope claimed fifty dollars; whereupon Shannon refused to go through with the arrangement, but later bought the same corn at sixty dollars from James Sullivan, who had purchased the corn from Pope at forty-five dollars a bushel. The confusion in regard to the whiskey was explained by the refusal of the first owner to accept bills on the treasury in payment, while the second owner (to whom the first sold the whiskey) was willing to take the bills.³² Apparently the defense presented by the two officials was deemed sufficient, for Slaughter reported to Jefferson in April that he had not proved his charges against either Shannon or Moore. He further observed that he had put too much confidence in information supplied by gentlemen whom he had thought were men of veracity and honor.³³

Col. John Montgomery's accounts were among the most confused, probably because there were few figures on paper to show the whereabouts or the disposition of the sums committed to his charge. His methods were so questionable that when he left in September, 1780, for a trip south, everybody breathed sighs of relief. "Col. Montgomery is gone from here with Brookes & family Thank God," wrote Richard Winston to Col. John Todd. The day before his departure he tried to settle the peltry fund, but fell short eleven packs. He took with him, when he left, boats deeply laden with large quantities of provisions, besides five black slaves—for all of which the public accounts suffered.³⁴ A petition from sixty inhabitants of Kaskaskia to the Governor of Virginia set forth at some length the tale of Montgomery's misdeeds. From autumn 1779 to May, 1780, he had been furnished with at least sixty thousand pounds of flour, which was more than enough for the maintenance of thirty-eight troopers. He was not satisfied, however, and ordered the soldiers to go under arms from house to house in order to seize by force what flour they could find. He caused to be shot, in the streets, before barn doors, even in the very yards, a number of domestic animals—all this in spite of the

32. Report of the commissioners, April 13, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, I, 519-20.

33. Slaughter to Jefferson, Louisville, April 13, 1781, *ibid.*, p. 254; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, II, 38; Slaughter to Jefferson, Louisville, April 14, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, I, 524.

34. Winston to Todd, Kaskaskia, October 14, 1780, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 195-96.

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plentiful supplies of meat given him. When suppliants showed him that he was totally ruining them and that this was not the liberty promised by Col. Clark, his answer was that if any were dissatisfied they could prepare to keep their weapons in good condition, and that he and his troops were ready for action.³⁵ The people of Kaskaskia were so stirred they banded together, to the number of forty-four, to pay Richard McCarty and Pierre Prevost to go to Virginia to represent them in protests against Montgomery's behavior. McCarty was killed by a band of Indians on the way, and there is nothing to show that Prevost ever crossed the mountains on his errand.³⁶ Instead, Jefferson received from Montgomery a large bundle of drafts for payment. These were rejected and the holder informed that if he would satisfy Clark they were for articles or services necessary to the State, Clark would countersign them, and then they would be paid according to their true value at the time of drawing.³⁷

Even Clark did not escape suspicion. Word reached Governor Benjamin Harrison that all was not as it should be with the commander himself. Thereupon, Harrison wrote to Joseph Crockett of Albemarle, who had recently returned from a sojourn in Kentucky, asking for information. The Governor pled the public good as the reason for his disagreeable method of inquiry, and added that since the great distance prevented his knowledge, he must depend on gentlemen of candor.³⁸ Crockett replied at once, defending Clark's military activities and describing the difficulties encountered in the western area. He then remarked that the General purchased from Mr. Gibson at Fort Pitt a considerable quantity of goods, liquors, sugar, coffee, tea, etc., "which the officers in general *accuse* him of making a very *unequal* distribution." Crockett cited one more instance in which it was thought Clark departed from his trust. A Mr. Ellett [Elliott?] traded to New Orleans with 5,000 wt. of flour which he stored at Mr. Newell's, where the public flour was also kept. Mr. Ellett went down the river with Clark, and at the Falls of the Ohio, where unloading was necessary because of low water, he unloaded near the place where the public flour (near 400 kegs) was

35. Petition dated at Kaskaskia, May 4, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 233-35.

36. Contract dated at Kaskaskia, May 5, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 241-44.

37. Jefferson to Clark, Richmond, April 20, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, I, 516-17.

38. Harrison to Crockett, Richmond, October 16, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 132-33.

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landed. Crockett saw Ellett taking flour from the public supply, and, on asking the reason, was told Newell had mixed the two stores. When Crockett reported to the commissary, he was informed that Clark knew about the business. A few days later, when all the public flour was sifted and repacked, Crockett had a watch kept for kegs branded with Ellett's mark, but none were found.³⁹

2. THE COMMISSION

The increasingly numerous reports of fraud and corruption among the troops in the Western Country were so disturbing that the House of Delegates, on June 21, 1781, in a joint resolution for the regulation of conditions on the western frontiers, included an item desiring the Executive to call to account all officers, agents, commissaries, quartermasters, contractors, and other persons concerned in the disbursement of public monies in the Western Country.⁴⁰ This seemingly innocuous part of a resolution was made effective a month later. The Council "on maturely considering the enormous expence as well as great risk and inconvenience which must necessarily attend the calling all those persons to the Seat of Government who are comprehended in the above resolution," unanimously advised that five able, discreet, and disinterested persons be appointed to proceed to the Western Country as soon as possible and empowered to carry the resolution into effect "in as full and ample manner as possible."⁴¹

George Rogers Clark was taken aback at the measures adopted. He sent a verbal message to the Council, expressing the feeling that the resolution was aimed at him and was a criticism of his management of the Illinois department. He determined to resign his commission and give all his attention to his large land holdings. Benjamin Harrison wrote him they were all surprised that he took the attitude that the resolution was aimed at him, "whose Character has ever stood unimpeached." In diplomatic terms Harrison explained that great abuses had been committed and that it was necessary to correct

39. Crockett to Harrison, Charlottesville, October 24, 1782, *ibid.*, pp. 142-44; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 358-60.

40. Joint resolution of June 21, 1781. Two copies, one addressed to Fleming, MSS., Fleming Papers, WLU; contents given in James, *Clark Papers*, I, 569, and *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, II, 176.

41. Memorandum dated "In Council," July 20, 1781, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

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them and to bring the offenders to justice. "At such only the Resolution points." He then hoped that on cooler reflection Clark would agree and have no more unhappy thoughts on the subject. A resignation just then would be extremely injurious to the State by throwing the whole back country into confusion and perhaps bring about its loss.⁴² Clark was satisfied with this explanation, and said he knew abuses had taken place and ardently wished for the arrival of the commissioners to settle the accounts.⁴³

Governor Nelson had not waited for the organization of the proposed Commission, but began almost at once to make preparations for its work. He wrote identical letters to Solicitor Leighton Wood and to the Auditors of Public Accounts, ordering that lists of the monies disbursed in Kentucky and Illinois from January 1, 1778, be made out and returned to him as soon as it could be done. The names of persons to whom payment was made, the dates of the drafts, the time the debts were contracted, as well as the time the money was paid—all these must be particularized.⁴⁴ Having thus started the ball rolling, Nelson then set about making appointments to the Commission. For some reason, he named only four instead of the five suggested by the Council. His first selections were Col. William Preston, Col. William Christian, Col. Thomas Marshall, and Col. Samuel McDowell, all of whom lived in the Valley, and all of whom were familiar with the conditions in the country to their westward. Preston and Christian declined to serve, and it was necessary to name others to accompany Marshall and McDowell.⁴⁵ Governor Nelson may have turned quite naturally to Col. William Fleming to fill one of the vacancies, for the Botetourt colonel had served before on a similar errand and was well acquainted with the problems to be encountered. In addition, he had written a letter in which he referred directly to the work of the Commission, hoping that the appointees would have

42. Harrison to Clark, Richmond, December 20, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 20-21.

43. Clark to Harrison, Lincoln Co., February 18, 1782, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 68-69.

44. Nelson to Wood, and Nelson to Auditors, Richmond, September 6, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 36-37; James, *Clark Papers*, I, 600-01.

45. Preston to Nelson, Montgomery Co., September 28, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, II, 501; Christian to Nelson, October 10, *ibid.*, pp. 540-41; Marshall to Lt. Gov. Jameson, October 14, *ibid.*, p. 549; Webb to Marshall, Richmond, October 17, *Governors' Letters*, III, 87.

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sufficient power given them to discriminate between the guilty and the innocent.⁴⁶

Fleming was chosen, and, on December 7, 1781, Archibald Blair, clerk of the Council, wrote enclosing an appointment as Commissioner, and naming Preston, McDowell, and Marshall as the gentlemen to act in conjunction with him. They were to agree on a day of meeting at the Falls of Ohio before March 1, and afterwards adjourn to the place or places found expedient.⁴⁷ Fleming quickly replied to Governor Harrison, declaring that he was willing to obey any orders where he might be of service to his country, although "an infirm state of health makes it very uncertain, whether I will be able to undertake the Journey." He repeated his earlier suggestion that considerable powers be given the Commissioners, because "I am no Stranger to the difficulty there will be, in bringing defaulters in that quarter to Justice." They should be allowed a clerk and proper books, and supplied with a list of the sums already advanced and what part remained unsettled, and an account of the powers vested in the commandants or agents for drawing bills. Since the journey from Botetourt to the Falls of the Ohio covered about 450 miles of "uninhabited desert" infested with Indians, an escort should be provided.⁴⁸

Fleming's suggestions as to the powers the Commission should have in order to perform its work bore fruit in the "Powers and Instructions" addressed to Fleming and the others by Governor Harrison on January 29, 1782. The instructions covered the same ground as the resolution passed by the Assembly the previous June. The Commissioners, all of them or any three, were to call to account all officers, agents, etc., and to validate the accounts of all such persons, and make a special report thereof to the Executive. So that the business might be executed with greater accuracy and dispatch, the Commissioners were empowered to appoint a secretary and to summon before them for testimony all public officers in the Western Country, as well as any other persons they might think necessary. All

46. Fleming to Nelson, Botetourt Co., November 14, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, II, 598.

47. Blair to Fleming, Richmond, December 7, 1781, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU. It was specifically stated that Fleming was to take the place left vacant by his brother-in-law, Col. Christian.

48. Fleming to Harrison, Botetourt Co., December 20, 1781, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 290-93; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, II, 672.

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magistrates, sheriffs, and peace officers were directed to give assistance when requested to do so. The county lieutenants were required to provide militia as escorts from post to post, and the commanding officers of the posts were ordered to furnish the necessary rations of provision and forage.⁴⁹ Thus the Commissioners were given a free hand to do their work much as they wanted and found advisable.

Harrison wrote Fleming the same day and expressed pleasure at Fleming's consent to assist in settling the western accounts. He approved of the plan of action in general, and promised to furnish such accounts and documents as were available. Much, however, would be left to the discretion of the Commissioners "in whose abilities and judgment we place entire confidence." The Governor remarked that no powers to draw bills on the State had been granted except to Clark himself, and yet there were others who had exercised that right. His Excellency suspected collusion between the drawers and the drawees, and named Col. Montgomery, Capt. George, and Mr. Pollock for special investigation. He then agreed to extend the time for the first meeting from March to May 1. Each Commissioner was to be allowed three pack horses as well as pay adequate to the trouble and expense involved. Harrison hoped that Fleming could furnish or borrow money for any immediate necessities, and he would be repaid with interest from the first money to come into the treasury. The difficulty of procuring members for the Commission was indicated in a concluding paragraph of the Governor's epistle, where he said that so many had refused to serve that three blanks were left to be filled by Fleming in case others had to be named.⁵⁰

It seems to have been agreed that Fleming was to act as chairman or head of the Commission, though there is no direct reference to that fact in any of the correspondence about the arrangements which were going forward. As early as January 13, there is record of Fleming's taking charge of some papers concerning the claims of one Crittenden

49. Document dated "In Council," January 29, 1782, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU; *Governors' Letters*, III, 140-41. The copy which Fleming received was addressed to Fleming, Marshall, and McDowell, with a blank into which Caleb Wallace's name was later inserted. The copy printed from the Executive Letter-Book was addressed to Fleming and Marshall, with a blank where the names of McDowell, Daniel Smith, and Granville Smith later appeared.

50. Harrison to Fleming, Richmond, January 29, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 32-34; *Governors' Letters*, III, 139-40.

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for services rendered.⁵¹ Harrison wrote Marshall and McDowell that the documents and instructions necessary for the work of the Commission would be sent to Fleming.⁵² These papers Fleming would hand to Marshall if a start in June should be decided on, as family circumstances would prevent the former from leaving at that time.⁵³

There was, however, still further delay. Col. McDowell was unable to see Fleming before going to Richmond. He thought that October seemed to be a suitable time to begin the business, and he intended to give the Governor and Council reasons for thus postponing the meeting again.⁵⁴ A fortnight afterward, the Governor wrote Fleming, Marshall, and McDowell that the date was set forward to December 1, which he hoped would be a convenient time for all to be present.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Harrison reported to the Speaker of the House of Delegates that, because almost every bill presented for payment carried strong marks of imposition, the Executive had decided to pay none of them until the Commissioners had conducted their investigations. Creditors were clamorous, he said, and the Executive had wanted to settle the accounts, but only lately had he procured a group of gentlemen willing to go out to do the work. The Governor enclosed some accounts and orders regarding affairs in the back country, which he wanted returned for the use of the Commissioners.⁵⁶

During the interval, Fleming seems to have had doubts as to whether he would remain a member of the Commission after all. Col. Sampson Mathews of Staunton wrote Governor Harrison in August that he had just seen Col. Fleming and had persuaded him to continue "In the Counties to Settle the Claims to the Wester'd," a position he was about to resign on hearing he had been displaced as an assistant judge.⁵⁷ The question of financing the Commission's activities came up in Fleming's conversation with Mathews, and the

51. John Crittenden to Clark, Lexington, January 13, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 29-30.

52. Harrison to Marshall *et al.*, Richmond, January 29, 1782, *Governors' Letters*, III, 141.

53. Fleming to Harrison, March 20, 1782, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

54. McDowell to Fleming, Rockbridge Co., March 8, 1782, MS., *ibid.*

55. Harrison to Fleming *et al.*, Richmond, March 23, 1782, *Governors' Letters*, III, 180.

56. Harrison to Speaker of House of Delegates, Richmond, June 26, 1782, *ibid.*, p. 256.

57. Mathews to Harrison, Staunton, August 22, 1782, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 265.

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latter took the liberty, as he said, to make some suggestions regarding it to the Governor because of the propriety of making provision for so long a journey into a country where supplies could not be procured. It was apparent, Mathews stated, that money and many necessary articles would have to be provided to enable the Commissioners to proceed on their business. At least £25 to £30 each should be allowed for actual expenses, plus enough to purchase "Baggage-horse & furniture." "1 Blank Book, 1 Ream writing paper, 3 papers Ink-powder, 1 Box wafers, 2 lbs. Tea & 25 Coffee, 50 lbs. Brown & 15 lbs. Loaf Sugar" would all be needed. The money to purchase the horses, etc., should be forwarded to each gentleman, so that he might use his best judgment in the matter.⁵⁸ Col. Mathews' hints about money were acted on by the Governor at once. He wrote to the Treasurer, Jacquelin Ambler, and said that the Western Commissioners could not proceed without the advance of a sum of money. Therefore, £150 out of the first money to come to hand was to be reserved. An Auditor's warrant in favor of Fleming would then be given to Mr. A. Blair, who would receive and forward the money.⁵⁹

As the time for the departure of the Commission drew near, Fleming wrote in haste to the Governor for final instructions. He said that as October 1 had been fixed as the time to begin the journey, and as no advice had been received, it was thought necessary to send an express for any papers and instructions to be added to those formerly given. He reported that the membership of the Commission was settled finally, with the appointment of Mr. Caleb Wallace. Fleming went on to say that it had been strongly hinted that efforts would be made to obstruct the business of the Commission by acts of violence, and asked if it might not be proper to have a sheriff and militia as escort during sittings. He concluded by remarking that a number of articles were still to be got from Richmond, including a blank book, paper, ink powder, wafers, etc., all to be sent by way of Col. Mathews.⁶⁰ The Governor drew up for the Commissioners a detailed set of instructions in much the same tenor as the previous shorter ones. Since there was reason to apprehend many frauds and

58. *Ibid.*

59. Harrison to Ambler, Richmond, August 31, 1782, *Governors' Letters*, III, 313.

60. Fleming to Harrison, Botetourt Co., September 4, 1782, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 289.

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impositions, the Commissioners were to inquire into the expenditure of the public monies, examining the accounts of the officers concerned and demanding proper vouchers for their bills. Special attention was directed to the abuses committed in the drawing of bills without authority, with Pollock's, Montgomery's, George's, and Elliott's transactions to be particularly investigated. "You will be pleased to keep an Abstract of all your Proceedings with such necessary Memorandums respecting the State of the Country and its affairs as will enable the Executive to settle all the Claims that may be now due, as well as to be competent Judges of any Transactions there in future. Your further Observations will not fail of affording to them much Satisfaction."⁶¹

Preparations for the expedition were pushed rapidly during September. William Hay, agent of the State, following the Governor's directions, sent to Staunton a pack horse and rider with travelling stores, paper, and money for the Commissioners. These were to be left at Staunton with Mr. Alexander St. Clair, with an order to be forwarded to Col. Mathews' house if necessary, and from there to Col. Fleming's or the place of meeting.⁶² Hay wrote Fleming that the supplies had been sent to Staunton, and added that the instructions drawn up a few days previously had been made as full as possible with the papers at hand. Nevertheless, much was left, which Fleming's prudence and good sense would pound out as circumstances occurred. The money "sent herewith" was charged to Fleming on the books, and Hay recommended the taking of such receipts as would help the settlement on the return of the Commission. A memorandum of the stores and money was enclosed, and Hay wished him "success in your arduous Enterprise."⁶³ Governor Harrison wrote one final message to Fleming, to say that he had sent to Mr. St. Clair £150, together with the full set of instructions and such papers as could be procured. The latter were, no doubt, short of what might be necessary, but Fleming's judgment must supply the deficiency. The Governor could not suppose the people would obstruct the proceedings of the Com-

61. Instructions dated "Council Chamber," September 6, 1782, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU; *Governors' Letters*, III, 320-22.

62. Hay to Mathews, Richmond, September 9, 1782, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

63. Hay to Fleming, Richmond, September 9, 1782, MS., *ibid.*

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missioners, as their accounts could never be paid until settled; but if they should be so inclined, Fleming must take such measures as seemed best. Harrison warned that expenses must be kept down, as the sum sent was all that could be procured and must be apportioned as the Commissioners agreed. "I most sincerely wish you Health and [a] prosperous Journey."⁶⁴

Fleming was not certain that the journey would be a prosperous one, as shown in a pessimistic letter he sent the Governor just before he left on the trip westward. He acknowledged receipt of the papers and the £150 specie. "The money," he said, "is by no means adequate to the purposes." That very morning he had received a letter from Kentucky describing the defeat at the Blue Licks, a melancholy catastrophe which had just happened there. "Your Excellency will perceive that Country is in a great confusion and disorder, and be convinced the powers desired by the Commiss'r, in the letter I had the honour of writing your Excellency by Armstrong are not altogether unnecessary." The start was set for October 1, but there might be a few days' delay in Washington County to make up a sufficient party to pass safely to Kentucky.⁶⁵

3. AT WORK

Fleming returned to Kentucky after an absence of two years to find conditions there much changed. The year 1781 had witnessed a large influx of settlers from the east, and cabins had sprung up in forests hitherto occupied by wild animals and Indians. The whole region was now so well filled with settlements that the Virginia Legislature had subdivided the County of Kentucky into three parts: Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln counties, each with its own officials. The years 1781 and 1782 had also seen an increasing number of Indian raids, culminating at the battle of the Blue Licks in August of the latter year, immediately before the Commission set out from Virginia. This disastrous encounter, which resulted in the death of approximately one-tenth of the fighting men in Kentucky—including Col. Stephen Trigg, brother-in-law to both Fleming and Wallace—

64. Harrison to Fleming, Richmond, September 16, 1782, *Governors' Letters*, III, 323-24.

65. Fleming to Harrison, Botetourt, September 26, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 117-18; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 327-28.

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caused a profound depression among the people just as the Commission started its work.

Fleming, accompanied by Caleb Wallace, left "Belmont," his home in Botetourt County, on October 2, 1782, riding down the lane which wound from the door through the fields of his estate on a fine horse he had just purchased for £30. With him were two baggage horses bought for £15 and £7.6, laden with clothes, papers, and certain articles of equipment for the use of the Commission, such as the iron pot and tin kettle, the twelve pair of horse shoes and nails, and the twenty pounds of dried beef acquired that first day of the trip.⁶⁶ Progress was fairly rapid for awhile. Fourteen miles were covered on October 2, twelve more on the 3rd, and twenty-two on the 4th. The evening of the second day, at Mr. Madison's, Fleming and Wallace were joined by Col. Samuel McDowell, another of the Commissioners, and some other people going Kentucky-wards. The third day a letter was sent to Col. Granville Smith, a fourth Commissioner, to let him know that the group had started. Several days later, at Washington Court House, word was received from Col. Smith declining to act on the Commission at all. Thus a vacancy was inevitable even after the many efforts to procure a full membership. The fifth Commissioner, Col. Thomas Marshall, was notified to join the others at Harrodsburg on November 1. Thither the Fleming party directed its steps, riding steadily westward, farther and farther from the Virginia towns. On October 14, Fleming "regulated the compy." and found there were nineteen persons present with sixteen guns, sufficient to provide protection unless very large bands of Indians were encountered. The mountains were crossed on the 17th by way of a "bad & stone" road. That day, too, several people with cattle were met, bound east. The Cumberland River, almost dry at the ford, was easily crossed the next day. On the 19th the Commissioners caught up with Capt. R. Todd and his company on Laurel River, and were told of several scattered incidents in which settlers had been killed nearby. The next day Fleming and his companions passed the grave of nine persons who had lost their lives near the Hat Lick and had been buried together. Travelling became more difficult, because of the large number of creeks to be crossed, and often only three, four,

66. Manuscript diary and account book, October 2, 1782, Fleming Papers, WLU.

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or six miles were covered in a day. Whereas lodgings had been available on the outskirts of Virginia, camping was now the only method of obtaining shelter. Often the bank of a creek was chosen for the site of the night's rest, the water serving not only as a means of refreshment, but also as a protection on one side. In at least one case, the water was "excessive bad" because it was "tinclud" with coal. The Kentucky settlements were reached on the 23rd, and most of the company left the main route. Fleming pressed on, and heard more frequent reports of military movements to the north. Harrodsburg was reached on November 1 as scheduled, and the Commission was ready to begin its work.⁶⁷

The arrival of the Commissioners was by no means unexpected. Their appointment had been welcomed as bringing a clarifying influence to the tangled condition of affairs there. The start of their activities was eagerly awaited by those who had been forced to stand by and watch the accounts sink deeper and deeper into the bog of confusion. Maj. John Crittenden probably expressed the sentiment of many men when he said, "I have no Reason to doubt but the conduct of those, by whom the State have suffered abuses, will be held out to the most conspicuous View, and treated as atrocious criminals."⁶⁸ Clark himself was still inclined to defend matters as they had gone on under his charge. He told Davies that, in a department where business was as various and extensive as his, there could be no doubt that many errors were committed. "But by Report I believe there is more noise made about it than is necessary." The expenses had been considerable, and except for some which had proved unnecessary, he was satisfied with the propriety of the whole.⁶⁹ The Governor, perhaps uncertain as to Clark's attitude, sent him word to cooperate with the Commissioners in their work. They were men of prudence and judgment, he said, and it might not even be amiss to consult them as to the proper military moves. At any rate, all accounts of the expenditures in the department were to be laid before the gentlemen in order to be adjusted and reported.⁷⁰

67. *Ibid.*

68. Crittenden to Davies, Fayette Co., November 29, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 158.

69. Clark to Davies, Lincoln Co., October 19, 1782, *ibid.*, p. 139; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 348.

70. Harrison to Clark, Richmond, October 17, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 134-35.

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William Fleming, Thomas Marshall, Samuel McDowell, and Caleb Wallace, members of the Commission for settling and liquidating claims in the Western Country, met formally for the first time at Harrodsburg on November 1, 1782. They read their powers and instructions from Governor Harrison, dated January 29 and September 6, and then proceeded to elect John McDowell, son of the Commissioner, Secretary. They discussed the proper method of procedure, and decided, since most of the claimants whose accounts were to be examined were absent on an expedition against the Indians, to adjourn to meet at Lexington on the 11th. During the interval of ten days, Fleming moved from station to station, arranging some land matters with John Mays, listening to sermons on Sundays, and fixing medicine for Col. Bowman's diabetes. He "rode briskly" to Lexington on the 7th, "& found the hills of Kentucky vastly steep, Rocky & bad beyond conception." The Board met on the 11th and on the three days following, and settled some small accounts, but found that they still could do little business because the troops had not yet returned. They sent a letter to General Clark to inform him of their arrival, and adjourned for another ten days. Fleming spent the first free day inspecting the fort at Lexington, and found it such a poorly constructed affair that it could not hold out more than two days if attacked. Then he visited around, making his headquarters at his widowed sister-in-law's, Mrs. Trigg's.⁷¹

The Commissioners got together again on the 25th at Viney Grove in Lincoln County, and looked over the papers relating to their business. Col. Marshall was not present, and continued to stay away until January 20, but since it had been stipulated that three members might constitute a quorum, his absence made no difference so long as all the others were on hand. On November 26, Fleming rode to Gabriel Madison's and had a long conference with Clark, and two days later Clark "came over" to see the Commissioners.⁷² It was at

71. The account of the work of the Commission is derived mainly from three sources. Fleming's manuscript diary, Fleming Papers, WLU, covers the period October 2, 1782-January 13, 1783. His published diary, printed in Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), pp. 657-74, covers the period January 4-April 17, 1783. The official journal of the Commission, printed in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 293-402, covers the period November 1, 1782-June 28, 1783. The last deals, of course, only with the business before the Commission, while the other two contain personal comments and details of the life lead by the Commissioners during their work.

72. Manuscript diary, Fleming Papers, WLU.

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this time that Clark wrote the Governor that "the Commissioners have at last arrive and [I] expect to do business with them as soon as I fix on some probable plan for Building garisoning and Victualing the posts on the Ohio."⁷³ The Commission met at Col. Bowman's several times during the next week, chiefly to consider the excuses of Capt. Rowland Madison and Col. George Slaughter for not presenting their accounts at once.

On December 4, apparently tired of the lack of progress and determined to start things going, the Commissioners drew up a proclamation announcing a meeting at the Falls of the Ohio on January 15. All persons having accounts or letters of exchange against the State were to come in order that these might be adjusted. To ensure attendance, it was stated that "No debt, of whatever nature it be, will be paid at Richmond except that it be first examined, determined, and certified by us." The proclamation was issued in both French and English, so that all might understand.⁷⁴ The Commissioners also sent a letter to the Court at Kaskaskia, announcing the presence and purpose of the Board, and enclosing "some Advertisements" to be distributed. One copy of the latter was to be sent to St. Louis for the benefit of the Spanish gentlemen concerned.⁷⁵ Secretary McDowell put all these papers into a cover addressed to Clark and asked him to forward them to their destinations, as the Commission had no particular messenger.⁷⁶ The same day Fleming wrote to Governor Harrison reporting the progress up to that time. He said that the Board had not taken an escort from Washington County as authorized, but had ventured through the wilderness safely. They had done very little business because the people were out in the forces sent against the Shawnee towns. However, notices had been dispatched to the forts in the Illinois country, and various persons, including Col. LeGras and Col. Montgomery, had been summoned to appear before the Commissioners.⁷⁷

During the next three or four weeks the Commission met off and on, sometimes with an item or so of business to attend to, more

73. Clark to Harrison, Lincoln, November 30, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 165.

74. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 317-18.

75. Virginia Commissioners to Court at Kaskaskia, Lincoln Co., December 4, 1782, *ibid.*, p. 319; MS., Fleming Papers, WLU (draft in Fleming's handwriting).

76. J. McDowell to Clark, Col. Bowman's, December 4, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 165-66.

77. Fleming to Harrison, Lincoln Co., December 4, 1782, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 313-15; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 389.

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often with nothing to consider. The journal for the last week of December invariably bore the terse, "No business coming before the Board Adjourned until Tomorrow morning," which indicated how slow the creditors were in bringing their accounts for examination.⁷⁸ Clark sent the Commissioners a letter on the 15th promising the coöperation which the Governor urged on him. The settlement of the accounts was, he said, "what I have long most ardently wished for and nothing in my power shall be wanting to facilitate the business." This was indeed a generous offer of assistance, since the commander had been lukewarm when the appointment of the Commission was first suggested. Then Clark proceeded to ask the advice of the Commissioners on a military matter, as Harrison had suggested he should. He wanted to know what the gentlemen thought of the orders to erect and garrison posts at the mouths of the Kentucky, Licking, and Limestone—the failure to do which was considered the cause of the Blue Licks disaster. Clark now explained that the original orders were not carried out because of the great probability of losing the party sent to do the work. Further instructions would be executed "if in my power," but at the same time the opinion of the Board would be welcome.⁷⁹

This was not the first time the Commissioners had heard about the orders to build the forts as a protection for all the Kentucky settlements. Governor Harrison had written to Fleming and the others on October 16 about the dissatisfaction with Clark's conduct. He told them, as he had already written Col. Todd, that if the commander had obeyed the previous orders "the late misfortune" (another reference to the Blue Licks) would not have happened, as the people would certainly have been alarmed if they had not thought themselves protected. "The orders are again repeated, and I desire you will use your Endeavours with him to fix his Attention on those objects." The Governor went on to add that reports were current that Clark was so addicted to liquor that he was incapable of attending to his duty.⁸⁰ Nor was this the only word of complaint against Clark to reach the

78. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 301.

79. Clark to the Commissioners, Lincoln Co., December 15, 1782, *ibid.*, pp. 167-69; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 396-97.

80. Harrison to Fleming *et al.*, Richmond, October 16, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 131-32; *Governors' Letters*, III, 346-47.

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ears of Fleming. He noted in his private journal on December 7 the receipt of two anonymous letters, both containing charges against Clark. When the General appeared on the 20th to seek in person the military advice he had requested by letter, the anonymous communications were shown him; whereupon he replied that he hoped the Commissioners would scrutinize his conduct carefully.⁸¹ The conference ended with the Board expressing the opinion that the mouth of the Kentucky would be the best place for a fort since one there might be more easily supported than a post at Licking which was sixty miles from any settlements. This decision was expressed in a letter to the Governor on December 23⁸² and was put in writing at Clark's request on January 10, 1783.⁸³ Harrison responded two months later in a letter to Clark, approving the choice of the mouth of the Kentucky as the location for a fort, so that the advice of the Commissioners had a real effect on the military situation in the Western Country.⁸⁴ This matter of the forts was, however, the only thing with which the Commissioners concerned themselves in the early stages of their work in addition to their regular business of the accounts.

The intervals between sessions of the Board were filled with visits to settlements other than the one in which the meetings were held. Fleming rode over a large area, spending one day (Christmas) at "the Dutch station," the next in Harrodsburg, the next in Lexington, then to Boone's Station, and so on throughout the time. Often bad weather made the riding difficult, and on several occasions Fleming had to swim his horses over rivers. On December 29 he was unable to cross the Kentucky River, and so "lodged at the foot of a rock cold & rainy." It snowed January 4 and 5, and Fleming noted in his diary that "a good part of the road [was] bad." On the 6th he reached Kinslow's Station, which had been destroyed by the Indians at the time of the Blue Licks defeat. There was no place to lodge, so he "encampd in an old field, the day & night very cold." But in spite of these hardships, and indeed on the very days when it was snowing

81. Manuscript diary, Fleming Papers, WLU.

82. The Commissioners to Harrison, December 23, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 298-301.

83. The Commissioners to Clark, Falls of the Ohio, January 10, 1783, *ibid.*, pp. 305-06.

84. Harrison to Clark, Richmond, February 27, 1783, *ibid.*, pp. 206-07.

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worst, Fleming took the time to gather some petrified cockle shells in a spring.⁸⁵ He remarked that what he found were "sea cockles, some wholly petrified, others half petrified, some single shells, others the whole cockles, some few of the Clam kind, some shells seemed broke and dented in by the pressure of foreign bodies from above, and cemented by the petrifying matter, they seemed either to be real Antedeluvians, or to have lain there since that part of the country was possessed by the sea, as these were real marine shells."⁸⁶ He probably knew whereof he was talking, since he had spent his early years around and on the ocean; it was, however, unusual to choose such a time and place for detailed scientific observations.

The Commission wrote Governor Harrison that they had "reason to fear a backwardness in some who have had the disposal of public Monies & Stores" to present their accounts for inspection.⁸⁷ Richard Winston, commandant at Kaskaskia, was evidently not among the hesitant ones, for he gave public notice of his intention to "profit by an occasion so favorable" and set out immediately to settle his accounts with the State of Virginia.⁸⁸ That evidence of corruption and fraud was gathered from time to time, in spite of the general difficulty of procuring witnesses, is indicated by the scraps of testimony preserved in the records. On December 31 a number of pay rolls and minor claims were examined and adjusted.⁸⁹ Then the Commission adjourned to meet at the Falls of the Ohio on January 15 as publicly proclaimed a month before. But when they arrived at that place, it was discovered that the garrison was short of provisions and had no forage for the horses. So it was necessary to move to New Holland for the appointed sittings.⁹⁰ After arrival, no business arose for several days, and Fleming rode down to the lower end of the Falls, where he picked up many petrified substances, including buffalo and goose dung turned to stone, petrified roots of trees, and a petrified buffalo horn. He noted in his journal the structure of the rocks along the bottom of the Ohio River, the sandy nature of the soil beyond the Salt River, and the good quality of the river water.⁹¹

85. Manuscript diary, Fleming Papers, WLU.

86. Mereness, p. 662.

87. The Commissioners to Harrison, December 23, 1782, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 301.

88. Notice dated at Kaskaskia, January 21, 1783, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 328-29.

89. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 302-04.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

91. Mereness, pp. 665-68.

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On January 20 Col. Marshall rejoined the other members of the Board after an absence of nearly two months, and the same day the Commission began the investigation of the accounts of the more prominent individuals. The gentlemen were unable to go about this in a systematic way, because they had to consider the accounts of any one officer whenever the evidence or witnesses connected with that case were available. Thus, though the papers of each officer were examined separately, there was nothing continuous in the entire process. Any number of small accounts were settled at one, or at the most two, meetings, but of the important accounts only that of Capt. Barbour was disposed of definitely while the Board was in Kentucky. Thus the work of the Commission ran on some two months after the return of its members to Virginia, though much of the necessary evidence was gathered during February and March.

General Clark, the commander-in-chief, was naturally the most important officer whose records were to be scrutinized, and the Commissioners started their detailed work on specific outstanding accounts on January 20 with the receipt of his papers and books and with the taking of several depositions relating to them. Four days later, the 24th, the Board spent the day examining Clark's accounts, which were then left untouched for nearly three weeks. On February 10 Major George Walls testified concerning a report of Clark's carrying on a private trade in partnership with Robert Elliott. Again, on February 19, the Commissioners were engaged in examining Clark's accounts, which were once more deferred for further investigation. March 28 the General appeared and laid before the gentlemen another set of accounts concerning goods received and issued by him. These, like his previous papers, were put aside for further consideration.⁹² Probably the most damaging piece of evidence against Clark was contained in the deposition of John May given on February 3 at Holland Station. Even this was a second-hand account of a case where Clark was reported to have written a draft for a sum larger than the actual expenditures.⁹³

The accounts of Capt. Philip Barbour, who had conveyed a cargo of goods from New Orleans for the use of the soldiers in the West,

⁹² Clark's accounts were mentioned in Fleming's published diary, *Mereness*, p. 668; and in the official journal, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 307, 309, 312, 325, 362.

⁹³ James, *Clark Papers*, II, 190-92.

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were laid before the Board on the second day of its detailed work, January 21. The depositions of William Clark and Martin Carney concerning the bills drawn in Barbour's favor were taken the next day, and Capt. George was called to testify along the same lines. Then the Commissioners waited until February 5, expecting to learn the different prices of goods at New Orleans at the time Barbour purchased the cargo he sold at Fort Jefferson. But, no further information having been received, it was decided to settle the accounts anyway, though the final steps were again postponed for a day. It was two days later, February 7, when the Board wrote to Capt. George requiring his immediate attendance to hear witnesses produced by Barbour in his own behalf. The following morning Quartermaster Carney and Sergeant Pitman appeared at Barbour's request and were examined with respect to some articles of Barbour's cargo. Lt. Clark was called on to tell whether the inventories under consideration were written by him and whether they were complete. The affair remained unsettled over the weekend, but was given a full review on Monday the 10th. The various documents were examined, and statements were made by Capt. George and Col. Montgomery; whereupon the Commissioners gave it as their unanimous decision that George had no authority to draw bills and therefore the State was under no obligation to honor them as part of Barbour's claim. It was recognized, however, that Barbour's cargo had been used by the garrison at Fort Jefferson, and it was agreed that he should be paid a generous price for the goods he had furnished. The inventories were read over and an invoice made out from the best available information as to New Orleans prices, the sum finally settled on being \$7,588, an amount far below that claimed in George's bills, but as much as was proved by the documents at hand. A payment of 225%, or three dollars and a quarter for every dollar paid for the purchase of the cargo in New Orleans, was allowed. Thus a final decision as to Barbour's accounts was reached, though a last proviso was added to the effect that if later information should show the quantity or cost of the supplies to be greater, a revision of the amount decided on would be made.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Barbour's accounts were covered briefly in Fleming's published diary, *Mereness*, pp. 668, 669; and in detail in the official journal, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312-16.

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Not so clear-cut were the other outstanding accounts. Capt. George's papers were presented for examination on January 21 and several depositions regarding them were taken immediately. Four days later, Lt. William Clark testified concerning them, and then no more was said about the matter during the Commission's stay in Kentucky. George himself presented for payment on February 26 an account against the State for discharging for a soldier a doctor's bill. Apparently this was laid aside for the time being, too.⁹⁵ Col. William Lynn's accounts were also discussed briefly, on February 17 and again on April 12, though it was difficult to make progress in his case because he had died some time previously and his administrator could produce no vouchers.⁹⁶ Depositions were taken, however, and some evidence of fraud was shown. General Clark informed the Board that in August, 1778, Lynn brought several bills of exchange to him to countersign. He (Clark) severely reprimanded Lynn and asked him how he could draw bills without the proper authority; to which Lynn replied that the country was indebted to him. Clark did not look at the bills and did not know in whose favor or on whom they were drawn. The testimony of others showed that Clark should have investigated more closely. Col. Montgomery declared that he saw Lynn receive quantities of goods from Kaskaskia merchants, and saw him drawing bills in favor of one of them. Montgomery was with Lynn at Misère (cant name for Ste. Genevieve) when he purchased "a good smart quantity" of goods from a Spanish merchant there. Lynn had a boat of his own and employed hands at his own expense. At the Falls of Ohio he disposed of half the goods as his own property. When Montgomery asked Lynn how he intended to pay for the supplies, Lynn answered that he could draw bills on Oliver Pollock, as the country was indebted to him. John Sanders added his testimony to that of Clark and Montgomery, including the fact that the goods Lynn purchased were valued at \$2,500-2,600, and were contained in two trunks, two barrels, and some blankets.⁹⁷ This

95. George's name figured less frequently in regard to his own accounts than it did in connection with Barbour's cargo. For data on George, see Mereness, p. 668, and James, *Clark Papers*, II, 307, 309.

96. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 321, 371.

97. Depositions taken at New Holland, February 17, 1783, and signed by John McDowell as Secretary of the Commission, *ibid.*, pp. 195-97.

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was as far as the Commissioners had got when they returned to Virginia.

Col. Montgomery, against whom a multitude of accusations had been made, was 'on the carpet' pretty steadily throughout the month of February. On the 6th the Commissioners sent General Clark a note requesting a copy of his instructions to Montgomery for drawing bills of exchange on the credit of the State.⁹⁸ Clark answered that he had authorized Montgomery to draw bills on him and on the Treasurer of Virginia to defray the necessary expenses of the troops, but not on any other person. Clark added that at a court of inquiry held on Col. Montgomery at Fort Nelson in 1781, one of the charges against him was that of drawing bills on Pollock contrary to the orders of his superior officer. He had then proved to the court the necessity for drawing those bills, and his explanation was satisfactory to the court.⁹⁹ Montgomery's accounts and vouchers were laid before the Commission on February 14, and for the next week the Board spent most of its time examining them.¹⁰⁰ About this time a long letter was received from Montgomery, giving an account of his activities in the West, with details of his conduct in money matters.¹⁰¹ That all were by no means satisfied, however, was indicated by the petitions sent by the people of Illinois to the Commissioners. In one, dated at Kaskaskia on March 1, the inhabitants of the Western Country complained of the treatment they had received, and pointed out that the tyrannical conduct of Col. Montgomery deserved most careful attention.¹⁰² Governor Harrison wrote the Commissioners that Montgomery's bills were so numerous and their amounts so enormous as to be incredible. Particular care should be taken in the examination of his accounts.¹⁰³

A number of small accounts occupied much of the Board's time in February and March. Capt. William Shannon, M. Carbonneaux,

98. Official journal, *ibid.*, p. 311.

99. Clark to Fleming, February 6, 1783, *ibid.*, p. 195; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 433.

100. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 317, 318, 319, 325.

101. Montgomery to the Commissioners, New Holland, February 22, 1783, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 441-44. Receipt of this letter is mentioned in the official journal, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 336.

102. Two petitions, French and English texts, Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 329-40, 340-44.

103. Harrison to the Commissioners, Richmond, February 27, 1783, *Governors' Letters*, III, 461; James, *Clark Papers*, II, 207-08.

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Col. John Todd, Col. LeGras, Col. Linctot, Charles Gratiot, and Col. Slaughter were all among those whose financial transactions figured in the investigation. Final settlements were arrived at in few instances, though details of particular bills were decided—such as the deduction of \$112 from LeGras' account for excessive charge.¹⁰⁴ In Col. Todd's affairs, the Commission drew a blank because that gentleman was dead and, as in Col. Lynn's case, the executor was unable to find the requisite papers.¹⁰⁵ Some days were devoted entirely to the examination of the pay rolls of the companies in Clark's army. For instance, February 25, March 20, 21, 22, 26, and April 10 were well filled with pay roll affairs. The method of settling seemed to be uniform: to award to each officer the pay of the rank next below that in which he served. This extraordinary procedure appears to have been due to the large number of men on each pay roll. The variety of the services for which compensation was asked was truly astonishing. Among the reasons for money allotments were in general order of importance: rations furnished, express service, horse hire, flour furnished, corn furnished, spy service, enlistment bounties, buffalo beef and bear meat furnished, work at the row galley, horses lost, guns lost, shoes furnished, planks furnished, making canoes, service as commissary, and extra service beyond that performed in regular course of duty.¹⁰⁶

As already indicated, the Commission did not remain long in one place during its investigations. The records of its work show how frequently the scene of action was shifted from post to post. This was, of course, quite necessary in order that all witnesses might be examined without having to leave their positions. Often, naturally, an officer would have to take a day's journey to meet the Commissioners, and sometimes the commanders of forts far out in the wilderness found it necessary to travel great distances (as Richard Winston of Kaskaskia),¹⁰⁷ but usually testimony was taken from those concerned in their own localities. After the meeting at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) on January 15, when the Board began its serious labors,

104. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 319.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 319.

106. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

107. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 328-29.

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New Holland, Harrodsburg, Col. Bowman's, Lexington, and Col. Logan's were all visited. Other, briefer stops were made, such as those at Mrs. Trigg's, Mr. May's, and Mr. Speed's, and it was occasionally necessary to camp out in the woods on the bank of a creek.¹⁰⁸ Col. Fleming was present at all sessions of the Commission, and so was Caleb Wallace; but both Col. Marshall and Col. McDowell took leaves of absence to attend to private business. In addition to his long holiday, already mentioned, McDowell remained away from February 10 to March 7. On the latter date, while the Board was sitting at Col. Bowman's in Lincoln County, Marshall left to do business in Fayette County. This absence lasted only four days, however, as on March 11 Marshall returned, and the Commissioners were all together during the last month of their work in Kentucky.¹⁰⁹ While the Commission was at New Holland, late in January and through most of February, the attendance of a sheriff was found necessary at certain times. Perhaps this was because the creditors were unusually insistent and would not wait their turns. At any rate, Col. William Pope, who was Sheriff of Jefferson County, was directed to be present on January 20, and he continued his services when needed as long as the Board was in session in his jurisdiction.¹¹⁰

When the Commission finally got to work, it went ahead rather steadily, taking depositions, examining papers, calculating sums, and settling amounts. The larger accounts were continued on from session to session, but were interspersed with a multitude of smaller affairs. No work at all was done during the ten days from February 27 to March 7, when three whole days were spent preparing a packet to be sent back to Virginia. The letter from the Commissioners to Governor Harrison, included in this packet, reported the state of the work, and said that all necessary papers would be in hand by the last of the month, and the accounts then unfinished might be closed after the return. "We are solicitous to return the latter end of this month as we will have the opportunity of a Considerable Compy. returning which will save the expence of an Escort and which in reality can not be taken from this Country." The Commissioners expected to be in Boutetourt April 20, and wished the Governor's

108. Published diary, in Mereness, *passim*.

109. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 317, 337.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 370.

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directions as to the future course of action.¹¹¹ Clark reported to headquarters at the same time, and added that he had given the Board "every information in my power."¹¹² Previous to the dispatch of these reports, a preliminary view of the proceedings had been given the Governor by a letter dated February 17, in which were set forth details of various accounts.¹¹³ Harrison had, in turn, written the Commissioners approving their work. He said, "the steps you have taken to procure a settlement of the public accounts shew you have not been idle, and I have no doubt but you will continue your industry till the Business is finally closed."¹¹⁴

Besides the advice given General Clark in December, 1782, as to the location of the fort to be erected for the protection of Kentucky, the Commissioners were later called on to decide other defense problems. Major George Walls of Fort Nelson sent Clark exact returns of the public stores at that post, with the wish that they be laid before the Commissioners for their consideration. The fort was too important, he declared, to be neglected, but it could not be continued under existing conditions.¹¹⁵ Clark forwarded this to Fleming,¹¹⁶ and followed it two days later with a long account of his own regarding the troubles in the Kentucky and Illinois country. He noted that prejudice and individual disputes plus the lack of aid from the government, had in a great measure been the occasion of reducing the department to a defenseless state. He summarized the situation as involving peril to a settlement far advanced toward the enemy country, surrounded by numerous savage tribes, with troops reduced to a handful, and emissaries among those dividing their councils. He thought the West in extreme danger, and urged that an express be sent immediately to Virginia, a sort of joint messenger of warning from himself and from the Commissioners.¹¹⁷ The Commission mentioned the

111. The Commissioners to Harrison, Lincoln Co., March 9, 1783, *ibid.*, pp. 215-17.

112. Clark to Harrison, Lincoln Co., March 8, 1783, *ibid.*, p. 215; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 454.

113. The Commissioners to Harrison, February 17, 1783, official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 321-24.

114. Harrison to the Commissioners, Richmond, February 27, 1783, *Governors' Letters*, III, 461; James, *Clark Papers*, II, 207-08.

115. Walls to Clark, Fort Nelson, February 21, 1783, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 202.

116. Clark to Fleming, New Holland, February 23, 1783, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 445.

117. Clark to the Commissioners, New Holland, February 25, 1783, *ibid.*, pp. 449-50; James, *Clark Papers*, II, 203-06.

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receipt of this communication in its official journal,¹¹⁸ but neglected to say whether it followed Clark's suggestion.

April 14 was the last day of the Board's work in Kentucky. The session was held at Col. Logan's and was a long one, concluding a number of small accounts and deciding several minor matters. A series of "General Remarks" was drawn up, containing the principles under which the bills left unsettled were classified. First, the Commissioners could by no means depart from the idea that the State was not obliged to honor bills drawn by unauthorized persons, but where the articles were really applied to the support of the troops, the bills should be redeemed at the true value of the articles when furnished. Furthermore, the bills drawn on the Treasury of Virginia ought to be paid off according to the Illinois scale of depreciation. But since individuals, like Capt. Shannon, drew bills for articles of a mixed nature, some purchased with depreciated currency and others not, and many of his vouchers had been sent to the Auditors, the Board could not fix the payment of those bills by any means in their power. Finally, in the case of many bills drawn by authorized officials, but lacking vouchers, the Commissioners could not undertake to say whether or not the State ought to take up those bills, so left the matter to the attention of the Legislature.¹¹⁹ Thus the Commission very definitely realized its inability to settle all the accounts before it, and showed its sense of justice in referring to other judgment the cases where there were grave doubts as to the proper method of procedure.

After the completion of this statement, and the disposal of the accounts, either to final settlement or to classification under the four headings, Col. LeGras appeared before the Board. He said that reports had been industriously spread at Vincennes that Virginia was going to cut off the inhabitants of that village, and requested the Commission to write to the people there to quiet their minds by assuring them that the rumor was without foundation. A letter was, therefore, drawn up, expressing sorrow at the presence of false reports, and assuring them that the State was highly sensible of their good intentions and firm attachment to the Americans in general and to

¹¹⁸ James, *Clark Papers*, II, 333.

¹¹⁹ A copy of this statement, in Fleming's handwriting, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU, would seem to indicate that Fleming was the author of it. Other copies are in the official journal, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 371-72, and separate in the same volume, pp. 224-25.

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Virginia in particular. It informed them that, as soon as the enemies had been humbled, the Commission was appointed to settle the accounts and look after the interests of the inhabitants of Illinois. "Peace will soon be Established, Preliminaries being already settled at Paris; Trade will then revive & an intimate friendly intercourse take place Between St. Vincents and this country."¹²⁰ With these hopeful words the Commission completed its work in Kentucky and adjourned to meet in Botetourt County.

The journey back to Virginia was probably very similar to the trip out the preceding October. The start was made on the morning of April 15, and progress was steady for the next few days. Col. Fleming's diary stops after listing briefly the camping places during the first week, so there is no way to trace the adventures or lack of them met by the Commissioners on their homeward route. Undoubtedly, all were glad to reach the first Virginia settlements, where they could sleep in houses again, and where they might hear news of their families and friends. Fleming, being sensitive to his surroundings, was probably overjoyed to ride through the beautiful spring foliage, to gaze on the newly plowed fields, and to see the well-built homes tucked away in the nooks of the hills. He was probably filled with thanksgiving as he rode up the lane to "Belmont," between the broad acres of his own estate, and saw his wife and children standing in the doorway to greet him on his safe return.

The exact day of Fleming's return from Kentucky is unknown, but the Commission met at his house on May 6 and 7. Col. McDowell was not there—possibly he went to nearby Rockbridge to see his family. The settlement of the bills was resumed, and many hours devoted to the outstanding accounts, *i. e.*, those of Bosseron, Shannon, Clark, etc.¹²¹ A letter was sent to the Governor, recommending Col. LeGras and Major Bosseron to his kind attention while they were in Richmond.¹²² Then the Board adjourned to meet at Botetourt Court House on May 9, when Gratiot's, Shannon's, and Linctot's accounts were examined. The tenth, Gratiot's accounts were disposed of,

¹²⁰. The Commissioners to the inhabitants of Vincennes, Col. Logan's, April 14, 1783, official journal, James, *Clark Papers*, II, 376-77.

¹²¹. Official journal, *ibid.*, pp. 377-80.

¹²². The Commissioners to Harrison, "Belmont," May 6, 1783, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 480.

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and for the next ten days the Commissioners devoted their entire time to Capt. Rowland Madison's affairs.¹²³ During that interval, Fleming informed the Governor that the Commission was endeavoring to complete its work, but would not be able to finish in time to lay the results before the current session of the General Assembly. By June 1 most of the work should be done and then he hoped to set out for Richmond with "a horse load" of papers.¹²⁴ The Board was handicapped all during the rest of May because, though McDowell had rejoined it, Marshall and Wallace left simultaneously, and as three were necessary to constitute a quorum no decisions could be made until at least one of them returned. Fleming and McDowell met every day and took evidence, but were unable to conclude affairs as they would have liked to do. On May 27 they drew up a statement that they had gone through all the business that could be settled without a full membership, and directed the Secretary (John McDowell) to make out a list of all the claims against the State "& raise as many of the Accounts as possible" before the papers were transmitted to the Executive by June 10.¹²⁵

The Commission met once more in Richmond on June 14, and proceeded to make out a general statement of the claims settled through its efforts.¹²⁶ Fleming had left Botetourt ten days before, on June 4, and had reached the capital city on the 9th. He spent the days between his arrival and the meeting of the Board visiting the shops, buying silk stockings, shoes, a coat and vest, cloth, cups and saucers, a teapot, and the like. Among other purchases was a set of instruments, costing £10.10, for use in his occasional practice of medicine. Fleming lodged at Mrs. Hogg's during his stay in Richmond, paying the lady £13.19.8 for his room and board, and, incidentally, loaning Mr. Hogg £1.1.8.¹²⁷ The Board met every week day from the 14th to the 28th of June, and settled definitely a large number of straggling accounts. Two days, the 18th and 19th, were taken up with the settlement of the remaining pay rolls. Some hours were

123. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 380-88.

124. Fleming to Harrison, Botetourt, May 12, 1783, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, III, 482.

125. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 392.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

127. Manuscript diary and account book, Fleming Papers, WLU.

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spent trying to untangle Col. Montgomery's accounts, though little progress was made in the desired direction. The last item considered by the Commission dealt with one of Montgomery's transactions.¹²⁸ That was on June 28, 1783, and that day the Commissioners, "having Liquidated as far as in their power all accounts presented to them," prepared a report to be laid before the Executive. They enclosed a statement of all the accounts settled, and also the best available list of all bills drawn by the officers and others on Oliver Pollock, the Governor, the Treasurer, etc. They observed that several officers, including Montgomery, George, Dodge, and Shannon, had not settled their accounts. All the papers and vouchers connected with the entire business were in bundles appropriately marked.¹²⁹ They signed this document, probably with great relief, and immediately departed for their respective homes. Their work was done; the job was an able one, albeit incomplete. The report of the Commission was received "In Council" July 1 and was delivered to the Auditors so that certificates might be issued for the balances owed by the State.¹³⁰

The success or failure of the Commission is doubtful. The group had its origin in rumors of fraud and corruption among the officials of the Western Country, and so much had been said about the need for investigation that the failure to discover any glaring dishonesty must have been a distinct let-down. No "atrocious criminals" were found, as many expected. It is clear from the report of the Commissioners that few deliberate attempts to cheat the government were discovered, and those few were of a definitely minor character. Most of the suspicions and reports arose from either the difficulties involving depreciated currency or the loss of the proper vouchers and receipts. Some officials, it is true, did not take the necessary precautions in handling the public money and provisions, but even in these cases, carelessness, not dishonesty, was to blame. The Commission rapidly became a board for the adjustment of claims rather than a group searching out fraud. Many accounts, especially the small ones, were approved as submitted. Some accounts, chiefly the pay rolls and large

128. Official journal, in James, *Clark Papers*, II, 393-401.

129. The Commissioners to Harrison, Richmond, June 28, 1783, *ibid.*, pp. 401-02.

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 402-03. The list of accounts drawn up by the Commission is given in the same book, pp. 403-12.

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supply bills, were reduced for lack of sufficient vouchers. The more prominent accounts, including those recommended by the Governor for particular attention, were left unfinished because the necessary papers were not available. Even with this picture of confusion and incompleteness, however, it is possible to say that the Board performed a work which helped measurably to clarify the financial situation in the West. A surprising feature of the whole proceeding—after reading the reports of widespread fraud and corruption, is that so many of the men prominent in Clark's expedition and in the defense of the Illinois country were never even mentioned in the Commission's records. Col. Levi Todd, Col. John Bowman, Col. William Harrod, Col. Joseph Bowman, Capt. Leonard Helm—all these held positions of importance and responsibility, and yet they did not figure in the investigations by Fleming and his colleagues.

Fleming received for his services as Commissioner £362.13.8½.¹³¹ It is difficult to estimate the value of his work because there is no way to divide the results among the four members of the Board. It is safe, however, to say that Fleming was the outstanding figure, not only because he was chairman, but because he was more experienced than his associates in leading men and handling frontier problems. He was present at all the meetings and doubtless took a foremost part in questioning witnesses. He guided the investigations with a firm hand, yet did so with such tact that no one was angered and most were willing to cooperate freely. All available evidence indicates that he wrote the letters carrying on the necessary negotiations, except where the Secretary definitely performed that act. Certainly he drew up the list of principles which guided the Commission in its settlement of the accounts. Although handicapped by personal discomfort, he carried on from the beginning to the end with the same strong spirit which characterized each of his undertakings.

131. "To My Services as Commisr. from Octr. 1st to May 28th 1783, 239 days, £362.13.8½." Account book of the Commission, kept by Fleming, MS., Fleming Papers, WLU.

San Francisco—The Phoenix City

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EVEN times burned and seven times reborn, San Francisco stands today one of the few really vital cities of the Americas. Physically endowed with a magnificent natural harbor, dominantly placed to be the Nation's gateway to the trade of Asia, the city of Saint Francis, because of its glamorous past, its opulent present and its magnificent opportunity for the future, owns a civic spirit which is particularly distinctive. As even American cities go, San Francisco has not lived a long life but, if its years are comparatively few, its days have been brimmed with tribulations and triumphs. Repeatedly it has been tried by fire and thus welded into a homogeneity which no other American city possesses. What other metropolis can boast that it went through the recent depression without a single bank failure, that it has constantly increased its population—twenty-five per cent. within the past ten years—without adding a square inch to its original territory, and that, per capita, its citizens are the wealthiest in all America?

Even in its beginnings, San Francisco is distinguished. Unlike similar localities, which, thanks to gold, silver, timber and other natural resources, sprang from wilderness to full-flowered being with the rapidity of mushrooms, the City of the Golden Gate was nearly a century old before its magical period of modernity began.

And there is mystery of a kind about the origin of the city, too. How such a wonderful harbor as the city's could have been overlooked, it is difficult to understand. Yet, ignored it was for, while Europeans in the persons of Cabrillo and Ferello certainly sailed along the California coast in 1542-43, while the great Drake even landed nearby in 1579, and uncounted Spanish galleons from Manila must have passed by, not one European, so far as is known, knew that San Francisco harbor existed. In fact, it was not until 1769, almost two hundred years later, that the Bay was definitely "discovered" by

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Gaspar de Portola. This oddity has led to the belief that perhaps San Francisco Bay was not in existence until after 1750 and was indeed created about that time by some unwitnessed and hence unreported convulsion of nature. Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, famous writer of San Francisco, is one of the most recent proponents of this view.

Once the glorious harbor and geography of San Francisco became known, settlement, at least to the extent of the establishment of a mission, was not long delayed. In fact, the Spanish authorities then seated in Mexico were aroused to unprecedented activity by somewhat exaggerated reports of Russian plans to extend their empire southward from Alaska.

Various difficulties appeared, however, and it was not until 1773 that an expedition under Juan Bautista de Anza was sent out to map a land route to Monterey. This was a remarkable accomplishment, involving as it did not only venturing among hostile Indians, but also travel among rough mountains and suffocating deserts—difficulties whose terrors were multiplied by rumor and ignorance.

Again various troubles delayed the actual settlement of the San Francisco region, but finally, on Monday, October 23, 1775, the expedition started with 240 men, women and children, 350 horses, some 300 cattle and 140 pack mules. The very first day the march was halted after four hours to permit the birth of a child—and the death of the mother.

For some reason, this march over the desert, this climb through the mountains, this struggle against hunger, thirst and constant fear, has been little known. Surely the sixty-two-day pilgrimage ranks with the greatest accomplishments of the time. Yet, even in San Francisco itself, where the plans for the first building were laid out on March 22, 1776, the Anza name is all but disregarded.

Be that as it may, the little community lost no time in making itself at home. Settlers were installed by the military on June twenty-seventh and the work of rearing buildings was pushed forward. On the seventeenth of September, the presidio of San Francisco was formally declared in being, and on October ninth, a second solemn function was held to mark the official founding of the Mission San Francisco de Asia—now commonly known as the Mission Dolores.

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Under the Spanish plan, San Francisco was to be another outpost of empire in which Castilians were to be lords over a native population converted to Christ and agriculture. That San Francisco Bay was a priceless possession was entirely ignored, for the mean little harbor of Monterey was developed into the principal port. This is not altogether strange, for Spain had no interest in building up commerce in California and was happy to have San Francisco dependent upon land routes to Mexico. Also, winds and currents along shore coming north from Panama were so contrary and difficult that the voyage commonly required more time than did an overland march, difficult as it was.

Thus San Francisco under Spanish dominion developed as a pastoral village, shadowed by the church. Soldiers, from the handful that were sent to garrison the place, graduated into civil life as landholders, following the mission fathers as farmers and ranchers. The holdings of most individuals ran to staggering amounts but, really, there seems little ground for belief in the romantic pictures that have been painted of idyllic luxury. Few Spaniards sowed or reaped. Their cattle roamed the hills unregarded. Sheep were abundant, but the creatures so deteriorated that the wool was not worth shearing and hogs ran so lean that their lard was scarcely plentiful enough to try out. The missions grew grapes and olives, but the civilian population did not take pains to plant vines and trees. There was food enough of a kind, but it was probably mostly beef, roasted over an open fire, and coarse bread baked in stone and mud ovens. Undoubtedly, there were romance and happiness; they are commonly associated with such a civilization, but the tales of silken señoritas and gay caballeros with spurs of gold are, it would seem, largely fiction. Basically, the Spanish lords over hordes of miserable savages were not noble by either birth or training. They were humble privates in the Spanish Army with their women. If one of them could read or write, he must have been an exception, and while hospitable enough beyond question, for hospitality and frontier life always run together, it was hardly the entertainment of wealth and culture that any rare visitor found in California.

Actually, it was not until Boston traders came to California seeking hides for the nineteenth century shoe factories of Lynn and Mar-

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blehead that any merchandise was imported in quantity. Pack mules over the mountains cannot carry very much and what is so transported must of necessity be of small bulk and great value. Spain did send two ships a year into San Francisco Bay with supplies for the Colonists, but Madrid jealously refused to allow any other nation's merchants to trade with California.

The break came when the Yankees began to visit the Farallones to kill the multitude of seals there in order to obtain skins with which to tempt the Chinese to part with their tea, silks and china. These ships, which came in ever-increasing number, particularly after 1812, did not come empty. The Boston merchants were too good economists for that. In California they recognized a great market for all sorts of goods which, cheap to absurdity at Boston, were all but priceless in California.

What Spain might have done about the illegal but mutually profitable trade that this developed cannot be guessed, but actually Spain was too busy with troubles in Mexico to bother with California. Accordingly, by smuggling and by the bribery of officials, as well as through a rubber-stamp clearance obtained at Monterey, Boston and California enjoyed a waxing commerce.

Even more important to San Francisco than this trade was the knowledge of the little town's great harbor; Boston merchants recognized the worth of the Bay and from that moment California was fated to become a part of the United States. Russians, too, found the worth of the port and many a flag with the double eagle of the Czar dropped anchor beside Boston ships with the stars and stripes flashing in the breeze.

Actually, long before the Yankees actually began the occupation of California, Russia nearly won at least a temporary foothold. In 1806 Nicolai Petrovich Rezanov, imperial inspector of the Russia-America Company, sailed into San Francisco from Sitka, seeking food for the starving Russians in Alaska. The commandante, Jose Arguello, was in great perplexity over the visitor, with doubtless good reason, fearing a Russian attack. However, Rezanov found the official's daughter, Concepcion, both alluring and a means to his end. Perhaps it was a love match; certainly it was on the part of

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the girl, then but sixteen. At any event, the stern father, who allowed betrothal, forbid marriage until his child was a little older. He loaded the Russian food aboard and, amid tears, Rezanov sailed away, promising to return. He never did, for he died crossing the frigid wastes of Siberia on his way back to Saint Petersburg. The beautiful Concepcion, who waited thirty-six years before she as much as heard of the fate of her lover, died at the age of sixty-seven, after a life passed as a Sister of the Third Order of Franciscans.

With Rezanov's death the threat of Russian occupation passed, but American invasion was rapidly drawing near. However, another flag, that of Mexico, was to wave over San Francisco before the Yankees arrived in force. After ten years of complete self-support, the news came to California that Mexico, and hence, California, had become independent of Spain on September 27, 1821. It made almost no difference to California; Mexico opened the ports to trade, truly enough, but applied so many restrictions and imposed so many duties, that smuggling continued as before. But, gradually, something new developed, Yankee merchants, captains, sailors and adventurers began to settle down and, by marriage with the numerous and not unattractive daughters of the landholders, acquired large amounts of property. Thus entered new blood and, more important, energy and ambition. Out of a host of names, there was, for example, a Swiss by the name of Sutter, who dreamed of building a principality for himself in the hills beyond the city and sailed up the Sacramento in 1839 to establish it.

The next ten years were filled with the mostly isolated but actually vital struggles between the established families of Spanish origin and the pushing newcomers for possession of the land. Rumors were thick about action that Mexico was to take towards expelling the immigrants from the East, but nothing happened, save for the constant encroachment of the Yankees. The darkness was finally rift apart, however, when Frémont arrived ostensibly on a surveying party, alleged by all Californians of the time to have been sent by President Polk to seize California for the United States. At any event, the presence of Frémont struck a spark among his fellow-countrymen domiciled in the future State and, led by an American named Ide, California was declared a republic in 1846.

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Significantly enough, just a few days later, the United States sloop *Portsmouth* sailed into San Francisco harbor and, within an hour, the stars and stripes were flying over San Francisco. Not a drop of blood was shed but several windows were shattered by the twenty-one gun salute with which the occasion was honored.

Almost immediately, the tempo of San Francisco quickened. Transports arrived from New York with volunteer troops to consolidate the possession and Richard B. Mason was appointed Governor, with a ball held in his welcome. Elder Sam Brannan started the first newspaper, which he called "The California Star." A private school was opened by a J. Marston and a Methodist minister organized the first Sunday school, while on the Fourth of July the next year, 1847, the independence of the United States was fittingly observed, to the wonderment of the Spanish and Indian citizens. The need for a jail was also apparent and, in short, civilization came to San Francisco. Indeed, Yankee ideas and manners were glossed right over existing *mañana* leisureliness—there was even a period of hectic land-grabbing, a get-rich-quick method made easy not alone by the haphazard methods of land registry and deed of Spain and Mexico, but also by the indifference of the first settlers who had so much land that they failed to realize until it was too late that land within the limits of San Francisco, even if only a scrap in size, was worth much more than thousands of acres back in the hills.

Thus well begun, the Yankeeization of San Francisco was accelerated with rocket-like swiftness when word sifted down the Sacramento that gold had been found on Sutter's place back in the valley. Rumor of gold was no new thing to the residents along the Bay. Dust had been common all the years of settlement and San Francisco simply shrugged its collective shoulder and laughed at Sutter trying such a transparent dodge to attract settlers to his property.

But the rumors persisted and one by one familiar faces began to vanish from the city. When Sam Brannan went, leaving his newspaper, Franciscans began to wonder a little and then, when one morning the elder reappeared and ran up and down the streets screaming "Gold!" and waving a bottle of the yellow dust about his head, the stampede started. The church was closed. Business houses shut down. Even the mayor's office was padlocked while ships swung at

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anchor in the harbor deserted by masters and sailors alike. Historians of the time reported that San Francisco was an empty shell.

But the desertion of the city did not long endure. The news arrived in the East and the great gold rush of '49 began. Around the Horn, across Panama, and winding across the continent, men came rushing by the thousands. They had to be fed, housed, equipped, and San Francisco, with its magnificent harbor, at last came into its own.

Probably few cities which have endured, experienced such a tremendous enlargement. After nearly a century of pastoral peace, the city was transformed into a Babel. Every race, every nationality, every profession, every kind of human was dumped into the city. And, where some cities had come into being because of the hunger for land or for freedom, or for God, San Francisco had but one hunger—gold! Overnight, San Francisco became evil and high-minded, prudent and prodigal, squalid and magnificent. Think of an adjective, any one. It existed in the city cheek by jowl with its opposite. Probably, however, above all else, the city became fantastic. Mansions were ordered to be shipped in numbered sections from Boston and bolted together on arrival. No man or woman could be bothered with wasting time in washing clothes, so the city's linen was sent to Canton, China, to be laundered. Dueling was not only permitted, but resorted to in the absence of courts and, moreover, advertised in advance so that thousands flocked to witness the spectacle of one man trying to kill another, legally. Building simply could not keep pace with requirements and, naturally enough, idle ships were turned to use as a jail, as churches, as counting-rooms, as saloons and even as dormitories. Volunteer fire brigades were organized and, characteristically, the fire captains carried trumpets of pure silver and the hose carts were pulled by ropes of white silk although, despite this fancy organization, the city was burned, more or less completely, just six times in eighteen months, arising each time from the ashes with, as Josiah Royce wrote, "heroic good humor." And constantly news of gold strike after gold strike was reported and off, each time, thousands of citizens would rush, not merely to the mountains of the West, but north into British Columbia and west even to Australia.

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Of a certainty, real estate deals were as hectic as other details of the city's development. Any city, as in 1851, which collected more than ten millions of dollars in rent in one year from but twelve thousand inhabitants, more or less, is active in buying and selling land and buildings. Eccentric and boisterous as can be imagined, few things could arise to bother the helter-skelter daily life of the city, but in 1853 many a property owner suffered a severe nervous chill when a man, obviously a Frenchman, asserted that he was a nobleman by the name of Jose Yves Limantour and claimed to be the rightful owner of practically all of the area occupied by San Francisco as well as all of the adjacent islands and waters in the bargain. It seems, or so he alleged, that in 1842 he helped Governor Micheltorena pay off his troops and, in return, the grateful official bestowed upon him some six hundred thousand acres of land. He duly filed suit, but let it be known he would be reasonable if any present titleholders cared to talk business. Many did, and the worthy Frenchman departed rather suddenly one dark night with some \$300,000 which he had been paid. Shortly thereafter his claims were found to be complete frauds.

More serious was the constant growth of violence. Criminals swarmed into town, but nothing was done about the situation until it became desperate. And then, perhaps again characteristically, the defenders of law and order solved their problem by taking the law into their own hands and organizing the famed vigilantes.

The vigilance committee was a rather common means of restraint in the mining camps. A rope over the limb of a tree settled nearly all disputes without wasting any time in such formalities as a trial. The idea seems to have been to make an example of somebody as a deterrent to others who might be tempted. The first flare of the vigilantes burned as early as 1849, when a gang of toughs from New York City, the rag and tag of a disbanded militia regiment, joined forces with a shipload of Australian convicts under the name of the Hounds. They confined their abuse at first to unfortunates who spoke Spanish and were sworn to "clean the greasers out of town." From this comparatively harmless business they turned to extortion and, waxing prosperous on "fines" levied against saloon and red-light houses, became more and more abusive until, changing their name to "Regu-

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lators," they determined to clean up San Francisco completely. Soon they set to work in the Chilean quarter and made such a stench in the nostrils of decency that certain God-fearing citizens called upon the police to call a halt. The police were too few to do anything and accordingly 230 citizens met at Portsmouth Square at the call of W. E. Spofford and in a few hours rounded up twenty of the Hounds-Regulators and jailed them aboard the U. S. S. *Warren*. At first it was expected that they would be lynched, but cooler counsel prevailed and the culprits were simply deported.

Two years later, in the spring of 1851, real vigilantes came into being. The situation, despite the election of an American type mayor and council, was no better. Courts were lax, judges venal when not incompetent, and the police a laughing-stock. What was more to the point, the substantial men of the city, busy making more money than they had ever dreamed they possibly could own, were indifferent to crime so long as criminals stayed out of "respectable" backyards.

On May 4, 1851, the sixth fire of the city's history raged and destroyed something like \$7,000,000 worth of property. Outwardly, the city accepted the blow with nonchalance and rebuilt as quickly as possible. Inwardly, however, the conviction gained strength that these fires were incendiary. Thus the city's criminal element became suspect and, what was more serious, of concern to the monied group. The suggestion was made that a "Committee of Safety" be organized to clear the streets of ruffians, and the ever-ready Sam Brannan leaped into the arena and forthwith organized such a committee, a group of solid citizens pledged to report to headquarters when called by the ringing of the bell of the Monumental Engine Company.

Very soon a certain Jenkins was caught robbing a waterfront establishment. Just as if another fire had broken out, the bell called the committee, and Jenkins was taken before the group for secret trial. A few hours passed, but just before the impatience of the massed crowd outside the headquarters of the committee reached the limit of endurance, the prisoner appeared, escorted by officials of the committee. A block and tackle was rigged to an upper window of a house, formerly the Custom House. The end of the rope was made into a noose, the halter was dropped over the victim's head and, with

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twenty men walking away with the free end, the unfortunate was swept to his death.

Shortly, the committee hung three more supposed criminals and, whether right or wrong, the hangings worked—for criminals of all stamp fled the city and crime ebbed almost overnight.

Then, out of the succeeding apathy, San Francisco was aroused again in the fall of 1855, when in the midst of a financial panic, it was discovered that the city treasury was \$840,000 short. The flames of civic virtue that awoke were fanned by one James King, ex-banker, who was then the editor of a newspaper, "The Evening Bulletin." With his pen dipped in the traditional vitriol, King began a crusade and, when an Italian gambler named Charles Cora went on trial for murder, no little thing like contempt of court stayed his language in the slightest. When Cora went free, King's eloquence reached new heights and the nettled politicians found a champion in a James P. Casey, publisher of a weekly paper. After intemperate verbal exchanges, Casey climaxed the situation by shooting King.

This reawakened the vigilance movement and, supposedly, five thousand strong, they mustered an armed regiment of some two thousand six hundred men, who marched to the city jail and demanded Casey—and Cora as well. The authorities surrendered the two men and the vigilantes marched them off. The next day, King died, having lingered for five days. Casey and Cora were at once put on trial in the vigilante headquarters. Both admitted their respective murders, but claimed the killings were in vengeance of insult. Just forty-eight hours later, as King's funeral was being held, the bodies of Casey and Cora were seen dangling from the windows of the vigilantes' headquarters.

Thus brought back to life, the vigilantes continued hanging murderers, beating ballot-box stuffers and making examples of thieves. But, like all such movements, the group went too far. When it was rumored that the vigilantes were planning to declare California independent of the United States, there was talk of calling out the State Militia to deal with them. The committee itself added fuel to the rising tide of resentment by building a wall of sandbags around their headquarters and by mounting guard over their arsenal.

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Then the end came. Judge Terry, of the Supreme Court, in attempting to rescue a prisoner from a squad of vigilantes, stabbed an official of the committee named Hopkins. The vigilantes forthwith arrested the judge and, having arrested him, were forced to hold him in custody. It was a case of having a lion by the tail. Mr. Hopkins was several weeks determining whether he would die or recover and the dilemma of the committee increased daily. If Hopkins died, they would be on the spot, for while thieves and murderers might be punished at will, it was a different matter hanging a member of the Supreme Court. Finally, Hopkins was plainly out of danger of death and the relieved vigilantes sighed with pleasure and liberated the judge. The fiasco was too much for the group. They cleaned up unfinished business on July twenty-second by hanging two murderers and, after a final parade on August eighteenth, they disbanded, thus ending the frontier attitude towards government and law.

It must not be imagined that San Francisco spent this period between 1849 and the Civil War in fluctuating between gold stampedes and whiskey drinking, lynchings and gambling. There was plenty of that, but there was a constantly developing real and solid portion of the city; thousands of men and women came who built homes, raised families, established themselves in legitimate business, attended churches and, in short, created the permanent city. No less than twenty churches were built during this period, for example, and illuminating gas was metered to public buildings and private homes which could afford the charge of \$15 a cubic foot. Yerba Buena Cove was filled to provide a deep water anchorage, and schools, public, private and parochial, were erected to meet the needs of juvenile education. And, from more robust amusements, the citizens became enthusiastic for the very best of music and opera, paying very high prices in order to attract the best talent from Europe. Actually, even then, San Francisco demonstrated that the best was none too good for itself.

Behind all this development was a very great real estate development. Then, in sober truth, a man could buy a lot or a building with assurance that by merely holding fast to his property he could resell it at will at excellent profit. This has always been the land history of most American cities, but in San Francisco, thanks to the golden

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harvest which the mines were pouring in every hour, growth continued to mushroom and many a fortune was made by men who, ploughing under the profits of sober business enterprise, purchased, at very low prices, land which either they or their descendants sold eventually at many-fold returns. Names of such investors in land, and names of men who placed their faith in the city's future by dealing in real property, are legion. One individual can serve as typical. Samuel Crim, a native of Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1818, passed his young manhood in Ohio as a clerk and merchant. Then, becoming a dealer in horses, he several times crossed the plains to the Pacific with his horses and, in 1861, found San Francisco so promising that he established his home in the city. In the years which followed he played an important part in the development of the city, as in his operation of the city's first street-car line (horse-drawn, of course). However, like so many of his associates, his spare cash he invested in real estate, with the result that he not only became one of the city's prominent men, but also accumulated a very large fortune.

Into the veritable flood tide of golden wealth which passed through San Francisco from the mountains, nearly \$50,000,000 in a year, the cloud of the Civil War cast but little gloom. It is true that men went East again, some to put on the blue and others the grey. By and large, however, the only intimate effect of the conflict was the local storm and stress over which side California as a State should support. The South was very strongly intrenched and the State upon its admission narrowly escaped being a slave State. However, the commercial ties of the Pacific Coast, and particularly of San Francisco, were with the North, because of the coast's dependence upon ships for relations with the East. Thus, the North had really the dominant position and, thanks largely to the dominance of San Francisco, California remained true to the Union. This was not without some flurry of excitement, however. The Rev. W. A. Scott, of Calvary Presbyterian Church, supported by Brigadier-General Albert Sidney Johnston, the military commander, prayed openly for the Confederacy. This aroused the fervor of Thomas Starr King, a young Unitarian preacher straight from Boston. When he laid down the law in Puritan eloquence, San Francisco no longer had any doubt in its mind which side should be supported and, as General Johnston,

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relieved of his command, hurried home to Kentucky, passers by the Calvary Church saw the effigy of the Rev. Mr. Scott hanging from his church door with a card around his neck reading, "The Reverend Traitor."

With the Civil War out of the way, the next great chapter in San Francisco's development was that of transportation. Until about 1858, relations with the East were by water, either around the Horn by the glorious clipper ships built by Donald McKay, of East Boston, or by ships and steamers connecting with a road across the Isthmus of Panama. Then, in 1858, the Butterfield Stage Line was put into operation between St. Louis and San Francisco, followed by the pony express in 1860. If the Butterfield line was amazing in its reduction of time to twenty-one days, the pony express, for mail only at \$5.00 the half ounce, was miraculous for its eighty riders and five hundred horses, galloping through perils and hardships to make the time but seven days and seventeen hours, to establish what then seemed the ultimate in speed.

But even this was not enough. The East had long since brought the railroad out of its infancy and the network of steel which covered the country as far West as the Mississippi was tinder to the flames of Pacific Coast hunger for a rail service. San Francisco did not do much to bring the railroad about, but thanks once again to its harbor, San Francisco reaped the harvest. To Sacramento and the great Theodore Judah, Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford and Mark Hopkins go the honors, for their thrilling race eastward to meet the Union Pacific at Promontory Point in Utah was one of the real epics of the winning of the West. When the dream came true on May 10, 1869, San Francisco made the news the occasion for a gala fête and everyone, including the many who were later to execrate the "Big Four" as the "Octopus," was certain that the final restraint upon the permanent prosperity of the coast was at last removed.

In point of fact, had San Francisco been dependent upon the railroad alone, the city would have found the wait for its benefits a long one, but Fortune was prepared to smile most winningly again and again. By 1860, the high water-mark of gold output had been reached and through the 1860s the golden harvest slowly dwindled

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down to a mere \$20,000,000 a year or so. But between 1860 and 1870 a new metal, silver, came to the fore and within the period some \$350,000,000 of the white metal had been taken from the hills of Nevada. A part of this wealth was torn from the famous Comstock Lode, a fabulous property which, discovered, lost, and then discovered again, is one of the most romantic highlights of this glamorous period.

And, in the 1870s, the wealth which came flooding down the hills into San Francisco was even greater. Silver is not a matter for individual production, as the early gold strike permitted itself to be. No miners with pick and shovel or with a pan could rape the silver ore from the hills. Instead, hard cash was needed to sink shafts, to dig tunnels, to erect stamp mills and to transport food and supplies. So, men even many miles removed from the mines, had an opportunity to share in the wealth by purchasing or speculating in mine stock. Names came to have more value than cold figures—Savage, Ophir, California, Potosi, Yellow Jacket, Imperial, Kentuck, these mines are still high lyrics. Similarly, the names of operators came to have sales value, for if a Ralston, a Sharon, a Mills, a Flood, a Sutro, an O'Brien, to name but a few, were interested in a mine, then that mine was the place for the dollars of clerks and scrub-women, no less than bankers and spinsters. No matter if the paper is probably worthless; it can be bought and sold and resold time without end and each time it increases in value. Virginia stock went from \$160 to \$710 and California sky-rocketed from \$90 to nearly \$800. Fortunes were made over night and, doubtless, if swindles were worked, still the city found it of small account, for if one dropped a thousand today one would make \$2,000 tomorrow. And strangely enough, in most cases they did, for the time at least—and for time after time at that—for as soon as Fortune began to sulk a little and the first great boom of silver became tarnished, in the 1880s came tremendous development in wheat and wool, buttressed by the beginning of the torrent of gold from Alaska's Klondike a little later. About 1905 came a new gold strike at Tonopah and long before San Francisco found the stream of wealth dwindling from that source, there came the discovery of oil in California, a black and horrible fluid, but one which was amazingly profitable.

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Through these years, with their meteoric ups and downs of gold, silver and oil, San Francisco was busy growing towards maturity. The effect of the tremendous Comstock Lode upon the city was, in particular, important; in fact, San Francisco was largely made into a modern city by dividends received from the Comstock mines. According to Thomas Magee & Sons' "San Francisco Real Estate Circular":

. . . . The effect of this mining activity on real estate sales during the period from 1874 to 1877 was very marked. . . . The following buildings were erected with Comstock money: Nevada Block, Dividend Building, southwest corner Pine and Sansome, Stock Exchange, 310 Pine Street, northeast corner and southeast corner Montgomery and Pine streets, Arizona Block, Palace Hotel, Hobart Building, Union Block, corner Market and Pine streets. . . . A feature of the market was the heavy buying of real estate by William Sharon (of whom more later). The southeast corner of Montgomery and California streets, $63\frac{3}{4} \times 137\frac{1}{2}$, was sold for \$410,000 in 1874, while in 1875 the largest transaction was that of the east corner Market and Fourth streets, sold to John W. Mackay, 175×170 for \$375,000. . . .

Gradually, however, San Francisco became less and less dependent upon the mines and other unpredictable circumstances, for the life of the city was being leveled off by a solid commercial and agricultural development which served to fill in the depressions between the peaks of mining frenzies. Tons of raisins, casks of wine, crates of prunes, carloads of oranges, lemons, almonds and peaches—in fact, all the wealth which the old padres had visioned as being the real basis of prosperity for California—went eastward, bringing home in return the products of the East. By 1900, San Francisco, because of its growth in population, in commercial dominance and in business activity, had in fact become not only the capital of the empire at its back, but also the gateway to the Pacific at its front.

All this, however, was not accomplished without many an up and down of fortune and of human malice. To be so fortunate as San Francisco has been, is to be envied, and hardly a city on the Pacific but has from time to time issued the most foreboding prophecies about the ultimate or proximate fate of San Francisco. These spats of jealousy have bothered San Francisco very little, but within her gates she has had her own enemies, men who meant well, but men

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who, in the feathering of their own nests, big or little, have time and time again caused great concern and more, and once downright distress. Indeed, perhaps, more than any other contemporary city of comparable size and importance, the history of San Francisco has been the story of its men.

William C. Ralston, intimate friend of such stalwarts as Darius Ogden Mills, William Sharon and Asbury Harpending, serves as an example of this. With Ralston, San Francisco was a passion, for he believed in the city, believed in its unlimited development and its uncheckable growth. With the coffers of the Bank of California behind him, he was busy in a multitude of things, activities reaching from mines and railroads and banks hither and yon right to such things in the city as a woolen mill, a sugar refining plant, a furniture factory, a watch making plant, a dry dock, a ship yard—all these and many more, not to mention the Grand Hotel on Market Street as one of his favorite projects and his Palace Hotel close at hand, which needed a new street to accommodate its twelve hundred bedrooms and its spacious magnificence. If this was his public life, his private life, what was known of it other than fantastic rumor, certainly was one round of unlimited extravagance with apparently no single check to his grandiose ideas existing. In fact, not even a two million dollar failure dimmed this magnificent creature's lustre. This fiasco came about this way. Two newcomers to town, who called themselves Arnold and Slack, appeared in town with a bag of diamonds in hand. To Ralston they managed to suggest their great good fortune in finding the stones in the hills of Wyoming. Ralston was intrigued, for diamonds were even better than gold and silver mines and even more profitable than banking. So he suggested to Slack and Arnold that they sell their secret to him for something like \$350,000. The gentlemen were reluctant, but Ralston was persuasive, after he had taken pains to have the diamonds appraised. They were diamonds surely enough, \$150,000 was the value placed on them, and Arnold and Slack showed Ralston's expert the place where they had found them, picking up another bag of the stones in an afternoon. Ralston and his friends found the money then and Arnold and Slack vanished just as Ralston floated a \$2,000,000 company to set a diamond mine in operation. Luckily, before a dollar was spent, an expert whispered

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to Ralston that the stones were positively of South African origin and a prompt investigation disclosed that the missing rascals had simply salted their diamonds from the Rand about a lonely spot and then picked upon the great Ralston as the most likely dupe in America.

Ralston and his friends were not in the least abashed, for Fortune was still smiling in a hundred other ways and the loss of a few hundred thousand dollars was nothing to lose sleep over; a bad break of luck in poker would be no worse. And so, Ralston and his peers went merrily along, building themselves incredible mansions of wood, furnishing them lavishly with the best that the world could offer and living gloriously. All this was paid for with profits from mines and railroads, from commerce and banking and, perhaps characteristically, no thought was ever given to the morrow. Money was made only to be spent.

Nevertheless, Ralston had his enemies and, as his careless career continued, they increased in number and in power. In particular, the Bonanza Four became embittered at Ralston and at the Bank of California, the mighty financial institution of California. This four comprised O'Brien, Flood, Fair and Mackay, the four being millionaires by their good luck in striking silver in Nevada. They did not care for Ralston personally, it seems, and doubtless the magnificent Ralston did not put himself to any pains to make himself agreeable to such upstarts from the mines. There was more to the enmity, also; Ralston and his friend and associate, William Sharon, were believed by the miners to be using the funds of the Bank of California to enrich themselves. At any rate, they had the air of thievery about them in the opinion of honest and hard working miners. The bank was very willing to loan money to mining companies who wanted to finance the erecting of steam mills and other apparatus incidental to putting a mine in operation. In truth, the bank was all too willing to loan money but, somehow, when the mines were operating finally, the bank usually managed to foreclose and Sharon and Ralston had another mine to add to their stable.

Finally, in the summer of 1875, the four started out to "get" Ralston by a stock deal which swiftly resulted in the great Bank of California closing its doors. Without going into financial matters, the bank was in none too healthy a condition and undoubtedly the

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four chose a moment when Ralston was greatly over-extended. On the afternoon of August twenty-sixth, Ralston realized that his career had come to an end and, riding out to his favorite bathing spot at Black Point, he swam away, never to return. His friends say he was seized with a cramp; his enemies insisted that he was a suicide. In 1941 a statue was erected to his memory in San Francisco.

Sharon, with the aid of astute associates, managed to salvage the wreckage of the Bank of California and he slipped into Ralston's place as the great man of San Francisco, but the damage the Bonanza Four had caused continued to weaken the structure of the city's prosperity and when, in 1876, crops failed and the mines sent less wealth to the city than was usual, a great panic clutched San Francisco firmly. Unemployed men paraded the streets and mobs threatened to destroy with fire railroad terminals and steamship docks. The wealthy class, apprehensive and dismayed, did organize a Committee of Safety, but it was an abortive thing, for San Francisco was too mature for that. Instead the working men and the lower strata of society organized under the inspired leadership of Denis Kearney and fierce resentment against men like the railroad kings, the steamship operators, the bankers and all those who had property boiled over. Mass meetings roared with cries to tax the rich so as to make wealth impossible, with demands that bullets replace ballots and with screams for hemp to bring the legislators to their senses and so restore government to laboring men. All this came to nothing, of course, with but a single exception—hatred for the Chinese. From Canton, the railroad builders had imported coolies to do the manual labor that few white men cared to undertake, what with mining being so profitable. These Chinese, after the road was built, settled down in numbers in San Francisco and, being sober and industrious and willing, very soon made themselves at home. To the workingmen of comparable status, these Chinese were a serious threat, for it was believed that "the Chinks are taking the bread out of our mouths." The slogan, "The Chinese must go," endured and the attitude of mind this established had its effect in limiting Chinese migration to the city and to the later exclusion of Orientals from California.

The depression, bad as it was, something like that of the early 1930s in miniature, ended abruptly in 1879, when a new craze for

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mining speculation swept the city, such mining stocks as that of the Sierra Nevada going from \$6.00 to \$200. This mine was not legitimate and the stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, but those who got out early enough made money and the fever of speculation acted as a tonic to brace the spirits of the city. The prosperity of the 1880s completed the recovery of the city and although San Francisco has not yet yielded to another mine speculation fever of any proportions, the citizens have continued to prosper under the smiles of Fortune, which apparently has singled out San Francisco for her particular favorite among American cities.

Indeed, as the twentieth century began, the city of Saint Francis not without reason considered itself invulnerable. It had survived six fires and risen fairer than ever each time from its ashes. It had weathered depression after depression, all sorts of trickery and deceit and skullduggery, and out of a mad welter of booms, first in gold, then in silver, and finally in oil, it had built itself into one of the great metropolises of the world, safe and serene on its splendid harbor, certain to profit to the utmost with the growing prosperity of the United States as a whole when the Orient was finally really opened to trade.

But Fortune was not done with chastising her favorite as, with 1906, the jade put San Francisco to the greatest test of strength that any American city has ever received. The night of April seventeenth was a lovely evening, fresh with the enchantment of spring and gay with the excitement of the grand opera season, for no less a personage than Caruso was singing. Early the next morning the city shook and swayed as if its buildings were adrift in a stormy sea. Most accounts of the experiences citizens endured during the following daylight hours show that everyone was stunned and bewildered, although few caught the full extent of the calamity, but by night, when it was realized that dozens of small fires were being welded into one gigantic conflagration, the exodus began. The downtown section, brick and stone for a large part, had been shattered by the quake; it was the surrounding sections of the city, of frame construction, that was the prey of the flames and from their homes, men and women, silent with that peculiar calm of despair that comes at times of great calamity,

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marched out of the path of the flames, carrying what they could salvage of their dearest possessions. On they were driven by the fierceness of the fire behind until at last they found haven on the other side of the Bay or out along the beaches.

Behind them the shattered resources of the city were marshalled to heroic efforts under martial law and gradually the flames were hemmed in until they were finally checked. What was the greater part of the city remained under its smoke pall, however; radiating a terrific heat from the fiery ruins which for days testified to the temperatures which had devoured even stone, the blast crumbling granite to powder.

Statistics are unusually dry things, but not those of the great fire which consumed San Francisco. About five hundred city blocks, or some two thousand five hundred acres of heavily built land were swept by the flames. The actual value of the property so consumed is set variously, figures running from \$100,000,000 to \$500,000,000. Actual insurance paid, however, reached the figure of \$163,713,330 and thus, when to this figure the value of uninsured or partly insured property is added, the loss must have been in excess of \$250,000,000.

San Francisco is still grateful for the generous response which the world immediately made to her need. From all quarters of the United States relief trains started rolling as soon as the telegraph flashed the news of the fire and the Red Cross reported receipts of some \$10,000,000 given spontaneously for the relief of the city. That not one person went hungry is perhaps the simplest way to epitomize the humanity of this Nation of ours towards any member section which experiences disaster.

Despite all this, however, it is the spirit of the citizens of San Francisco that even now compels admiration. Before the smoke pall had lifted from the ashes of their homes and places of business, they had gone to work to rebuild their phoenix city. Financial aid was forthcoming, of course, from outside the State to fill in the gap between the hour of disaster and the period which must elapse before it was safe to open the red hot vaults in which the banks' assets were locked. Had the doors been opened too soon, the inrush of oxygen upon the heated paper would have set them flaming. No details of

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this reconstruction need be given; what was important was the good humor with which the city accepted its bad luck and returned to work with characteristic "heroic strength." In fact, most men and women went back to pioneer days for the time with gusto, and neither forgot to play and to enjoy themselves nor to labor with soft hands soon blistered. To the amazement of merchants, silken gowns sold better than cotton dresses, and cafés in their temporary wooden shacks did a roaring business, while saloons and theatres, as fast as roofs could be stretched, were besieged with patrons.

Of course, behind the remarkable rapidity with which San Francisco was rebuilt was the sound financial condition of the city, the economic ability to withstand the stupendous losses which resulted from the fire. The fact is, between 1899 and 1906, San Francisco made a very remarkable growth, as evidenced by the first million dollar real estate transactions in the city's history. Such sales began in 1900 when the old Baldwin Hotel site, Market, Powell, Ellis and Eddy streets, was sold by E. J. Baldwin to James L. Flood for \$1,425,000. Then, in 1901, the Blythe Block was sold to the Bankers Investment Company, a syndicate, for \$2,205,000, while in 1903 \$1,215,000 was paid to the heirs of John W. Mackay by the Market Street Company for the west corner of Market and Fourth streets and, a year later, the Lick House and other properties were sold by Mrs. Theresa A. Oelrichs for \$2,600,000 to a syndicate composed of such well-known city figures as Rudolph Spreckles, James D. Phelan, Gustave Sutro and F. E., William A., and Thomas Magee, Jr. In 1905 sales along Market Street alone totaled more than \$3,000,000, while in the month of March, 1906, alone, total sales mounted to \$18,250,570. Such transactions speak eloquently of the importance of a city, for values are based on population and activity—the pulse of a city.

Naturally, San Francisco, playing and working so arduously, failed to pay the slightest heed to civic affairs and a set of rascals gained the seats of the mighty in city hall. Abe Ruef, the leader of the gang of legal looters, was described as being so avid for profit and graft that he would "eat the paint off the walls of a house!" And just as naturally, when conditions became bad enough, San Francisco arose in wrath, organized a Citizens' Justice League and,

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although no one was lynched, the rascals were jailed and the spectacle of Abe Ruef behind the bars acted as a splendid deterrent to others of his stamp.

So, for the next few years, while the city was being reborn, periods of graft and corruption alternated with days of excessive civic virtue, but this time there was none of the careless luxurious speculation which had previously been the hall-mark of the city. San Francisco this time was grown to full stature and, with its boom days over, it settled down in sober seriousness to be a big city and not a boom town. Permanent tranquillity, withal a serenity flavored with the abiding spirit of liberality, which is the essential spirit of the city, came into being and, while the buildings rose to metropolitan heights and splendor, the provision of parks, playgrounds and wide avenues was not forgotten.

The very real development which San Francisco thus made in the decade following the fire was mirrored in the Panama-Pacific Exposition, held to commemorate the opening of the Panama Canal. Not a single iota of inflation was observed in the days before the fair started, although more than a million visitors were expected and hence, when the fair closed, there was no trace of the dreaded reaction which so often has followed huge enterprises of the kind. Thus, San Francisco had come of maturity.

Indeed, the history of the exposition itself is evidence of the calibre of the citizens of the city by the Golden Gate. The day the tremendous undertaking opened, Europe was deep in the First World War and America was already dark in the shadows. San Francisco has happily always been a city in which the antis have been permitted full expression of their fears and doubts and thus there was a movement to cancel the fair and escape hanging a threatened millstone around the municipality's neck. Said the pessimists: the times are bad; we are three thousand miles away from the populous East and we are too small a unit ourselves to support such an exotic undertaking, for fairs depend upon visitors from far away to meet their expenses. The optimists prevailed and the gates were swung wide. The expected million of visitors did come, but it was not the visitors who enabled the corporation to pay dividends instead of running up a deficit. Instead, it was the citizens of San Francisco itself who, thronging

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through the clicking turnstiles night after night and day after day, made the undertaking pay out. That is civic spirit and that is San Francisco.

In the difficult years which followed this exposition, World War troubles, the triumphant 'twenties and the tearful 'thirties, San Francisco on the whole suffered less dislocation than did older cities in the East. The city had its troubles, of course; with modern financial organization this is a world where the part suffers with the whole. However, the reborn city had insured itself against too great dislocation and, despite the vagaries of these thirty-odd years, the city of Saint Francis managed to come through without a single bank failure, with comparatively little critical unemployment and withal managing to continue a moderate but constant increase on the average of both its population and its wealth until, at the moment, it has the greatest per capita wealth of an American city and, very likely, of any city of its size in the world as well as having the highest percentage of gainfully employed persons of any large city in the United States, the highest percentage of office building occupancy among large cities, the highest telephone density, the lowest percentage of mortgage debts in relation to property value, the lowest city and county average tax rate among large cities and the lowest percentage of tax delinquency. Further evidence of San Francisco's permanent stability is given by the fact that in 1940 bank debits surpassed 1939's by \$464,000,000 and amounted to \$10,095,002,000, while bank clearings reached the total of \$7,773,877,000. All this while the cost of living varied but slightly as between 1939 and 1940 and the combined cost of utilities, including gas, electricity and telephone for the average San Francisco family dropped during 1940 to the lowest level among the twenty-five large cities of the Nation. For a final graphic comparison of San Francisco's position today, the 1,743,309 persons resident in the San Francisco Bay Area had, in 1940, a retail purchasing power equivalent to 2,745,930 "average Americans."

Real estate, the "foot-rule" of a city's progress, has continued to mirror this growth through the past few decades. After the close of the First World War, real estate awakened from its slumbers of the war years and, by 1919, the renewal of activity exceeded the totals of past years and by 1925 the all-time peak for real estate in

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prices and volume was reached. That year sales reached the unprecedented total of \$182,907,216 with 18,282 sales. That year also brought the largest single sale recorded in San Francisco—the sale by the Marian Realty Company to the Emporium of the corner of Market and Eighth streets for \$2,720,000.

From 1925 on, largely due to the absorption of capital by stock market transactions, real estate sales fell off and when the great depression of the early 'thirties came, rents and values fell to fifty and sixty per cent. of former levels, foreclosures were heavy and various large properties, particularly those whose obligations were sold when prices were high and optimism higher, went through forced reorganization.

However, despite the rigors of the Nation-wide period of pessimism, San Francisco was not long in recovering and, by 1933, the barometer was rising once more, long in advance of conditions evident elsewhere. By 1936, prices were already up to seventy-five and eighty per cent. of the ante-depression heights and, what is more significant, even in the midst of the difficult period, "real estate owners proved able to reduce their mortgage indebtedness year by year, under the pressure and demands of banks and mortgage holders generally. In seven years, 1930 to 1936, the most difficult period, the mortgage debt on San Francisco real estate was reduced by \$75,000,000" ("Real Estate Chronicle").

And, thanks to this typically rapid recovery from depression, just as from fire, San Francisco, as the 'forties reach their stride, is once again " on a sound financial basis and in real estate, as well as in all other respects, is on the high road to the fulfillment of its destiny and to the realization of the dreams of our fathers who laid the foundations of this Commonwealth with courage, foresight and wisdom, and whose splendid work their successors should often review and always respect and remember" ("Real Estate Chronicle").

The Present Day City—The solution of its isolation is undoubtedly not alone its greatest modern triumph but also a demonstration of the vitality of the metropolis of the West. In the midst of the depression, San Francisco seized its opportunity and not only built a great bridge across the Bay, but also shot another bridge across the

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Golden Gate to link the city streets with Marin County. Thus the peninsular limitations were removed for good and all and although the city still preserves an almost insular flavor of its own, it is now a Greater San Francisco, one of the world's greatest concentrations of human life, truly a crossroads of destiny east and west and north and south.

The dream of bridging the Bay and thus uniting Oakland with San Francisco, not to mention doing away with the transport of freight across the waters to ocean steamers along the Embarcadero, began at least as early as 1856, when the "San Francisco Herald" on May fourth, launched a campaign to head up vague proposals to "do something." Nothing was done, of course; the undertaking was too gigantic for engineering accomplishment in those days, but the idea did not die but continued to be nourished by journalistic support until the present. Until then ferry boats had been in use; the first being an old lumber schooner, the *Kangaroo*, which began its uncertain crossing in 1850. A year later the steamer *Boston* and its sister ship the *Hector* were put in service. These makeshift services continued until the Central Pacific Railroad ran into Oakland and then a fleet of lumbering ferries were built to carry freight across the windy bay. By building out long piers over the shallow water, the actual running time was cut to fifteen minutes, but this was too long a time for commuters to waste and much too expensive a relay for freight. So, in January of 1933, work was actually begun on the Bay Bridge, partly as a means of providing work for the unemployed, partly to solve the problems of automobile traffic in and out of the city, and partly because at long last Oakland awoke to its plight. For years Oakland did not encourage the building of a bridge, for it served as a funnel into which nearly everything bound for San Francisco had to pass. When San Francisco was clearly determined to do something and began to seriously move towards bridging the Golden Gate, Oakland saw it would be shortly eclipsed unless it helped make the Bay Bridge a reality.

And so the four-year job, which was completed in May of 1937, after the expenditure of \$77,000,000, actually was undertaken. In reality, the Bay Bridge is two bridges; one reaching out from each shore and uniting upon Yerba Buena Island in the center of the Bay.

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This island, perhaps better known as Goat Island, has been increased by an artificial island to the north and east, which harbored the magnificent Golden Gate International Exposition held to observe the completion of the triumph of San Francisco over its peninsular limitations. Now that the exposition is ended, the island will be made into an airport, a great landing field for the armadas of the air. Unlike the situation in most cities, where air fields are placed of necessity in remote suburbs, this field is within five minutes' run of both San Francisco and Oakland.

Any description of this Bay Bridge must deal with so many astronomical figures that the stupendous size of the structure is difficult to realize. It can be said that the building of the underwater piers, upon which the steel supports of the structure rest, was the greatest submarine engineering job the world has ever seen. Some of them go down 235 feet into the mud and the largest pier is 197 by 92 feet in size at the bottom. The longest single span is 2,310 feet and the total length of the bridge, half of which is over water, is about $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles. A double-decked structure, each deck being 67 feet wide, the top deck has six lanes for automobiles and the lower three lanes for cars and two railroad tracks. Some two hundred thousand tons of steel were used in the job and a million odd cubic yards of concrete were poured. The supporting cables, each nearly 29 inches across and containing 17,464 strands, would, if stretched out into a single wire, reach for 70,000 miles.

While the Bay Bridge is painted a chaste silver-grey, the Golden Gate Bridge is covered with a flaming orange, a color chosen with particular nicety, for the structure is actually one more triumph of San Francisco over the "It can't be done" attitude. No less personages than engineers of the United States Army asserted that the idea of uniting San Francisco with Marin was fantastic, but Joseph Strauss, who was to be the chief engineer of the bridge, said it could be done and San Francisco told him to go ahead.

Work was begun in January of 1933 and carried through May of 1937 and the total cost was a mere \$35,000,000. Of course, the Golden Gate Bridge, for all its spectacular arrogance, is not as big as the Bay Bridge, but it is, none the less, "the longest single suspension bridge in the world." The main span is 4,200 feet long, being 90

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feet wide and providing for six lanes of travel. The bridge, 220 feet above the water level, has towers 746 feet above the surface of the water and going down as much as 100 feet into the living rock. Some 100,000 tons of steel were used in making the structure and about 22,000 tons of wire cable, while nearly 700,000 cubic yards of concrete were poured.

Important as the Bay Bridge may be, the Golden Gate Bridge, with its audacious orange flame outlined against the sky, may easily become one of the world's greatest bridges and thus place San Francisco on the main north and south highway of the western edge of the continents. From the south, possibly down deep into South America, if that projected highway is finally completed into Chile and Buenos Aires, the road will pass up the shore line, through San Francisco, and then, leaping the Golden Gate to Marin, go on north to Oregon and Washington, north to British Columbia and, some day, north to Alaska itself. Oakland can thank the Bay Bridge indeed for being still upon the map although (and Oakland will deny this) there are indications even now that the once proud city, which when the Central Pacific was completed, very nearly dredged out its own harbor to eclipse San Francisco once and for all, is by the way of becoming hardly more than a Brooklyn to San Francisco's Manhattan.

To survey the modern San Francisco thus established would require not a necessarily brief tour of the city but a volume of many pages, for the San Francisco of today is so richly varied, so much the cosmopolitan, that an adequate evaluation cannot be concise. The undertaking should begin with an account of such outstanding features as Telegraph and Nob Hill, go on along Market Street to North Beach and so through the business section and out through residential areas, both those which have become tarnished and and those now opulent, and after a consideration of such historic landmarks as the Presidio and the Mission and after a visit to Chinatown, perhaps conclude after many days with a visit to such parks as that astonishing Golden Gate garden, a really magnificent pleasure created out of sand dunes and spray-filled sea winds.

Then the life of the city should be recounted, this life which to visitors not concerned with the substantial business activities of the city seems to be a matter of flowers, fog and food. Humans being

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what they are, undoubtedly food would bulk very largely in the memories of San Francisco carried home, because it would seem that San Francisco has a richer and more varied menu than most cities in America. Seafood seems to predominate; fresh shrimp, fishes of many kinds still firm from the sea, and oysters—these are the three things most likely to be sampled. Not without reason does San Francisco claim the honor of inventing the oyster cocktail, for the San Francisco oyster is a tiny creature when compared with the giants of the Chesapeake, Long Island Sound and even the Cape Cod Cotuits. Doubtless Easterners, meeting the little Pacific oyster, found them rather minute for appreciation, and thus some unknown poet of the table hit upon the idea of making these oysters capitalize their size by drenching them in a cup of tomato sauces laced with such things as tobasco, and so the great American appetizer from September through March was born. San Francisco is alleged also to have invented the "Chinese" chop suey from which Orientals from coast to coast have unquestionably harvested millions of dollars through its sale. But seafood is not alone the gustatory attraction of San Francisco, for save for similarly cosmopolitan New York, nowhere else in America is such a bewildering variety of foreign foods so readily obtainable; the list runs well down the alphabet: Armenian, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Mexican and Russian, one names the nationality whose cuisine he would sample and a street directory of San Francisco will tell the way to the satisfaction of his most esoteric fancies for food.

And from food the recent history of the city cannot be understood without an accounting of the personalities who have lived in the city behind the Golden Gate and so enriched its life that, though most of them are gone, their influence remains: Lotta Crabtree, Hearst, de Young, Isadora Duncan, Bret Harte, Jack London, Ambrose Bierce, William Starr King, Adolph Spreckles—to pick but a few names, most of national stature, and to list them at random as a sample of the individuals who have made San Francisco what it is today.

In a large part, too, an account of the present city must include a mention of the various nationalities which, uniting with the "Americans" from New England, from the South and from the Middle West,

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have given their own particular energies to enrich the vitalness which so distinguishes San Francisco.

The Chinese are outstanding in this respect, at least to outlanders who think of Chinatown and its hatchetmen, its slave girls, its secret cellars and all the rest whenever San Francisco is mentioned. Undoubtedly this is a considerable bit of romanticism, for despite the anti-Chinese agitations which swept the city with some justification time and time again in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Chinese were largely confined to themselves. In fact, kept apart by a mutually imposed barrier which allowed no mixing of white and yellow save in mutually profitable commercial and service relations, the real condition of Chinatown was a mystery to even the San Francisco authorities, and the great fire, when it bared the bones of the Chinese quarter, doubtless amazed everyone when the unromantic light of day poured through the ruins and displayed the pitiful poverty and the miserable congestion in which the wretched Orientals passed their lives, instead of living in the luxurious dens of vice the Occidental imagination had pictured. Of course, the Chinese had smoked opium and very likely still do, although the habit would seem scarcely less venial than the American narcotic addiction. And, of course, the Chinese had their tongs and hatchetmen, just as we have labor unions and strong-arm men. And there were slave girls, and probably they are still smuggled into the country from Mexico, for the Chinese are as adept at smuggling as Yankees were in Spanish and Mexican days.

But after the fire Chinatown changed. At first the new buildings were just houses like any American congested section tries to conceal from visitors and Rotarians from afar. But even the San Francisco business men realized that the city was losing something and so, with some degree of artificiality, Chinatown was redecorated to conform to accepted Occidental ideas of what the East should look like, a transformation which the Chinese themselves accepted with habitual outward calm. However, the damage had been done and today, while Chinatown provides sinister shadows, and curved roofs, and silks and jades and all the rest for tourists, the Chinese themselves, that is the American-born children, are leaving the quarter and making themselves at home beyond the western confines of Powell Street in modern apartment houses with completely American fur-

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nishings and conveniences, not to forget the blue colorings of Maxfield Parrish prints on the living room walls. The Chinatown section, with its restaurants and its bazaars, constitutes one of the major elements which go to make up the life of San Francisco.

Without an essay at evaluation, the Italian element in San Francisco is very important. When contrasted with the Italian quarters in other cities, such as Boston, where the sun-loving Neapolitans are wretched, jammed into nearly uninhabitable slums, San Francisco has been most hospitable to the citizens who look back to North Italy as their former home. Along the waterfront, as at North Beach, there are many Neapolitans who follow the immemorial calling of fishing, and do very well at it, but, in the main, the California Italians are agricultural and they have taken over the fields and vineyards which earlier had disheartened less adaptable New Englanders. Years ago the green vegetables which San Francisco ate were largely raised by patient Chinese, but now the Italians have taken over truck gardening almost completely and the southern ocean shore district particularly is one big garden which keeps the market brimmed with green vegetables just as the vineyards back in the hills are lately giving all America good wines now that European casks and bottles no longer cross the Atlantic to quench the thirst of the East.

These Italians, rapidly becoming good Americans, contribute a notable share to the always gay civic life of San Francisco. A fête day arouses a vast enthusiasm in their blithe breasts and no occasion for pomp and circumstance is ignored, much to the pleasure of all the rest of the city, for the people of Saint Francis, whatever their ancestral stock, have always welcomed parades and mass meetings and pageants and fairs, by whatever name an excuse for marching and wearing bright costumes might appear.

And these Italians are taking over their share of the business life of the city, too. Importers and exporters, dealers in artichokes and lettuce by the trainload to Eastern markets, they have done very well by themselves and by America, too. Nor are they limited in their ambitions, for banks and industries are attracting them. For example, to name but one name, that of Giannini and his stupendous banking organization, which gave Wall Street more than one headache, will demonstrate the ultimate contribution which these Italians will

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make to San Francisco, the Pacific Coast and to America when their absorption is completed.

Other nationalities have played and are playing their part, from Spain and Mexico as well as Chile, from the Philippines, China and Japan, from the British Isles, the countries of Europe and the Near East. By and large, however, with the exception of the early days when all California was Spanish, these other nationalities, Chinese and Italian excepted, have played no greater part in the development and the flavoring of San Francisco than has been and is the situation with the other great American cities.

To close this limited account of San Francisco, the phoenix city which has arisen seven times from its ashes, the future of the city deserves a word. That future appears inordinately bright. The situation of the Golden Gate metropolis alone is sufficient to assure its future development, for just as it dominates the Pacific Coast, so it is the one natural link between this our United States and the Orient, and when the murdering of Europe comes to what could be its final chapter for all time, and when the ambitions of Japan are scaled down to permit the establishment of stability in the Orient, the inescapable burgeoning of trade between the countries bordering upon the Pacific should bring to San Francisco a permanent prosperity to which the gold and silver booms will seem infantile.

Samuel Crim

A Biographical Memoir

By J. R. SHAW, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



FOUNDER of a family which has been active in the development of San Francisco for four generations and is now represented in the affairs of the city by its fifth generation, Samuel Crim was one of the pioneers of the Americanization of California, establishing his family in the city of his choice in 1860 and becoming prominent in municipal organization as well as being personally outstanding through his founding of the first street car railway in San Francisco and through his investment in real estate, an enterprise by which, in part, he possessed himself of a considerable fortune.

Samuel Crim was born in Pennsylvania in 1818, of a family which apparently settled in Lancaster County in Colonial times. The Crim family tradition ascribes the birthplace of Samuel Crim to Lancaster County and places the descent of the family as being of German origin. The earliest Lancaster County record discovered lists John Crim, Henry Crim and Jacon Crim as residents of Earl Township, in 1779-82, and there is a record of a Henry Crim, who was a private in Captain William Crawford's company of the Lancaster County Militia in 1779, probably the same Henry Crim who also appears in the records of Captain McConnell's company, Lancaster Militia, in 1782.

Samuel Crim removed from Pennsylvania and settled at Lancaster in Fairfield County, Ohio, where, after a period of employment as a clerk, in 1839 he opened a dry goods store in association with William Clement. This partnership was dissolved on August 4, 1840, following which time Mr. Crim continued in business independently until 1843, when a new partnership was formed with Jesse B. Hart and William Hart, the firm name becoming Crim, Hart & Company.



Samuel Grim



Maria Louise Sanderson Crim



Sanderson

SAMUEL CRIM

In 1845 Jesse B. Hart withdrew as did William Hart a little later, and Mr. Crim continued the business with a brother as a partner. Shortly thereafter the Crim brothers sold their establishment and Samuel Crim, joining in a partnership with Thomas Sturgeon, turned from merchandising of dry goods to the operation of a large sales stable, an enterprise which engaged very extensively in the buying and selling of horses. To obtain stock, the partners themselves crossed the Great Plains to the coast in 1851 and again in 1860 with herds of at least a hundred horses, a romantic and hazardous undertaking, but one in which Mr. Crim learned of the beauty and opportunity of the Pacific Coast. Becoming enthusiastic about San Francisco, then well-recovered from the first wildness consequent to the discovery of gold in 1849, he closed out his business interests in Ohio and reestablished his family in the city of Saint Francis. In his new home Mr. Crim's abilities enabled him to forge rapidly ahead, for not merely did he continue his interest in horses, but he established the first street car line in the city, a horse-car organization naturally, but also becoming convinced of the future prosperity of San Francisco, invested heavily in real estate with such good judgment that he accumulated a considerable fortune and, by the time of his death at San Francisco, in 1887, he was one of the outstanding men of his community.

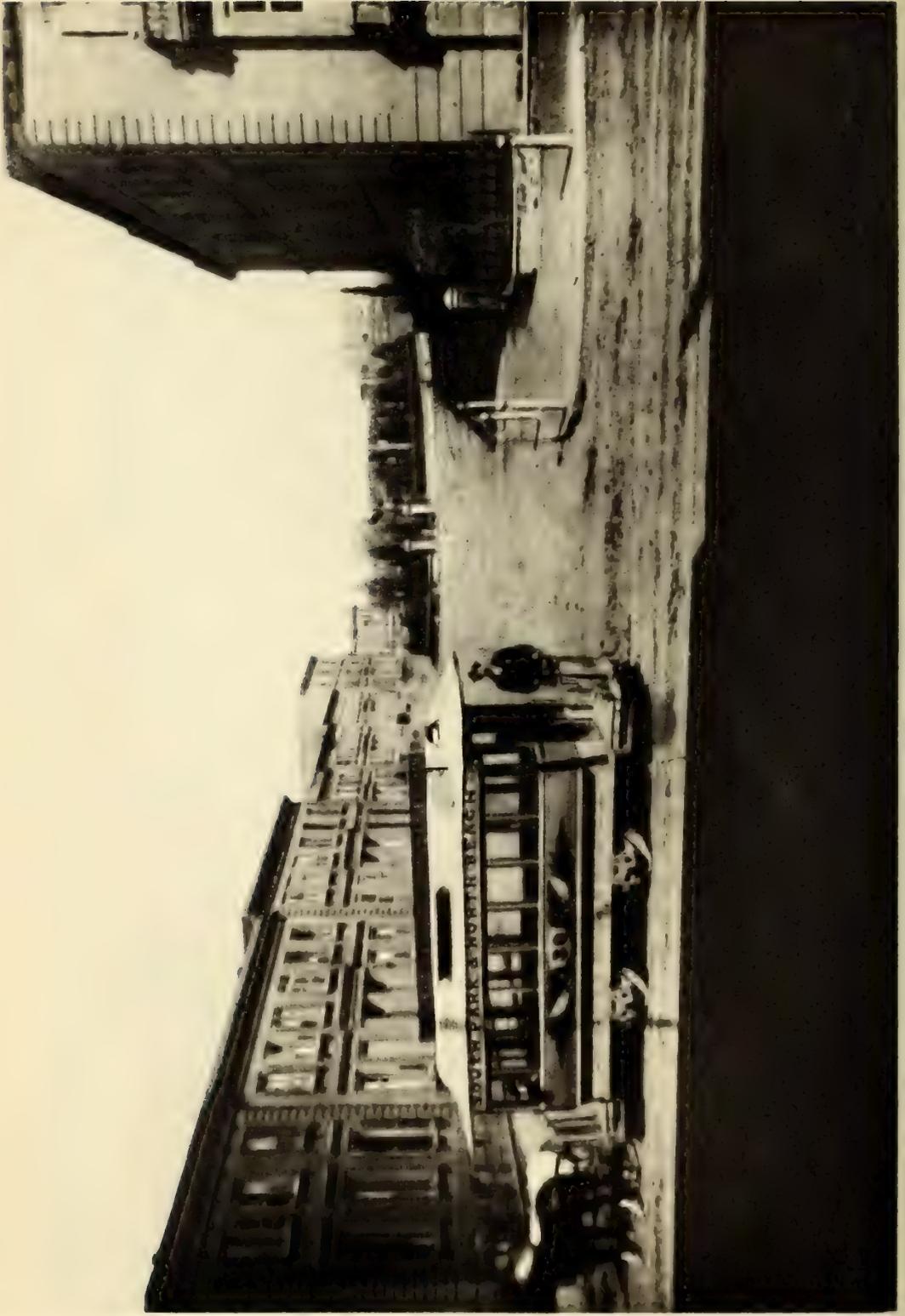
Samuel Crim married in Ohio, on March 2, 1841, Maria Louise Sanderson, daughter of a family of Scotch origin, who established themselves probably in Middleton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, about 1760.

Sanderson Arms—Argent, three bendlets sable. (Burke: "General Armory.")

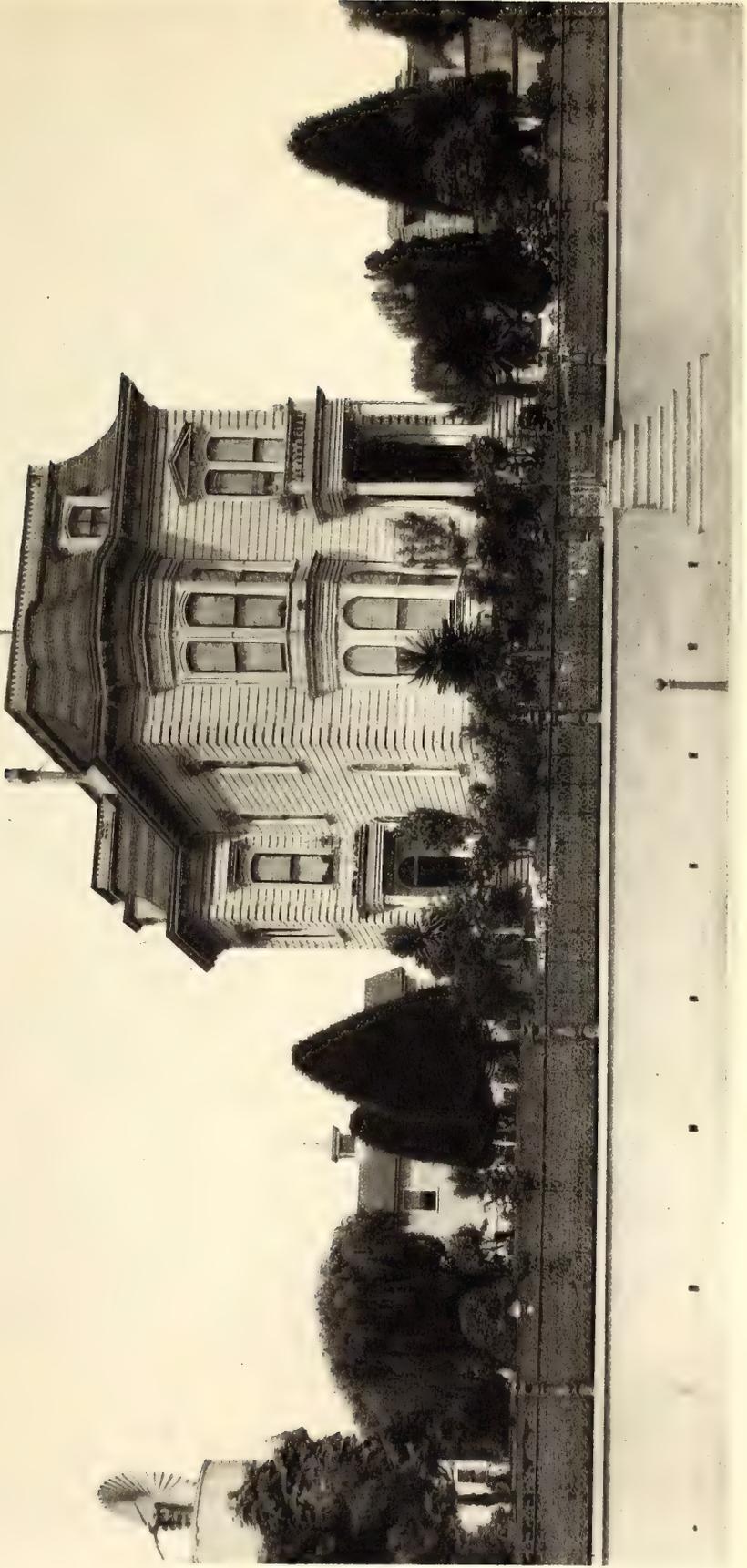
Mr. and Mrs. Crim became the parents of two children, William H. and George S. William H. Crim, who was born in Ohio in 1851, and died in California September 19, 1922, was active for many years as a prominent real estate operator in San Francisco, being the founder of the Abbey Land Company and active as a banker. He married at San Mateo, California, July 2, 1874, Sarah Catherine Garratt, daughter of Joseph and Rebecca (Carpenter) Garratt. Mr. and Mrs. William H. Crim were the parents of three children:

SAMUEL CRIM

Grace M., Samuel M., and William H., Jr. William H., Jr., who was born in San Francisco on May 20, 1879, and who died there on August 12, 1930, established himself in life as an architect and designed many prominent buildings as well as such industrial plants as the Hawaiian Sugar Refining Company's \$3,000,000 plant. He married at San Francisco, on September 16, 1902, Juanita Marie Castillar, daughter of Harrison M. and Sarah (McLeod) Castillar. Mr. and Mrs. William H. Crim, Jr., were the parents of a son, William Castillar. William Castillar Crim, who died in San Francisco in 1937, became a member of the California bar and as a member of the firm of Brobeck, Pleger and Harrison, one of San Francisco's most respected offices, played an active part in the city's legal life. He married at San Francisco, on September 16, 1931, Marjorie Dibert, daughter of John and Margaret (Frank) Dibert. Mr. and Mrs. Crim became the parents of two children: William H., III, and Betty Lou.



Commuter of the Grim Railroad Co. (1865)



*Residence of the late Samuel Crim
San Francisco, California*

The Barne Family

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, RIDGEWOOD, NEW JERSEY



THE Barne family became very prominent in London and in Woolwich, Kent, England, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several members being among the 'merchant princes' and 'merchant adventurers' of this period. Anne (Barne) Lovelace (Generation V) numbers among her immediate ancestors three lord mayors of London."

(J. Hall Pleasants: "The Lovelace Family and Its Connections," in "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XXIX, pp. 110-11.)

Barne Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, azure, three leopards' heads argent; 2d and 3d, argent, a chevron azure, between three Cornish choughs sable.

Crest—On a mound vert, an eagle rising argent, beaked and ducally gorged or.
(“The Visitation of London, 1568,” in “Harleian Society Publications,” Vol. I, p. 25.)

I. *George (1) Barne*, the earliest known ancestor, was a haberdasher of London, England. He lived in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth. He had a son: 1. *George (2)*, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 111.)

II. *Sir George (2) Barne*, son of *George (1) Barne*, died a resident of London, England, February 18, 1557-58, and was “buried at St. Bartholomew-the-Less near the Exchange.” Like his father, he was a haberdasher and sheriff of London, 1545-46; lord mayor of London, 1552; was knighted at Whitehall, April 11, 1553. It is said that *Sir George Barne* was the first merchant adventurer to Barbary, Russia and Genoa, and an incorporator of the first organized English company for discovery in 1551, and that he was the “principal doer” in sending *Sir Willoughby* to the northeast in 1553, as well as one of the “first four consuls” of the Merchant Adventurers, February 6, 1553.

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In his will, dated February 15, 1557-58, and proved March 21, 1557-58, "Sir George Barne, knight and alderman of London," expressed his "desire to be buried in the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Little in the Ward of Brede Street before my pew there." The bequests include £100 to hospitals. Those mentioned as relatives in the will are: "my sister, Alice Kyngesbury dwelling in Wells, County Somerset, . . . my Aunt Barnes dwelling in Woodstock, County Oxford, . . . William Relfe, my wife's son, . . . my wife, Dame Alice, . . . my sons, George & John Barne." As executrix he named "my wife, Dame Alice."

Sir George (2) Barne married Alice (Brooke) Relfe, sister of Roger Brooke, and widow of Richard Relfe. She was buried beside her husband, June 2, 1559. The will of "Dame Alice Barne," widow of Sir George Barne, dated September 20, 1558, with codicil "12 February, 1 Eliz.," was proved July 5, 1559. She left £80 to hospitals and many bequests to the poor. Persons mentioned as relatives are:

my brother's son Richard Brooke . . . my brother's son John Brooke . . . to their sisters . . . my son, George Barne . . . my son John Barne . . . my son-in-law, Alexander Carlell . . . my son-in-law, John Ryvers . . . my daughters, Anne Carlell & Elizabeth Ryvers . . . my son William Relfe . . . my daughter in law, Anne Barne. Executors my sons, George & John Barne & my sons in law, Alexander Carell & John Ryvers.

Children of Sir George (2) and Alice (Brooke-Relfe) Barne: 1. George (3), of whom further. 2. John, "esquier," was of Willesden, County Middlesex, will was proved September 18, 1615; married Jane Langton. 3. Elizabeth, married Sir John Rivers, Kt., who was lord mayor of London, in 1573, and died in 1584. 4. Anne, died in 1564; married (first), about 1550, Alexander Carleill; (second), in January, 1562, Sir Francis Walsingham, Kt., of Barn Elms, Surrey, who became the principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and Ambassador to Paris, 1570-73.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 111-18. Burke: "Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry," Centenary Edition, p. 105. The British Record Society: "The Index Library," Vol. XLIII, p. 39. "The Publications of the Harleian Society," Vol. I, p. 7.)

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III. Sir George (3) Barne, Kt., son of George (2) and Alice (Brooke-Relfe) Barne, was born in or before 1532, as he was "aged 25 or more" February 19, 1557-58, died at Woolwich, Kent, England, January 2, 1592-93, and was buried in St. Edmund's Lombard Street, London, England. He was a citizen and haberdasher of London; was executor of his mother's will, in 1559, and was named in the will of his sister, Anne Walsingham, in 1564. He was sheriff of London in 1576 and lord mayor in 1586. June 11, 1587, he was knighted by the Lord Chamberlain. In 1582-83, he "was interested in Fenton's voyage," and again, in 1585-87, in Davis' voyage to the Northwest. "Sir George Barne . . . dwelled in Lombard Street over against the George in the house which was Sir William Chester's."

His will, dated April 2, 1591, was proved January 20, 1592-93, and "over a half century later," administration on his estate was granted at York, June 24, 1648. An abstract is as follows:

I will that my body be buried in the parish of Saint Edmond the Kinge. I bequeath all that my lease, terms of years, state and interest in the manors and park of Beverly, county York, to Dame Anne, my wife, upon condition that she do yearly *content* and pay my brother, John Barne, of Willsdon, county Middlesex, Esq & Jane, his wife, such yearly rents or annuities as I have hitherto granted them, & that she do pay to Elizabeth Meverell, widow, a yearly annuity of £40 a year. If she fail in this performance, or on her death, I give the residue of the said estate to my three sons, Mark, Peter and Richard, on the conditions; if they fail to keep the said conditions, I give the same to my eldest son, William. Executrix:—Dame Anne, my wife.

Sir George (3) Barne married, probably about 1565, Anne Garrard, who died about December 31, 1611, daughter of Sir William and Isabell (Nethermill) Garrard. Children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. George, of St. Edmund's, London, and of Woolwich, Kent; apparently unmarried; estate administered October 12, 1594, by his brother, William Barne. 3. Francis, of Woolwich, Kent, administrator of his mother's estate and executor of his brother Richard's will; in his own will, dated May 23, 1629, proved May 29, 1634, Francis Barne mentioned, among others,

my nephew Sir William Barne, Knight, son and heir of my deceased brother Sir William Barne, Knight, . . . my Ould Lady Barne my

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sister in law my nephew Robert Barne to my *neece* my *Lady Lovelesse* forty shillings each for rings my sister Machel of Tungley (Tangley).

4. Thomas, named with his brother John in the Visitations of London, 1568 (with Addenda to 1687); both apparently died, unmarried, before their father's death. 5. John, mentioned in the Visitations of London, with his brother Thomas. 6. Mark, named in the wills of his father and his brother, Richard; married and had children: George, Richard, and Mary. 7. Peter, named in his father's will. 8. Richard, born about 1573, died October 6, 1620; resided at Tangley, Surrey; married, as her second husband, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Aungier, first Lord of Aungier, master of the Rolls (Ireland); her first husband was Symon Caryll. 9. Anne, married (first), by license, July 17, 1584, Walter Marley; (second) Sir Francis Aungier (above-mentioned), as his (second) wife.

(J. Hall Pleasants: "The Lovelace Family and Its Connections," in "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XXIX, pp. 118-21. Burke: "Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry," Centenary Edition, p. 105.)

IV. Sir William Barne, Kt., son of George (3) and Anne (Garrard) Barne, was born in or before 1569, as he was "aged 24 and more" September 28, 1593, and died at Woolwich, Kent, England, May 7, 1619. He is named in his father's will as the eldest son; was administrator of his mother's estate, and is referred to in his brother Francis' will, in 1629, as then deceased. He was knighted at Whitehall, July 23, 1603, and received the grant of a market at Woolwich, June 1, 1618. He subscribed £37 10s. to the Second Virginia Company.

Sir William Barne married, agreement dated May 11, 1586, Anne Sandys. Children: 1. Sir William, born about 1593; was knighted at Greenwich, June 29, 1618; married Dorothy Manwood, daughter of Sir Peter and Frances (Harte) Manwood; he is mentioned in the will of his sister, Anne Lovelace, May 16, 1632. 2. Robert, of Great Grimsby, Lincoln; married, before May 16, 1632, Elizabeth Twisden, daughter of Thomas Twisden, of Wys, Kent. 3. Thomas, of Woolwich, died, unmarried, before March 24, 1629-30.

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4. Rev. Miles, died November 1, 1670, aged seventy years; married, in 1632, Jane Travers; was rector of Bishopsbourne, Kent. His eldest son, Rev. Miles Barne, was chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II, and died in 1708. 5. John, died before February 22, 1630-31; married Mildred. 6. George, was living and married, May 16, 1632. 7. *Anne*, of whom further.

(J. Hall Pleasants: "The Lovelace Family and Its Connections," in "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XXIX, pp. 121-23. Burke: "Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry," Centenary Edition, p. 105.

V. Anne Barne, daughter of William and Anne (Sandys) Barne, was born apparently between 1587 and 1592 and died a resident of London, England, between May 15, 1632, and May 22, 1633. The will of her uncle, Francis Barne, in 1629, calls her "my neece Lady Loveleese." In her will, dated May 15, 1632, and proved May 22, 1633, "Dame Anne Lovelace, now wife of Jonathan Browne of London, Doctor of Laws," mentions among others, her son

Richard, under twenty-one; Miles Barnes, M. A., my brother; my daughters Elizabeth and Joane, and my son Dudley Lovelace, my sons Thomas, Francis and William Lovelace, all under twenty-one, Anne Gorsage my daughter, my daughter Anne Browne, my husband Jonathan Browne, my brothers Sir William Barne, Knight, Robert Barne and George Barne, Daniel Gorsage and his wife, and my sone Gorsage.

As executors she named "the said Jonathan Browne and Miles Barne."

Anne Barne married (first) Sir William (5) Lovelace. She married (second), at Greenwich, Kent, England, January 20, 1630, Jonathan Browne, LL. D., who died in December, 1643.

(J. Hall Pleasants: "The Lovelace Family and Its Connections," in "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XXVIII, pp. 176-82; Vol. XXIX, pp. 123-24.)

The Capital Region of New York State*

BY FRANCIS P. KIMBALL, ALBANY, NEW YORK



THE ten counties of New York State defined herein as composing the Capital Region occupy a unique place in American development.

Bordering the Hudson, Mohawk and upper Susquehanna valleys, they are most closely related in order of settlement and family ties to the pioneer outpost of the State. This was Fort Van Nassau, built by the Dutch in 1614, following Henry Hudson's voyage up the river, later known as Fort Orange, as Beverwyck, and since 1664 (except for a brief interval when the Dutch recaptured the Province) as Albany.

The name "Capital Region" is applied since Albany, the principal settlement and market of the region in the first two centuries of American development, has been the State capital since 1797. The counties thus grouped are Albany, Rensselaer, Schenectady, Columbia, Greene, Schoharie, Montgomery, Fulton, Herkimer and Otsego. The area they occupy was once included in the vast up-State territory defined as Albany County in the Act of the Colonial Assembly dated November 1, 1683.

Albany was one of ten present counties thus created, the others being New York, West Chester, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, Richmond, Kings, Queens and Suffolk. The Assembly which enacted the measure itself was an unexpected and prescient event, being the first popular Legislature of freeholders in the Province of New York. So far in advance of the age did it appear, indeed, that the Duke of York and Albany, who called it, promptly cancelled the meetings when he ascended the throne as James II.

*This article is taken verbatim from advance sheets of Mr. Kimball's "The Capital Region of New York State," by permission of author and publishers. The work is to be published within a few weeks by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., in three volumes.—ED.



THE HARBOR OF ALBANY IN THE 1820s FROM THE SOUTHERLY SHORE OF RENSSELAER
(From a print in the Collection of Letyard Cogswell, Jr.)

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Indicative of the primitive condition of the country at the time were the indefinite boundaries assigned to Albany County. So extensive was this area that no exact northern or western limits were set down. The Act, as Prof. Jonathan Tenney noted, set out a territory that was vastly larger than those early governors and legislators knew, "embracing the whole territory lying north of Ulster and west of the Hudson River, and taking in nearly the whole State, even to Canada and the Lakes; and north of Dutchess, on the east side of the Hudson, including the whole of what is now the State of Vermont."

"Indeed," Professor Tenney adds, "the State of Vermont and the fifty counties of the State of New York, erected since this date, were all formed from the original territorial limits (of Albany County), except Putnam, Sullivan, Rockland and part of Green (*sic*) and Delaware. . . . What a mother of counties is old Albany!"

Joined as they have been economically and socially, the counties of the Capital Region have retained, nevertheless, their marked individualism and characteristics. They possess a lore of rich and singular quality, all too little of which is generally known. The region scenically is one of the most notably beautiful and varied in the United States, with its magnificent rivers, broad valleys, towering Catskills, Helderbergs, Hoosacs and Taconics; gorges, underground caverns fertile agricultural lands, lakes, forests, waterfalls, mysterious coves, and riverside retreats.

Historically, it gains special lustre from the fact that it was the northern frontier not only of New York but of the American Colonies, holding the most dangerous zone, that nearest the Iroquois Confederacy. The horrors of frontier warfare that descended upon the settlers and their families during the century and a half preceding the founding of the Republic have left a legend that goes far beyond the sufferings of any other locality of Colonial days.

The time undoubtedly approaches when this Region will receive appreciation of a special sort for the part it played in the making of America. Inquiry is abroad to determine the basic causes which led to the birth of freedom on this continent, now seen to be a phenomenon in the modern world. The quest is being pursued in many directions. Was it the outcome of religious persecution in the Old World which sent harassed peoples hurrying to a fresh haven? Was liberty

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indigenous to this soil as some have contended, pointing to the proud declarations of the Iroquois that they were "free born"? Or was freedom the product of pioneer hardship and determination to set the world on a new course?

Lincoln once said:

There must have been something more than common that these men struggled for. I am exceedingly anxious that that thing—that something even more than national independence; that something that held out a great promise to all the people of the world to all time to come—I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution, and the liberties of the people shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea for which that struggle was made.

For such a search into the origin of the free American, there is no better place to begin than the Capital Region. No greater testimony can be found to the intrinsic value of the American system than that exemplified in the lives and deeds of these dwellers. Here is plainly to be traced the faith and deathless attachment that developed among a people of diverse origins for the new land of their choice; the brave and loyal manner in which they fought for it; and the stunning sweep of their powers once the yoke was lifted.

If it can be set forth, as one day it is bound to be, that the national American destiny was guided by the events in this region, it can also safely be asserted that no locality has contributed more through its inventive genius and leadership to American development since the Republic was formed. Freemen made a new America in less than half the time it took to get rid of the Old World system that hobbled its steps in the first two centuries of growth. The wonders of that performance are still with us. And no less today than yesterday the great valleys of the Capital Region are turning out magical products of a magical age. The record of the Region in industrial production and invention is so huge as to be almost beyond belief.

The position that it came to hold as the first important frontier of westward development exerted so profound an influence upon the habits and lives of the people as to be carried down for generations; and unquestionably has its reflection in the solid habits, thrift, courage and forthrightness of the Region's inhabitants today.

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The geographic position in which the Region was placed, abutting or accessible readily from the two greatest eastern rivers, the Hudson and the Mohawk, from the beginning attracted European attention as a magnet. As a consequence, settlers who came to these counties intending to pursue peaceful careers as trappers or farmers, found themselves, willingly or otherwise, actors on a stage of dramatic import. The action phase began with Henry Hudson's epic voyage in the "Half Moon" during the brilliant autumn of 1609, and from that time never really ceased.

It would be a mistake to assume that the average Walloon, Dutchman, Norwegian, Huguenot, Scotchman, Dane, Swede or Irishman who drifted to Albany County shores in the seventeenth century lived sluggishly or indifferent to the current of events about him. The sparseness of the population on this frontier and the fact that for more than a century all males of sixteen to sixty were on call for military duty, required to remain within arm's reach of rifle and powder to stand off a foe, indicate that such isolation could have been only temporary.

The Mohawk-Hudson gateway became the passage for the entire pageant which we regard as typical of American growth. The traders and settlers followed the explorer; and after them came the warriors, the forest conflict, guerrilla raids, scalplings and other savagery, until the Revolution brought victory and peace. There then unfolded the immense epoch of westward expansion, which in view of the number and quality of the events must have swept excitement into every corner of the Region.

To this tidewater head came Iroquois braves in pursuits as varied as trade, peace and war; here also during the long clash with Canada came the greatest British armies seen on the continent, an occasion which inspired so much awe among the homespun Colonials as to cause Dr. Richard Shuckburg, British Army surgeon, to compose "Yankee Doodle" while sitting on the well at Fort Crailo, in Rensselaer—the song that was played with such effect at Saratoga nearly twenty years later.

In such events as these the story of the Capital Region reveals its share in the national evolution. It is its highest mark that at Albany, the ancient covenant-house for Colonial treaty-making between Pro-

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vincial governors and the Iroquois rulers of the forest, in 1754 was held the original Continental Congress—an occasion at which Benjamin Franklin presented a plan of union formally proposing for the first time a federal organization on this side of the Atlantic. It was rejected then by the King and the Colonies, but twenty-two years later the bells of independence rang out. The idea then set going, as eminent historians have ascertained, never ceased to echo from the time it was uttered in the Albany Stadt Huys. Recently the State of New York has affixed an official marker on the site of the Albany Plaza, proclaiming this to be the “Birthplace of the American Union.”

Union! It was a new theme when Franklin set it forth. But how quickly it won its way! That could not have happened except for the events that had gone before; the border wars, and the common peril that in the formative and crucial times had fused the incongruous elements. The study of the Capital Region will reveal how diverse these people were on the “home” soil. They were not all Dutch or English by any means, as has been inferred. Except for the bold explorers, the Walloons, French-speaking Protestants from the Belgic provinces lying between Holland and France, composed the first band of settlers to reach Albany. They were religious emigrés. Among the colonists of the Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, subsequently arriving to take up farms in his 700,000-acre *bouwerie*, were many scattered nationalities, though the preponderant numbers were, of course, from Holland, up to 1664, when the Dutch régime lapsed. How the Dutch spelled names of the pioneers or attached distinguishing labels to them for identification is one of the interesting subjects of inquiry. A colonist whose name when he came ashore at Rensselaerwyck, as Albany County was then known, was apparently Albert Andriessen—Albert, son of Andries—is listed in Dutch records as “Albert Andriessen de Noorman,” indicating that he had come from Normandy. There were, however, two brothers Andriessen and in course of time they were called “de Noorman Bratt,” or Norman brothers. Within a few years they are referred to permanently with the surname of “Bratt” or “Bradt,” the latter spelling surviving to this day.

It may be that linguistic difficulties handicapped the early interpretations of the Dutch period, and made all the easier such jocund



HUDSON VIEWED FROM ATHENS IN 1860, FROM PAINTING BY HENRY ARY



PALATINE CHURCH, 1770, PALATINE BRIDGE

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interpretations of the Hollanders as those of Washington Irving. The important work of the State of New York through the Education Department and the Division of Archives and History, especially in the valuable translations by Dr. A. J. F. Van Laer, has added vastly to our knowledge of the lives of the venturesome folk who became the first citizens of the State. Irving's characterization of Dutchmen as fat, lazy and pompous was far from the truth so far as the frontier was concerned. There they were lean, vigorous, keen-witted and a match for the best in the land either in physical combat or a trade.

As to what these people accomplished, there is no doubt. The documentary records now available reveal to what an extent Colonial destiny ran through the hands of the Albany County leaders who were members of the Indian Board and became famed as experts in forest diplomacy. Greene, and some other historians, have asserted that during the period of greatest Iroquois strength, the fate of New York and the English colonies along the coast rested largely upon the sagacity of a handful of Albany County Dutchmen. Among these were Arent Van Curler, relative of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer and founder of Schenectady in 1661; and Peter Schuyler, who became Albany's first mayor under its charter of 1686.

The Iroquois called governors of New York "Corlear" at their conferences ever after in honor of Van Curler's straightforward dealings with them; and addressed mayors of Albany as "Brother Quider," for Schuyler, this being as close to the pronunciation of his name as they could come. The Provincial governors deferred constantly to the advice of the Albany Indian Commissioners as they later did to Sir William Johnson, of Fort Johnson and Johnstown, when he assumed the duties of Indian Superintendent for the British Crown two decades before the Revolution. Sir William's sway over the savages until his death in 1774 was enormous, and has been chronicled exceptionally well in "Johnson of the Mohawks," by Arthur Pound, New York State Historian.

Those who have blamed the early Colonials of the Capital Region for not pushing settlement faster into the wilderness take small account of the dangers that were faced. It was true enough that the Patroon's perpetual leases retarded agricultural development and

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slowed down the colonizing process at the upper reaches of the river. To many of those who crossed the ocean in that period, however, the years of indenture or other service required were a vast improvement over their previous condition; and others were permitted to come as free settlers, erecting their own farms and enjoying all privileges, including free trade, almost from the beginning. The real blockade to settlement was the presence of the Five Nations of Iroquois (later Six Nations) across the Mohawk River country. The Iroquois utilized their vantage seat in the protected valley to carry on wars of conquest which ranged through the forest from Maine to the Carolinas and even to the Mississippi. They knew that the white man, whatever his pretenses, had come not merely to trade but to acquire land.

The savages were in no mood to give up their hunting lands or be driven from their favorite villages. The French raided them repeatedly from Canada, knowing that this was the first step essential to conquest of the English and Dutch in New York. The harrowing of the frontier continued for a century of Colonial warfare. It took a hundred years for settlement to spread from Albany (Fort Orange) to Herkimer, eighty miles up the Mohawk Valley. It was not, indeed, until the Iroquois cast their lot with the British in the Revolution, that their grip on the Mohawk and Susquehanna country was really broken. Capital Region folk, at least, cannot be charged with the remorseless destruction of the natives that went on in other sections of Colonial America. There were evidences that they understood the forest brothers as well as anyone could and over a considerable period enjoyed with them a singular alliance of friendship.

In the Revolution, the crippling of Burgoyne's famous three-way drive to split the Colonies by uniting at Albany with St. Leger from the west and Howe from the south was the result of heroic work by General Herkimer and the militia of German Flats, at Oriskany. This fierce battle, which orphaned half the children of the Mohawk Valley, stopped St. Leger's advance, though Herkimer received a mortal wound. The valor of the Palatines deserves far greater recognition than it has ever received. That the turning back of St. Leger was a vital blow to Burgoyne has long since been conceded. It has its historic retribution in the fact that the Palatines, religious

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refugees, were provided with homes along German Flats by Governor Burnet with the idea that they should become a "barrier" against Britain's old enemy, the French. The lapse of a few years, however, found the picture altered so completely that the Palatines, as loyal patriots, administered a death blow to Burgoyne's aspirations. Also on the soil of the Capital Region was the battle of Walloomsac, better known as the battle of Bennington, in which Stark's forces routed a foraging party under Baum, and thus clipped off Burgoyne's remaining wing. Saratoga, where Burgoyne capitulated at last, was at the time within the domain of Albany County.

And so, how inseparably and directly are the people of the Capital Region linked with the Burgoyne defeat, the military event which Creasy placed at the top of the list of the crucial battles as the one which, enabling the creation of a free Republic, changed the course of the world more than any other single event.

The birth of the Nation brought with it a seething period of expansion which swept the forest down. Indian paths and ox cart trails had to be reconstructed to carry the rush of settlers. In a few years were witnessed the phenomenal steamboat voyage of Robert Fulton, financially aided by Chancellor Livingston; the opening of the Erie Canal from Buffalo to Albany; the spread of stagecoaches to all outlying communities, beginning the era of turnpikes which has left such pleasant echoes in Cherry Valley and on other famous coaching routes; and the triumphal run of the first steam railroad in the State of New York across the sand plains between Albany and Schenectady.

The chronicle of that era is still being told, since in the fever of events, people forgot to put down the records. Thus the date of Fulton's trial trip on the Hudson is shrouded in uncertainty, nor was the actual first run of the Mohawk & Hudson Railroad any better preserved. But the impulse of these developments rebuilt the State and set going smokefires of industry along rivers and valleys, even in mountain heights, where not long before there had been waving forest and smokefire of savages.

It will be evident from the story that follows that the Capital Region received such an impact from the new era of buoyant enterprise that it was struck with inventive fire. It is certainly significant

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that the first native-born American President, Martin Van Buren, of Kinderhook, came from this Region; as it is that in this Region through the genius of James Fenimore Cooper was born the first American novel. Cooperstown is triply rich in its lore of Americana, with its authentic claim to parenthood of the game of baseball, and the publication of the Beadle dime novels, which generations of youths hid in their geographies.

The cities and towns of the Region enjoy a rich and colorful background. Johnstown, for instance, was cut from the wilderness to become the lordly seat of Sir William of the Mohawks, and has evolved into one of the specialized industrial cities of the East.

Some of the communities began as wilderness forts, such as Albany and Fort Plain. Some were Erie Canal ports, like Port Jackson, now a part of Amsterdam. Canajoharie, a trading port on the canal, was and is a gateway to the Cherry Valley. Schenectady, founded by a group of farming proprietors, has risen to "light and haul the world." Troy is the famed collar and shirt producer and Gloversville "gloves" the world. Quaker whaling masters came to settle Hudson, a maritime adventure which founded a city noted for its diversity and manufacture. Prattsville in the Catskills boomed with a mighty tanning industry and still exhibits high on rocks above the village the portrait of Zadock Pratt, the pioneer. From this mountain community, too, came William Bullock, who devised the modern web printing press. Ilion, with its typewriters and guns; Newport, birthplace of the Yale lock, are among the many other contributors to the Region. Research is disclosing much that has been overlooked. Joseph Henry, of Albany, is now recognized as the pioneer of radio, telegraph and telephone; as Samuel F. B. Morse, once an artist in Cooperstown, is famed as the practical constructor of the telegraph. Palatine Bridge is famed for the palace cars of Webster Wagner, as Central Bridge is for George Westinghouse, the air brake inventor.

Of such is the absorbing record of the Capital Region. The splitting up of Albany County did not begin until 1772, when Sir William Johnson, having taken his home off to Johnstown, engineered the organization of Tryon County. This removed the western part of the State from Albany County beyond the Schenectady line.

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Tryon's name was changed to Montgomery in 1784 to erase the British aura and honor a patriot, and the subdivision proceeded apace, in keeping with the surge of settlement.

From Albany County were set off Columbia County in 1786; Rensselaer County in 1791; Schoharie in 1795 (part taken also from Otsego County); Greene in 1800; Schenectady in 1809. From Montgomery County were taken Herkimer and Otsego in 1791 and Fulton in 1838. Albany County in the process has shrunk to half the size it had back in 1630 when Jan Sebastian Krol, agent for Van Rensselaer, bought the land from the Mahikan sachems.

The Capital Region is dotted today with the thick-walled homes of the pioneers, loopholed for gunfire; with churches once used for forts, as at Schoharie. Queen Anne's Parsonage, built for her mission to the Mohawks, still stands in the village of Fort Hunter. Up and down the rivers and in the hills are many more such places, rich in the traditions of the region. Traveling through it reveals what a treasure-trove of American growth it is; and how much of the heritage of freemen has sprung from this soil. Each county has its story to tell, its valuable contributions to the whole. What this record has been, including the growth of the modern communities, will be told in the ensuing pages.

Hudson Sails to "Neere the Fortie Three Degree"—The story of the Capital Region begins with one of the world's high adventures.

Dwellers in these snug valleys and lovely hills, seemingly remote from the sea, sometimes forget that they owe their occupancy of this fair land to the attempt of a brave English navigator to solve the greatest quest of his era.

Search for a new road to the Orient was the engrossing subject of Holland, France and England in their rivalry with Portugal and Spain for world trade. It was the theme close to the heart of every navigator. So much so, that with something of the imagination of Columbus in attaching the name "Indians" to the natives of Cuba, it has been suggested that Hudson should have named the aborigines he found "Chinese."

The quest for Cathay is, indeed, commemorated on the St. Lawrence River, where Samuel de Champlain named the rapids above

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Montreal "LaChine," thinking them to be a part of the oriental road. On the Hudson, there exists no such title of fantasy; yet the legend left by the brave explorer, cruising in his tiny ship, is as deathless as the mysterious sea tides which led the "Half Moon" northward on its journey.

It is possible, if the full account of the voyage were known, the tides have received insufficient credit for the achievement. These impulses of the sea roll so far through the long fjord that there are always two tides in the river, and a navigator starting out from New York on one flood tide will meet another far upstream. Even today the tidal lift at the Albany shore, three to four feet, is considered a phenomenon, and travelers are surprised to discover that although they are 150 miles inland from the Atlantic, they are still at sea level.

There is no doubt, however, that Hudson was the most delighted man aboard the "Half Moon" when it passed in through the Narrows of New York Bay and headed northward with the up-tide, on the great stream welling, as Verrazano had said, "out of the mountains." Who could tell whether this might not be another Strait of Magellan, threading a mountainous pass, with a shining ocean, fame and fortune beyond? Or that a few days journey ahead might be seen the pagodas of Cathay? Did Hudson utter a prayer of hope as he stood on the deck, watching the tall Palisades slip by? At nightfall did he quietly withdraw to his cabin and finger the silken robes of the mandarin coat that skippers always carried in those days in the event they should need to repay oriental courtesies?

To Hudson, his arrival that far was a gratifying moment. Although the fact seems generally overlooked, he had been thinking for more than a year of making an Atlantic crossing. It was a decided stroke of fortune that he found his wish realized.

His hankering for the Americas is traceable to his friendship with Captain John Smith, leader of the Jamestown Colony in Virginia, with whom he had had many discussions. Hudson's own navigation studies had acquainted him with a map drawn by Martin Locke in 1582. This revealed a narrow neck of land not far north of Virginia in the vicinity of forty degrees north latitude, to the west of which there was a great ocean labelled "Verrazano Sea." Where Locke obtained his information is unknown, but the map, while hazy in the

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extreme, held out the promise that if one could get into Verrazano Sea, there was no other barrier and nothing to do but sail on to China. Verrazano, in 1524, had cruised the Atlantic coast, entering New York Harbor, when he may have been told by the imaginative natives of a western sea (or misunderstood them to that effect). Verrazano for this visit is ranked as the discoverer of the Hudson River, though he did not ascend above the Palisades.

Locke's map, in spite of its generalizations, filled out strange tales Captain Smith had told Hudson about a western sea lying above Virginia. So his appetite for cruising the Western Hemisphere had been whetted. But his other assignments kept preventing. He was the ranking Polar explorer of his day, and his employers kept sending him to find a route through the ice fields of the Arctic to the eastern spice marts. In 1608, when in the service of the Muscovy Company of London, he explored north of Spitzbergen and along Greenland in the ship "Hopewell." After running into the ice for eight days, he was forced to halt. He then proposed to the crew that since they appeared to be no more successful than ever in smashing their way east, they try the western road, and sail for America. The crew, however, was faint-hearted, and they returned fruitless to their home port.

It may have been that Hudson's English employers were themselves now wearied of their quest, or Hudson himself may have sought the employ of the Dutch for his next voyage. There was nothing unusual then in expert navigators of one country entering the service of another. When he sailed from Amsterdam on April 4, 1609, as master of "De Halve Maen," with a crew of twenty Dutch and English sailors, a Dutch mate and salary promised of \$320, his orders were once more to try for a passage to the east across the Arctic Circle. He faithfully followed the orders until his ship, having passed Nova Zembla, ran into heavy ice floes. The floes may have been thicker than usual, or as Brodhead says, some of the crew having been used to East India runs and warmer weather, began to mutiny.

Since there seemed no prospect of going on, Hudson undoubtedly did not want the reputation of returning empty handed from another voyage. The crew murmurings furnished an excuse, of sorts at least, for a departure from course. As the Van Meteren account goes,

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Hudson thereupon gave his officers and crew the choice of two proposals:

The first was to go to the coast of America at the fortieth degree of latitude, mostly incited to this by letters and maps which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, and in which he showed him a sea by which he might circumnavigate their southern colony (Virginia) from the north, and from there pass into a western sea. The other proposal was to seek the passage by Davis's Strait.

Very little seems to have been said about going to Davis's Strait. It was likely to be as cold and troublesome as the place they had already been. That left the decision in favor of the American coast—the coast of Captain John Smith and Verrazano Sea. Very likely Hudson chuckled a bit as he gave the order to set sail for the Faroe Islands, to fill the water casks for the voyage across the Atlantic.

They reached the Faroes (Islands of Farre, as Robert Juet, of Limehouse, Hudson's chronicler, termed them) on May 30, and from there marked a course for Newfoundland. They met raging storms, which carried down a mast on June 15, and did not reach the Newfoundland Banks until July 1—a month after leaving the Faroes. It seems remarkable that the "Half Moon," on a voyage of discovery, could have met so many other ships and people. But on July 3, Juet records: "This morning we were among a great fleet of Frenchmen, which lay fishing on the Banke; but we spoke with none of them." The fact was, of course, that since the time of Cabot and Cartier, French, English and other sailors had been going for years to the banks for cod fishing. With the entire American continent almost within arm's reach, the wonder was so little curiosity was evidenced toward it.

Wending their way past the fishermen, the "Half Moon" expedition kept on southward, sighting land July 12, described as "low sandie ground right ahead of us." A few days later they went ashore in Maine, probably near Penobscot Bay, cutting a mast to replace the one lost on the crossing. On July 20 two canoes full of Indians came off the Maine coast in "French shallops" to trade their beaver skins. Juet notes that the savages wanted cloth and knives, hatchets and various trinkets and red-colored garments, "for the French trade with them for red Cassockes." They passed Cape Cod August 6,

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described by Juet as "the headland which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeare 1602," and kept on southward. On August 18 they sighted land and "came in over the Barre of Virginia."

Juet quaintly set it down that: "This is the entrance into the Kings River in Virginia, where our own English-men are." So they had arrived off Jamestown, which was already laying the basis for its reputation as the oldest English settlement in America—the Jamestown of Smith and of Pocahontas and John Rolph; the Jamestown of malaria and pestilence; of massacre and suffering, and of final extinction.

But Captain Hudson, well as he knew John Smith, did not venture into Chesapeake Bay. They were not "his Englishmen" now. He was sailing for the Dutch East India Company, whose orange, white and blue flag snapped from the masthead with the scrolled monogram "AOC" (Algemene Oost-indische Compagnie) across the field. Possibly Hudson did not want to risk an international incident; more likely, knowing ships were passing from Virginia to England, he did not wish to be reported scouting for the Dutch along that western shore. The "Half Moon" instead swung down toward the North Carolina coast, and seeing nothing of interest, headed about and began to trek along the northward shore. On August 28, they ran into Delaware Bay, misnamed since for Lord De La Warr, an English Governor of Jamestown, but which definitely belongs to Hudson's discoveries. Quickly concluding that this was not the Verrazano Sea, Hudson continued on. Wrote Juet: "He that will thoroughly discover this great Bay must have a small Pinnace, that must draw but four or five foot water for the Norther land is full of shoals."

They were now drawing near what proved to be Hudson's great objective. On September 2, still going northwest, they came to "a great lake of water" from which "the land lyeth north by East." Juet wrote: "We had a great streame out of the Bay. We saw high hills and anchored." The "great streame" was the river which perhaps more than any other in America has been called the River of Destiny—the river that was to bear his name. Hudson's reckoning showed him to be in latitude forty degrees thirty minutes north. How his heart must have throbbed. He had come into the range where he expected to find the elusive Northwest Passage.

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Off to the right there was a roaring white surf line where the sea pounds the shore of present Coney Island. Hudson sent his small boat ahead to make soundings, and it is supposed it was Coney Island they first set foot upon. A good anchorage was found for the "Half Moon" with "foure and five fathoms two cables length from the shoare." The next day they "weighed and went in with our ship." Thus is described the entrance to the New York Harbor. They were promptly welcomed by savages, coming from shore in canoes, described by Juet as "the people of the Countrey" who were "seemingly glad of our coming and brought greene Tobacco and gave it to us for knives and beads."

"This is a very good land to fall with," the chronicler observed, "and a pleasant land to see." The natives "goe in deere skins, loose, well dressed desire cloaths and are very civill" but, he adds, "the master durst not trust them." The fears were evidently well grounded for after a trip ashore John Coleman and four others were attacked by two canoes of savages and Coleman was slain. He was buried, it is said, at Staten Island.

Two days later Hudson began the voyage up the river. The weather, which had been remarkably fair, continued so throughout their stay in the "river of the mountains," with but two dull or rainy days.

"At seven of the clocke in the morning as the floud came," wrote Juet, "we weighed and turned foure miles into the river. The tide being done, we anchored."

Past the Highlands they went on the fourteenth, the land being termed "very high and mountainous," and after that they ran into a more peaceful land. Two Indians they had seized in the lower river as hostages escaped through portholes, swimming away and "calling to us in scorne." But they were then among other mountains, the Catskills, and among Indians of a different sort.

"There we found a very loving people and very old men," wrote Juet, "where we were well used." On the sixteenth of September, Hudson anchored opposite Claverack Landing, the modern Hudson. Two days later he visited the Mahikan seat on the Hudson, where they were received "by an old savage, a Governour of the Country, who carried him to his home and made him good cheere."

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The accounts differ on the point, Juet stating the master's mate was the one who went ashore. But the navigator has left his own account of what happened:

I sailed to the shore [says the Hudson narrative (preserved by De Laet, Dutch historian of 1625)] in one of their canoes, with an old man who was chief of a tribe consisting of forty men and seventeen women. These I saw there, in a house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being built with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, and beans of the last year's growth; and there lay near the house, for the purpose of drying, enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields.

On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon and some food was immediately served in well-made red wooden bowls. Two men were also dispatched at once with bows and arrows which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog and skinned it in great haste, with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed I would remain with them for the night; but I returned, after a short time, on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon and it also abounds in trees of every description. These natives are a very good people; for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows; and taking their arrows they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire.

Such was the courtesy of the aboriginal Mahikan, the Indians of Algonkin stock who peopled the river, to a strange navigator coming from another world. The account, the first recorded welcome to a white man by the natives of this region, is a priceless document. Brodhead says the Mahikan castle was between Schodack Landing and Castleton.

Hudson weighed anchor the next morning and "ran higher up" with wind and flood tide, "two leagues above the shoals." The anchor cable rattled out again, plunging this time into the soft ooze of what has since been called Albany Bay. It was September 19, 1609, a date which fixed the beginning of the history of the capital of New York State. For three days the little eighty-ton ship, sixty-three feet long, bobbed on the water while a small boat went north.

Van Meteren has recorded that the "Half Moon" sailed as far as forty-two degrees forty minutes north latitude, while the introduction

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to Juet's log as issued by Purchas states the vessel went "up the river neere to fortie three degrees." The forty-third parallel crosses the river just above Cohoes Falls, where the Mohawk pours into the Hudson. The city of Albany computes the latitude of its modern seaport as forty-two degrees thirty-nine minutes six seconds. Van Meteren's statement would place the "Half Moon's" anchorage at the north end of the city.

Hudson had now reached his historic impasse. The small boat was sent north along the swiftly narrowing river, interspersed with islands and rapidly shoaling—the route that now goes from Albany to Troy where the tidal influence runs out. That day the boat went up two leagues and returned. But the presence of the little ship had caused a great to-do among the natives. As the account goes, they planned on the twenty-first to send the small boat up the river sounding a second time, "but much people resorted aboard, so we went not this day."

Locations of the Indian fishing villages of the time have never been placed definitely, but the message that a strange visitor had arrived in a brightly painted ship—"the big fish"—spread for miles around. Undoubtedly there were villages on the Albany and Rensselaer shores as well as at the mouth of the Mohawk, where an island was named Moenominees Castle.

The ship's carpenter went ashore to make a foreyard and Captain Hudson and the mate put in the time entertaining the savages. Finding the warm friendship of the Mahikan difficult to believe after the savage conduct of the Lenapes at Manhattan and the lower river, Hudson determined to ply some of the chiefs with *aqua vitae* to learn "whether they had any treacherie in them."

"So they took them downe into the cabin," goes Juet's account, "and gave them so much wine and *aqua vitae* that they were all merrie; and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly as any of our country women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had been aboard of our ship all the time that we had beene there; and that was strange to them for they could not tell how to take it." The canoes and folk went ashore after some of the natives came and gave the most affected chief a string of beads "and he slept quietly."

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The next morning, the natives returned anxiously to the ship and "when they saw the savages well they were glad." The experiment having proved a success, Captain Hudson and his men entered heartily into the entertainment of their guests, fearing no further danger. There was staged a farewell party beginning at three o'clock in the afternoon, with much giving of beaver, otter and other furs.

"They came aboard and brought Tabacco and more Beades and gave them to our Master and made an oration and showed him all the Countrey round about," relates the chronicler. "Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned and brought a great Platter full of venison, dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them; then they made him reverence and departed, all save the old man that lay aboard."

That same night, the twenty-second, Hudson learned from his boat crew there was no further hope that this might be the path to Verrazano Sea and the wealth of the East. The decision, cruelly dashing his hopes, as told by Juet in these words:

This night, at ten of the clocke, our Boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the River; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had been up eight or nine leagues, found but seven foot of water, and unconstant soundings.

It is supposed the rowboat went as far as Waterford. Whether the sounding party came upon the Cohoes Falls was not indicated. They may have noted it only as a barrier to westward navigation. They did not realize that in coming to the Albany harbor they were at the location which would prove to be the gateway for the settlement and growth of an entire section of America; nor could they have in the least imagined that the pine-tufted hillside which rose at the west would one day be crowned with the capitol of a great and free State.

The next morning, September twenty-third, in "faire weather" which had returned again, the little ship bade adieu to the friendly natives at the navigation head. They made several stops down the river, at Catskill and other villages, where savages came out to greet them.

One of the Mahikan sachems from Schodack or Castleton followed them far down the river, anxious not to lose sight of the white

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visitor from afar, or the little ship, so gay with its brilliant-hued flags. The sachem kept beckoning for Hudson to return, but the navigator did not turn back. In the lower river, once more trouble occurred. An Indian attempted to steal some pillows from the captain's cabin and the cook cut off his hand with a sword. Off Spuyten Duyvil, four Indians were killed after showering the vessel with arrows. A hundred or more gathered at the shore, and Hudson turned a "falcon" on them. But in the midst of the excitement, the "Half Moon" crew did not fail to notice a mountain which looked green "as if some metall" were in it, and made other observations.

The voyage of exploration was over when on October fourth, as Juet says:

We weighed and came out of the River into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after we came out also of the great mouth of the great River that runneth up to the Northwest. . . . Then we tooke in our Boat and set our mayne-sayle and sprit sayle, and our top-sayles and steered away East South-east and Southeast by East, off into the mayne sea. . . . We continued our course toward England without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this month of October; And on the seventh day of November, *stilo novo*, being Sunday; by the Grace of God we safely arrived in the Range of Dartmouth in Devonshire in the yeare 1609.

So ended the chronicle of the voyage which marks the beginning of the recorded history of New York State and the Capital Region. It has been given in some detail since, in many points, the account is generally unfamiliar, and because of its significance as a guide to the events which followed. A careful reading of Hudson's voyage tends to clear up the mystery as to why the Dutch traders who followed made their first permanent stake at the north end of the river. Plentiful beaver and friendly natives aided in placing at Albany, as Fort Van Nassau, and in the Capital Region as the contiguous territory the pioneer development of New York State. It does not appear that Hudson gave any other name to the river he explored, except the "Great River." But as early as 1622 it was cited in English chronicles as "Hudson's River" and that name, though the Dutch designation "North River" still lingers, is the one by which it has gone into history.

The tragic sequel which cost Hudson's life when he was set adrift by a heartless crew in Hudson's Bay was a bitter turn of fate for the

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brave explorer. But as Brodhead said: "He had not indeed discovered for his employers the long-sought passage to the Eastern Seas; but he had led the way to the foundation of a mighty state."

And the Great River flows on, his endless memorial.

The Capital Region Goes on the Map—The sturdy little ship with its bright flags that sailed down the Hudson, bobbing adieu to the "loving" Mahikans in that beautiful autumn of 1609, sailed straight into world history. The presence of a Dutch East India Company ship in a roadstead of the Western Hemisphere a week's journey (as it was then) inside the American continent, was to have an astonishing outcome. With this voyage began the settlement of New York and of the interior of the Colonies by a strong and tenacious people.

That Hudson's report of his exploration induced voyages from Holland in the years immediately ensuing established the unbroken continuity of this development. Nevertheless, there has been some disposition to treat the "Half Moon" adventure as a single incident, interesting and colorful, but detached and unrelated to the main flow of American events. This treatment has been far of the mark, and the American story has suffered much on this account. The accounts of the pioneer landings in Virginia and Massachusetts have been repeated so often and have been viewed as so essential that few have been unaware of these notable events, but less emphasis has been placed on the significance of the pioneer voyage to the tidal head of the Hudson.

Proof of this is found in the fact that few New Yorkers recognize that the origin of their State ranks chronologically next only to that of Virginia, so early did it take its place on the American scene; nor are they generally familiar with the eventful rôle it performed of guarding the frontier on which the safety of all Colonial America depended. Lately it is coming to be recognized, as a current writer has put it, that life in the southerly colonies was humdrum up to the Revolution, in comparison with the happenings in New York Colony, and the Capital Region in particular. The bald fact was that the coastal provinces from Massachusetts Bay to Virginia could never have attained their more rapid growth except for the alert guard in

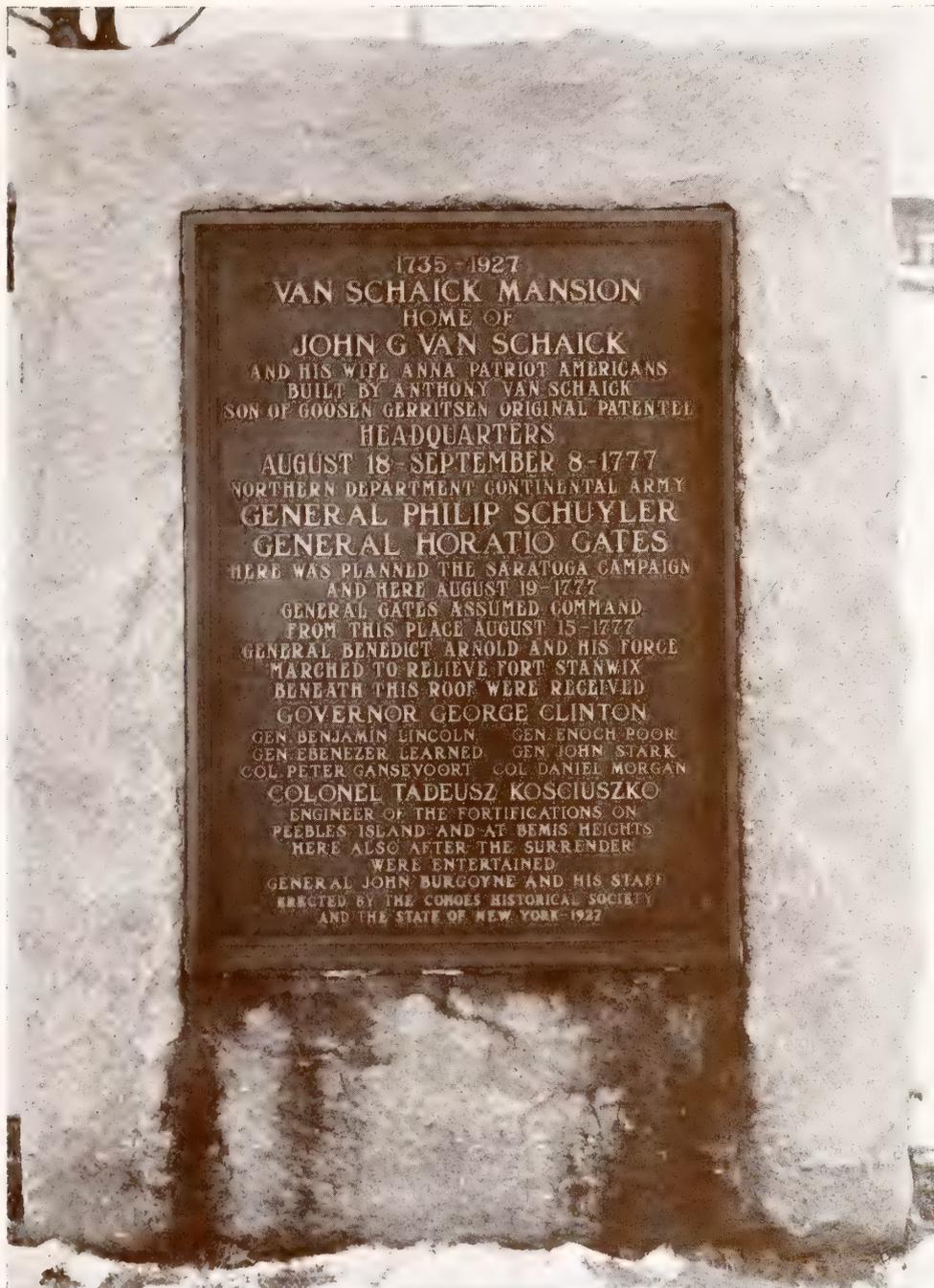
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the north, and for the first 150 years, while settlement was gaining a foothold, the Capital Region performed that hard and self-sacrificing rôle. The complaints of Colonial Governors, appealing to other colonies to send reinforcements to the frontier as occasion demanded, and the references to Albany as the "dam" which, if it should break, would carry all the King's interest with it on the continent, supply ample evidence of the type of service required.

Likewise, it has been but little appreciated that Hudson, by going into the interior, supplied the first reliable information to the world as to what lay within the great wilderness. He was the first so far as any record goes to traverse the Hudson River, which became the main artery to the inland. The Indians had a legend that there had been Frenchmen on the site of Albany seventy years before Hudson put in an appearance, but efforts to trace the supposed building of a fort on Castle (Westerlo) Island to exploring "jacques" have been unproductive. Hudson's log book, as well as Juet's chronicle, therefore, rank as priceless Americana. Hudson's original record unfortunately was lost, but is partly preserved in De Laet's history.

Up to the time of Hudson's voyage, geographers had hit bravely into the dark in their interpretations of that corner of North America. Lacking definite information, they drew generously on their imaginations and located within the shoreline great rivers and winding mountain chains, even citadels and wilderness metropolises. Mercator's Map of 1569 and Locke's Map of 1582 identify the northeastern part of North America as "Norumbega." This was depicted as a large settlement, or city, bordering a long two-pronged river. Westward of this and extending along the shore in a north-south direction, Mercator drew a mountain chain, labeled "Appalchen." Westward of the mountains, he portrayed a vast land area. Locke abandoned the idea of a far-reaching plain and disposed of the problem by drawing a great ocean, just beyond the mountains, which he called "Marre de Verrazana"—the same Verrazano Sea which induced Hudson to try a westward passage. The more southerly part of both maps had the benefit of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese explorations and hence attain a degree of accuracy.

But except for the New England shore and the general outline of the St. Lawrence River, which Cartier had visited, the locale back



1735 - 1927
VAN SCHAICK MANSION
 HOME OF
JOHN G VAN SCHAICK
 AND HIS WIFE ANNA PATRIOT AMERICANS
 BUILT BY ANTHONY VAN SCHAICK
 SON OF GOOSEN GERRITSEN ORIGINAL PATENTEE
 HEADQUARTERS
 AUGUST 18 - SEPTEMBER 8 - 1777
 NORTHERN DEPARTMENT CONTINENTAL ARMY
GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER
GENERAL HORATIO GATES
 HERE WAS PLANNED THE SARATOGA CAMPAIGN
 AND HERE AUGUST 19 - 1777
 GENERAL GATES ASSUMED COMMAND
 FROM THIS PLACE AUGUST 15 - 1777
 GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD AND HIS FORCE
 MARCHED TO RELIEVE FORT STANWIX
 BENEATH THIS ROOF WERE RECEIVED
GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON
 GEN. BENJAMIN LINCOLN GEN. ENOCH POOR
 GEN. EBENEZER LEARNED GEN. JOHN STARK
 COL. PETER GANSEVOORT COL. DANIEL MORGAN
COLONEL TADEUSZ KOSCIUSZKO
 ENGINEER OF THE FORTIFICATIONS ON
 PEBBLES ISLAND AND AT BEMIS HEIGHTS
 HERE ALSO AFTER THE SURRENDER
 WERE ENTERTAINED
 GENERAL JOHN BURGOPYNE AND HIS STAFF
 ERECTED BY THE COHOES HISTORICAL SOCIETY
 AND THE STATE OF NEW YORK - 1927

PLAQUE ERECTED AT VAN SCHAICK'S ISLAND COUNTRY CLUB, COHOES

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of Cape Cod was a matter of guesswork. Many a researcher has tackled the problem of "Norumbega" without getting anywhere, some concluding that there was an ancient city or region of that name located on the Hudson, approximately at Albany, or on the Connecticut River, perhaps in the vicinity of Springfield, Massachusetts. Others attribute the supposed location to some fiction of the Indians. In recent years the widespread occupation of eastern United States by the Algonkin tribes has been more definitely unfolded, but there is still no explanation of "Norumbega." Hudson's voyage lifted the veil on the valley of the "River of the Mountains" itself and the alert Dutchmen who followed him soon ventured into the neighboring woods.

The only regions which had been explored inside the continental shelf in that sector were the St. Lawrence, due to Cartier, and the Champlain Valley, so named by Samuel de Champlain when he came within one hundred miles of Albany in the summer of 1609. Champlain had fired his famous shot, killing some Mohawk chiefs at Crown Point, only a few weeks before Hudson reached the tidewater head from the south. The shock of the natives at seeing the death-dealing qualities of Champlain's arquebus formed the basis of a narrative the French explorer proudly related to his sovereign. The contrast between Champlain's visit with a war party of Hurons, and that of Hudson, peaceably trading and dining with the native celebrities, had its commentary in subsequent events. Champlain's arquebus has long been referred to as the shot which broke the wilderness quiet and ranged the Iroquois forever against the French. However, it is just as probable that the Frenchman's 1615 expedition overland from the St. Lawrence to attack the Oneida village at Nichols Pond in central New York, home of the mighty Iroquois Confederacy, had even more to do with that long-lived hostility. But Champlain never reached the Hudson-Mohawk junction. The mapping of the Hudson River Valley and adjacent country was accomplished by courageous Dutch traders who followed Hudson's trail and thus gave to a bustling young Republic the glory of founding the first Dutch province in the New World.

The circumstances under which Hudson made his voyage also were significant. Holland was then an acknowledged Republic, declar-

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ing independence of Spanish oppression and proclaiming principles of political freedom in 1581. At that time, the States General, assembling at The Hague, asserted the revolutionary doctrine that "subjects are not created for the prince, but the prince for the subjects." Accordingly they voted to depose Philip of Spain from any hereditary right so far as they were concerned. Long and bitter warfare followed, which brought Spain to the verge of ruin, England aiding the Dutch cause. The contest had reached a truce in 1609. The suspension of hostilities was to last twelve years and the Dutch were on the winning end. As it turned out, the battle was renewed in 1621 (just when the Dutch West India Company was being organized to plant their first settlement at Albany) and continued until 1648, when Philip IV, in the Treaty of Munster, fully recognized the independent status and sovereignty of the Netherlands.

During this period, Dutch prosperity rose in spite of the wars. Its fleets managed to carry on a great trade, and the truce was taken advantage of to advance arts and crafts. The final stages of the war were not acute, the Dutch fleet scoring sweeping victories. Dutchmen came to stand for a high ideal of freedom, and their land quickly became the refuge of the oppressed in Europe. The period was one in which flourished the great artists such as Rembrandt and Hobbima. The University of Leyden was recognized as the most famous educational center in Europe or England. Such scholars arose as Erasmus, Grotius, Spinoza. Historians included De Laet, Brandt and Van Meteren. The seas echoed the fame of the Dutch admirals Tromp, Heyn and De Ruyter. (Albany has a Van Tromp Street today.) It was Holland's golden era in which the New Netherlands was opened under the auspices of the traders who pursued Hudson's course. The Dutch East India Company itself, one of the early stock companies in Europe, had been formed in 1602, and sent its ships over the trade routes of the known world, while its privateers cheerfully raided the Spanish fleets. Exploration was just one of its activities. William Usselinx, one of the leading merchants of his time, had long urged the establishment of a West India trading company, with the American continent and West Indies in view. And it is likely that had the Dutch been less prosperous and less rushed with the immediate

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demands of trade, they would have turned all forces on the follow-up of Hudson's discovery.

As it was, private traders of Amsterdam and Hoorn picked up the account of Hudson's voyage from the Dutch members of the crew. Hudson and the ship were detained several months in Dartmouth after putting into that port on coming from America, a revelation of England's interest in voyages in that direction. Loyal to his Dutch employers, Hudson sent his log secretly to Amsterdam, and so the story came out. What Hudson told the English government does not appear, but it could not have been much since no attempt was made to pursue his findings and his own next voyage—the fatal one of 1610 that ended in the tragic death of himself, his young son and faithful followers, in the waste of Hudson's Bay—was once more on the Arctic route for the Northwest Passage, under English auspices.

In Holland, independent merchants seeing the Dutch East India Company barred from the land of Hudson's exploration, prepared to take advantage of his find. In permitting them to go, the Holland government evidently accepted the view that although lying within the territory claimed by Virginia in the patent from King James in 1606, the region visited by Hudson had been actually unoccupied and unpossessed, as Brodhead says, "by any Christian prince or people."

Fur trade offered a tempting bait for new adventuring since the only other large source of furs at the time was Russia, with which the Dutch had a lively commerce at Archangel. A ship was fitted out in 1610 at the risk of some Amsterdam merchants, and it is believed carried part of the original "Half Moon" crew, including Hudson's Dutch mate, Van Campen, for the voyage to America. They were soon back among the savages whom they had met the year before and, as the account goes, "they were much rejoiced at seeing each other."

In 1611, Hendrick Christiaensen, of Cleves, returning from a West Indies cruise, happened to pass by the Hudson River outlet on his way home and became interested in the country. He joined forces with another skipper, Adriaen Block, and made a voyage to the Hudson the same year. They brought back two savages, sons of chiefs, it was said, evidently thinking to stimulate interest in the new land. (This was an unfortunate gesture, leading to the assassination of

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Christiaensen in 1616 at Albany for a fancied wrong, possibly dating from the overseas trip.)

Thus experienced, however, Christiaensen and Block were able to attract a group of merchant supporters, one of whom was Hans Hongers, a director in the East India Company. Others were Paulus Pelgrom and Lambrecht Van Tweenhuysen, of Amsterdam. They obtained two vessels, the "Fortune" and "Tiger," in which they returned to the Mauritius, as the river had been named in honor of the stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Nassau. Both ships became famous in the New World. Other merchants sent out the "Little Fox" under Captain Jan De Wit; the "Nightingale" under Captain Thys Volckertsen, and the "Fortune" of Hoorn, under Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey. Mey or May is remembered for having named Cape May, New Jersey, and also became the first director of the Colony of New Netherland.

Block's ship, the "Tiger," burned in the winter of 1613-14 either at Manhattan or at Albany, and a new ship, the "Onrust," a tiny yacht of "8 lasts burden," was built to replace it. The implication that the ship burning occurred at Albany arises from the fact that Block and Christiaensen were then engaged in erecting the trading post which they listed on their famous map of 1614 as the sole center of habitation in the region.

It was in the "Onrust" that Block explored Long Island Sound in the spring of 1614 and discovered the island which bears his name. He apparently joined Christiaensen at Manhattan or other rendezvous and they returned to Holland in the "Fortune," leaving the "Onrust" in charge of subordinates to return to their outpost at the head of the Hudson. The fame of the latter vessel arises from the fact that it was undoubtedly the first built by white men in the State of New York.

On reaching Holland, Block conferred with a mapmaker, who produced the carefully drawn map of "Carte Figuratif" as it is referred to, on which the application of his associates for a three-year trading privilege was based. It is the first map on which a representation of the Hudson River as far as Albany appears. The mapped area extends westerly into the Indian country and east to the New England coast, including the Connecticut River and Long Island

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between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude. The map was three feet long, drawn on parchment. It is considered a remarkable piece of draftsmanship for the times, indicating the notable familiarity of Block and Christiaensen with the region. Since it is the map on which the States General on October 11, 1614, issued their first charter for trade in the new land, which they officially named "New Netherland," it enjoys exceptional historic rank.

The map was found June 26, 1841, in the royal archives at The Hague, annexed to a supplemental memorial submitted by the New Netherland traders in 1616, asking for additional privileges under the *placaat* of 1614. Of it, Brodhead said:

It is one of the most interesting memorials we have. It shows very minutely the course of the Hudson River from Manhattan to above Albany, as well as a portion of the seacoast; and contains likewise curious notes and memoranda about the neighboring Indians, the work perhaps of one of the companions of Hudson made within five years of the discovery of our river, its fidelity of delineation is scarcely less remarkable than its high antiquity.

On an island at the lower end of the site of present Albany, the map locates Fort Van Nassau, the original trading post. Across the island of Manhattan is written the word "Manhates," referring to the Lenape Indian tribe who occupied it. No habitation is shown there, an omission that would not have been likely if any permanent structure had been erected. It is probable that trading huts had been placed on Manhattan, but it is evident from the emphasis given to the outpost at the upper end of the river, that the latter was the chief center of operations. The map identifies the Hudson as the "Riviere van den verst Mauritius," or river of the Prince Maurice; lists the "Mahicans" as occupying the central Hudson region and shows a portion of the Mohawk River, on a deep bend of which appears an Indian village with the legend "Maquaas," the first name applied to the Mohawks by the Dutch. A portion of the Delaware River is shown, with native villages of "Senecas," "Gachoi," "Capitanasses" and "Minquaas" located in the vicinity, of which the Senecas and Mincees, at least, are readily identified. "Sandpunt" (the modern Sandy Hook) is shown at the entrance to New York Bay.

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Notations on the parchment recorded the dimensions of Fort Van Nassau, also named in honor of the stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. It was "fifty-eight feet wide between the walls in the quadrangle; the moat is eighteen feet wide," said the legend, in Dutch, "the house inside the fort is thirty-six feet long and twenty-six feet wide." The site was known thereafter among the natives as "Castle Island," in the Dutch, "Kasteel Eylandt." For many years it was in the town of Bethlehem in Albany County, just south of the city line, but some years ago was annexed to the city. It has been known locally as Westerlo Island, today the site of Albany's modern ocean-ship docks.

The 1614 map was enlarged in 1616 to include data obtained by a Dutchman named Kleynties and two others who were sent to tour the back country. From Fort Orange they went up the Mohawk Valley, crossed southward along Otsego Lake to the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. They were taken prisoner on the Schuylkill, and ransomed by Hendrickson in the "Onrust" in 1616.

With Fort Van Nassau the commercial history of New York State formally begins. Despite the clarity with which it is set upon the pioneer map, and its dimensions recorded, Fort Van Nassau has somehow managed to escape general attention. Only lately has the State of New York identified the spot with an official marker honoring the two brave Dutch captains, Block and Christiaensen, who erected it. Their names occupy too small a place in the history of the State as it has been known. They were courageous, thorough-going explorers as well as traders, as is evident from the amount of data on the *Carte Figuratif*. Christiaensen, impressed with the immense natural richness of the region, is credited with having had a definite idea of instigating settlement and with being the prime mover in the construction of the original fort. For armament, the founders placed on its bastions two large guns and eleven swivel guns or pedereros. These they unloaded from their ship and dragged across the low-lying island to be mounted. The building within the fort stockade was a strongly built warehouse for furs as well as a place of defense.

In awarding exclusive trading privilege to Christiaensen and Block and their associates, on the "wild coast" of America between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels, the twelve "high and mighty

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lords" of the States General sat around the famous oval table in the Binnenhof, ancient inner court, or palace of the Counts of Holland, at The Hague. The Hague itself gets its name from an ancient hedge or "haeg," Brodhead states, enclosing what was once the hunting ground of Dutch royalty. It is recorded that presiding at the session at which the charter was granted was John van Olden Barneveldt, the now almost legendary Dutch hero.

The trading company was named the United New Netherland Company and its privileges made effective until January 1, 1618. The company of grantees, as listed in the ancient record, included: Gerrit Jacobsen Witsen, former burgomaster of Amsterdam; Jonas Witsen and Simon Monisen, owners of the ship "Little Fox," and Captain Jan De Wit; Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom and Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, owners of the "Tiger" and "Fortune," captained by Adriaen Block and Hendrick Christiaensen; Arnoudt van Lybergen, Wessel Schenck, Hans Claessen and Barent Sweetsen, merchants of Amsterdam; Pieter Clementsen Brouwer, Jan Clementsen Kies and Cornelis Volckertsen, merchants of Hoorn and owners of the ship "Fortune," whose captain was Cornelis Jacobsen May.

Mention has been made of the untimely death of Christiaensen, at Fort Van Nassau, two years after the founding, at the hands of an Indian he had taken to Holland. His death was avenged by a trader who shot the savage. Jacob Eelkens, second in command, then took over the post and continued there until 1622, when he was discharged from the company's service for kidnapping an Indian sachem on the Connecticut River. Eelkens, however, appeared to get along well with the savages and later returned to the river in command of an English trading ship, the "William," of London. His former colleagues from the Dutch fort broke up his trade and escorted him and his vessel down the river.

Freshets inundated the fort in 1617 and it was rebuilt on the banks of the Normanskill nearby. Trading continued there until the Dutch West India Company completed its plans for the settlement at Fort Orange, and officially took over the region. At or about 1618 occurred the famous Treaty of Tawasentha, which Brodhead in his noted "History of the State of New York" (1853), says was celebrated at the little fort beside the Normanskill, in what the Indians

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called the vale of Tawasentha. Brodhead quotes Moulton, Schoolcraft, Heckewelder and Morgan, all famous Indian authorities, on the event, which he describes as follows:

Besides the Mahicans (*sic*), the Mincees, the Minnisincks, and the Lenni-Lenapees were represented at this grand council, which the Mohawks, who were the prime movers of the treaty, invited the other tribes to attend.

Under the supervision of the Dutch, a general peace and alliance was negotiated; and the supremacy of the Five Confederated Nations was affirmed and acknowledged by the other tribes. The plenipotentiaries of the Iroquois were five chiefs, each representing his nation, and each bearing a hereditary name, which, nearly a century before, had distinguished the delegates who formed the grand confederation.

The belt of peace was held fast at one end by the Iroquois, and at the other by the Dutch; while in the middle it rested on the shoulders of the subjugated Mahicans, Mincees and Lenni-Lenapees, as a nation of women. The calumet was smoked, and the tomahawk was buried in the earth, over which the Dutch declared they would erect a church, so that none should dig it up again without destroying the building and incurring their resentment.

Some authorities question the date of the ceremony, and appear to doubt the presence of the Five Nations there. However, Iroquois orators at subsequent treaty conferences in Albany referred constantly to the early "tree of friendship" that was planted in that community and placed the date before 1620. It is one of the remarkable facts of history that Fort Nassau, or as it was afterward known, Fort Orange and Albany, enjoyed Iroquois alliance on a firm basis over most of the Colonial period.

The original fort staked out the Hudson River region for the Dutch, and carried with it the Mohawk and contiguous localities. If the career of the settlements in the Hudson-Mohawk locale—our present Capital Region—differs from that of others in the East or South, it is because of the special perils of frontier life. Here was an outpost totally surrounded by savages, remote from the ocean. In the winter, when the river froze, it was wholly isolated in the howling wilderness. Yet it became widely famed. M. de Monsignat, Comptroller-General of Canada, in 1689 called Fort Orange the "Capital"

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of New York. Incidentally, the promise to build a church was kept, although not on the site of the treaty, but about two miles north of it, over two decades later. The church, whose existence was thus begun, is now the second oldest Dutch Reformed congregation in America.

Who Were the First Settlers?—The train of events that followed the erection of Fort Van Nassau in 1614 at the site of Albany was far-reaching indeed. The fort clearly fixed the Dutch claim to the region not only by discovery but by occupancy, making it the first permanent Dutch establishment in the New World. More than that, it marked the beginning of other Dutch moves to create a domain which would rival the famous English Colony in Virginia. In the next few years the Dutch began the settlement of four other states—New Jersey, Connecticut, Delaware and Pennsylvania—and laid elaborate plans for colonizing.

These plans soon ran counter to English claims and started a lively clash with Puritan settlers after the Plymouth Colony arrived. The manner of settlement, too, was extraordinary, reflecting the unusual influences that were abroad in the world. The period was one of extreme adventure on the high seas, of pillaging wars in Europe, marked by persecutions which had only served to whet the aims and strengthen the characters of the oppressed groups.

Such were the Pilgrims, who very nearly became the first colonists on the Hudson River; such were the Walloons, Protestant Belgians, who did become the pioneer colonists of Dutch America, bringing their skill and courage to the tidal headwaters of the Hudson and laying the foundation of an immense tradition.

The Dutch West India Company itself was one of the leading mercantile establishments of the age. Formed in 1621, with a capital of \$2,800,000, it possessed vast powers delegated by the States-General of Holland for trading in the Atlantic and Pacific and “on the barbaric coasts of Africa and America.” It could build merchant fleets and men-o’-war, erect forts, maintain its own soldiers and administrative officials, raid the seas (especially in pursuit of the Spanish silver fleet) and “promote the populating of Dutch and uninhabited regions.”

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William Usselinx, of Antwerp, had sought since 1607 the organization of a company for American trade, but his aims were toward long-term rewards, which only colonizing could bring. Unfortunately, the Dutch West India Company was drawn on too large a scale, and its interests too diverse. It had difficulty concentrating on settlement, with such rich rewards immediately to be had in the high seas trade. It arranged for the settlement of Guiana, in South America, referred to as the "Wild Coast," and then turned its attention to the Hudson River. The initial settlements were made under its banner—a Dutch orange, white and blue flag with the initials "GOC" (Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie) in the center of the field. The organization was completed in 1623, but in 1622 ships were dispatched to Fort Van Nassau to "take possession" (and warn other traders away).

Had the organization of the West India Company proceeded more rapidly, or international politics been less involved, the Pilgrim settlement likely would have come to the Hudson River. Since the location of Fort Van Nassau by Block and Christiaensen there had been much discussion in Holland of the wonders of the New World. As ships returned from voyages with beaver and otter furs, and stories of immense forests, rich with game and of rivers flowing with fish, the more adventurous became deeply interested. The Pilgrims, who had been in Holland a dozen years, in February, 1620, petitioned Prince Maurice to allow them to settle in the vicinity of the Hudson. The New Netherland Company, founders of Fort Van Nassau, offered to carry them free overseas to settle in the region.

But the twelve-year truce with Spain was about to expire, and the United Provinces had to consider the domestic situation. England had befriended the Dutch in their fight for freedom and might again prove a valuable ally against Spain. And it so happened that England was renewing its claims to North America, in view of the voyages of the Cabots and the Virginia settlement. During the spring of 1620 an English captain, Dermer, en route from Virginia, called at Manhattan and warned the Dutch traders there that they were trespassing on territory claimed by the English Crown. This had little effect on them, since the limits of New Netherland when first defined by the States-General extended from the fortieth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, from Virginia to Canada. The Virginia

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Patent, under which the Puritans finally emigrated to Plymouth, extended only as far north as the fortieth parallel, and westward to the Pacific. King James was already hinting of a new patent for a more northerly settlement than Virginia when the Dutch government rejected the Pilgrim petition. The Puritans accordingly made the arrangements to sail under English auspices. There is still repeated a curious story that the "Mayflower" passed Cape Cod and was heading for a seemingly clandestine landing spot "about Hudson's River," when severe tides and winds turned them back to Provincetown and Plymouth. This tradition, which has continued to lack substantiation, has it that Captain Jones of the "Mayflower" had been warned by the Dutch not to carry the Englishmen into New Netherland. A week before the "Mayflower" arrived at Cape Cod, King James issued the New England Patent granting to the council at Plymouth all territory in America between the fortieth and forty-eighth degree of latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific—a sea to sea charter which has echoed down to modern times, and which soon enough caused complications for the New England and New Netherland settlers.

As has been indicated, the New England Patent carried immense powers. If it had been faithfully followed, not a ship could sail into a harbor from Newfoundland to Philadelphia, not a skin could be purchased in the interior, not a fish could be caught on the coast and not an emigrant might tread the soil except with the permission of the Council of Plymouth. The flaw in the patent claims lay in the definitely recorded voyage of Dermer, as published by Purchas, which revealed plainly enough that the Dutch were already occupying the Hudson in early 1620, before the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth and before the King had promulgated his new claim extending sovereignty to the forty-eighth parallel. After issuing the new patent, James instructed his Ambassador to notify the Dutch, but the States-General delayed a reply indefinitely, and thus ignored the pretensions. It remained for Charles II, twenty-four years later, to issue the astonishing patent giving the whole of New Netherland to the Duke of York.

At the time of the James patent, however, the Hollanders declined to be annoyed. The West India Company soon was piling

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up tremendous earnings with its activities in trade and on the Spanish Main and the Netherlands was enjoying marked prosperity. In planning the colonization of the Hudson River region, the West India Company soon became interested in the Walloons. These French-speaking people, of ancient Gallic stock, had been subjected to Spanish persecution in 1580 and driven from their homes in the Belgic provinces of Hainault, Namur, Liège and Luxemburg, finding refuge in Holland.

Their situation was just the reverse of that of the Pilgrims. While the Pilgrims had first sought to emigrate under Dutch auspices, the Walloons through their noted leader Jesse De Forest, had applied to King James to settle in Virginia. The terms offered, however, were not satisfactory and they were still considering what to do when the West India Company sought them out. The Walloons were promised transportation and farm supplies and a group of thirty families, 110 persons, made up the first contingent.

While the ship "New Netherland" was being fitted for the voyage, the West India Company settled the details of the formal organization of the region. The rather indefinite territory was erected as a province honored by the States-General, as Brodhead says, "with a grant of the armorial distinction of a count." The province was named "Novi Belgii" or "New Belgium," and a seal struck off which bore the imprint of a beaver surmounted by a coronet, thus typifying the fur trade on which the settlement was to rely so largely for existence. The name "New Belgium" was undoubtedly in compliment to the Walloons as the first settlers—a point which seems to have attracted little attention. Undoubtedly there were Dutch among the pioneer band. The commander of the ship, Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May, was from Hoorn, as we have noted, and there were Dutch soldiers in the company who went along to build the fort and conduct the beaver trade. But the families were nearly all Walloons. The "New Netherland," a 260-ton ship, left Amsterdam in March, sailing a roundabout course from the Canary Islands toward Guiana and the Caribbees, then north between the Bahamas and Bermuda to New York Bay. Large colonies of Walloons had been settled in 1621 in Guiana. Stops were frequently made by Dutch vessels following that course to fish in the West Indies.

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The early account of the voyage as given by Wassenaer, says:

The West India Company being chartered to navigate these rivers did not neglect to do so, but equipped in the spring (of 1624) a vessel of 130 lasts, called the "New Netherland," where of Cornelis Jacobsen May of Hoorn (is master), with 30 families, mostly Walloons, to plant a colony there. They sailed in the beginning of March and directing their course by the Canary Islands, steered toward the Wild Coast (Guiana) and gained the west wind which luckily took them in the beginning of May into the river first called Rio de Montagnes, now the river Mauritius, lying in $40\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

He found a Frenchman lying in the mouth of the river, who would erect the arms of the king of France there; but the Hollanders would not permit him, opposing it by the commission from the Lords States General and the directors of the West India Company; and in order not to be frustrated therein, with the assistance of those of the "Mackerel," which lay above, they caused a yacht of two guns to be manned and convoyed the Frenchman out of the river.

It appears the "Frenchman" was a ship named the "Dauphin," which after being driven out of New York Bay, went to the Delaware Bay, where some Dutch traders were, and threatened them. This appears to have been the last attempt by the French to claim the Atlantic coastal territory prior to the Colonial wars which were to shake the wilderness. Thus early, however, it appeared that the Dutch were not going to be allowed peaceable possession of their fair region for long.

The Walloons and Dutch on the deck of the "New Netherland" must have felt relieved at seeing the French intruder chased out of the bay by the armed yacht "Mackerel." The "Mackerel" was their escort up the lordly river. It had preceded them to the New World to make preparations for the settlement, and it is believed soldiers from this vessel were the ones who began the construction of Fort Orange. Some of the accounts say the fort was completed after the arrival of the band of settlers. A site two miles north of Fort Van Nassau had been selected, on higher ground, for the new fort and colony. Fort Van Nassau too often had been inundated by spring floods which until the past decade often washed the streets and stores of the lower part of the city.

Fort Orange, the name given the new redoubt, had "four angles" and mounted nine guns. Within was a house for officers, barracks for

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the soldiers and warehouse for the furs brought to the West India Company factor. Early descriptions of the site, now at the riverside in the heart of the modern city, speak of the alluvial plain along which the settlers built their bark hut homes, with the pine-tufted hillside rising at the west (the hill now crowned with the Capitol of the Empire State). Several "kills" or creeks ran down the hillsides to the river, above and below the fort.

With what wonder must the Walloons have looked abroad on the strange, fascinatingly beautiful country to which they had come! How fearful they must have been at the sight of the dark-skinned savages, feathers in their hair, naked bodies partly covered with doeskin, the women with long kirtles elaborately embroidered with beads; at their guttural speech; at their murderous clubs, hatchets and bows and arrows.

To have come from comfortable homes in prosperous Amsterdam to this, 150 miles inward from the sea, with none to aid them if a savage reign of terror broke loose! That indeed required courage. Captain May, as the first director of the Province, took charge of moving the goods ashore, locating the houses and there was soon a busy scene as ground was cleared of vines and underbrush. The simple first houses were only of bark, hung on wooden frames, with stone chimneys and roofs of thatch. There was too much to be done to build elaborate homes just then. There had been Indian cornfields on the plain, and the savages obligingly showed the settlers how the planting should go. Wheat was sown in time to get a first crop before the ship "New Netherland" sailed for Holland in the fall with the furs that Indian trade had brought in.

The work of building the settlement appeared to progress without serious difficulty. In marked contrast with the experience of the Englishmen in Jamestown and the Pilgrims in Plymouth, the savages were friendly and tractable. The Colony benefited greatly by the ten years of trading that had gone before, and the alliance with the natives at the Treaty of Tawasentha.

That the Dutch were prompt to carry over the old friendship to the new Colony was evident from the statement of Caterina Tricot, a Walloon settler who came to Fort Orange on the first ship with her

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husband Joris de Rapalje. In a deposition made in 1688 she recounted the voyage to the new land.

There were about eighteen families aboard who settled themselves att Albany & made a small fort [she wrote] and as soon as they had built themselves some hutts of Bark ye Mahikanders or River Indians, ye Maquase, Oneydes, Onnondages, Cayougas & Sinnekes, with ye Mahawawa or Ottawawawaes Indians came & made Covenants of friendship with ye sd Arien Jorise there Commander Bringing him great Presents of Bever or oyr Peltry & desyred that they might come & have a Constant free Trade with them wch was concluded upon & ye sd nations come dayly with great multidus of Bever & traded them with ye Christians.

It is thus apparent that Adriaen Jorise, the second in command, after the departure of Captain May for the homeland that fall, arranged a new treaty almost as widely attended as the one of 1618 at the banks of the Normanskill. The assembly of the Five Nations and River Indians with the Ottawas revealed not only a prevailing peace between the tribes in the region, but a vast curiosity on the part of the savages to see who had come to their land and for what purpose. Even though the settlers built homes, and planted crops, the natives seem to have regarded the Colony as a trading project only. It may have been to avert native suspicion that no apparent attempt was made to barter with the savages for a deed to the land, later the required practice for all Dutch holdings in the Province. In years following, when the point of land purchase was raised by the Patroon Van Rensselaer, who sought control of Fort Orange, the Dutch West India Company asserted the settlement had been made with consent of the savages, and occupancy had established the right to possess. No deed, at any rate, was ever produced, and similarly, none exists for Manhattan Island, although Minit chronicle the purchase of twenty-two thousand acres of land there in 1626 for \$24 in Indian goods. It is possible a similar process was followed at Fort Orange.

At any rate, the Colony quickly became well established, and in letters sent home on the "New Netherland," the Walloons offered no complaint, so far as records show. Baudartius quotes a letter from one of the colonists published in Amsterdam, and no doubt intended to aid the West India Company's plans for enlarging emigration.

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We were greatly surprised when we arrived in this country [wrote one]. Here we found beautiful rivers, bubbling fountains flowing down the valley; basins of running waters in the flatlands, agreeable fruits in the woods, such as strawberries, pigeon berries, walnuts and wild grapes. The woods abound with acorns for feeding hogs and with venison. There is considerable fish in the rivers; good tillage land. Here is free coming and going, without fear of the naked savages of the country. Had we cows, hogs and other cattle for food (which are daily expected by the first ships) we would not wish to return to Holland, for whatever we desire in the paradise of Holland is here to be found. If you will come hither with your family, you will not regret it.

The cows, hogs and other cattle did come over in 1625, shipped carefully on vessels appropriately named the Dutch equivalents of "Cow," "Horse" and "Sheep." Nothing better illustrates the care of the Dutch skippers in handling a valuable cargo than this voyage. On two ships were loaded 103 head of cattle, including swine, sheep, cows, horses and breeding animals.

Each beast [says Wassenaer] had its own separate stall arranged upon a flooring of sand three feet deep, which was laid upon a deck specially constructed in the vessel. Under this deck each ship carried three hundred tuns of fresh water for the use of the cattle. Hay and straw were provided in abundance for the voyage; and all kinds of seeds and plows and other farming implements were sent on board for the use of the colony.

A third ship was sent along as escort, and the three vessels carried forty-five new settlers besides several "free emigrants" who were not in service to the West India Company. So successful was the voyage that only two of the cattle died on the way over. The animals were put ashore on Governor's Island, where they munched the rich grass of the virgin continent, and afterwards were distributed, some to Fort Orange and others to Brooklyn and other southerly settlements.

Caterina Tricot has recorded that besides placing eighteen families, about forty persons, at Albany, the first ship left eight men at Manhattan to "take possession" and two families and six soldiers were sent to the "Harford River" (the Connecticut) where, in 1633, the Dutch built the Fort Good Hope. A few months after the landing at Fort Orange, four couples of newly married Walloons were



RIP VAN WINKLE FALLS, CATSKILL MOUNTAINS



THE BOILING POT, CANAJOHARIE

THE CAPITAL REGION OF NEW YORK STATE

sent to the Delaware River, where they made a settlement about four miles below present Philadelphia.

When Peter Minuit arrived, in 1625, as the new director of the Province, he located a settlement in Brooklyn, afterwards moving to Manhattan, where Cryn Fredericks, an engineer, erected Fort Amsterdam in 1626. Minuit (his name is translated Midnight) was a Walloon, as was Fredericks.

At Fort Orange, on June 9, 1625, occurred the birth of Sarah Rapalje, the first white child born in New York State. Her parents moved to Brooklyn the following year. They have gone into history as George and Catelyn (Tricot) Rapalje, the latter being a Dutch form of the family name "De Rapello." In 1626 there was an Indian outbreak at Fort Orange, in which the Mahikans enlisted the aid of Daniel van Krieckebecck, commander of the Dutch post, in an attack on the Mohawks. Van Krieckebecck foolishly went out with the party and a few Dutch soldiers, and several miles in the woods encountered the Mohawks. The commander with three of his men were slain by the flight of arrows. One of the soldiers, Tymen Bowensen, as the ancient record goes, was "eaten by the savages after he had been well roasted." A leg and an arm of the slain were taken proudly home by the Mohawks to exhibit at their cabins as trophies of the fight. One of the soldiers who escaped, a Portuguese, was shot in the back with an arrow while swimming for his life.

The incident raised fears that the savages might retaliate on the inhabitants of the fort colony. Peter Barentsen, chief factor of the West India Company, arrived in time to calm the savages, who could not understand the breaking of friendship by the white commander. Most of the settlers were removed to Fort Amsterdam until the danger was safely passed, when a number of them returned.

Among those who left were the Rapaljes. They joined the Colony in Brooklyn at "Walloon Boght," or bend, better known as Walabout Bay, a title it has retained, and which is one of the few memorials of the pioneers. The next large settlement at the upper end of the Hudson was made by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, Amsterdam diamond merchant, in 1630. Under the special charter granted by the West India Company permitting private individuals to settle large tracts, Michael Pauw in the same year initiated the settlement of

THE CAPITAL REGION OF NEW YORK STATE

Pavonia, now Jersey City. Samuel Godyn, also a director of the West India Company, sent colonists to Swanandael, near Lewiston, Delaware, the year following. In this manner the Dutch pioneered the settlement of five states. Of the patroonships the most famous was that at Rensselaerwyck, which was also the largest, occupying a vast area in Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia counties. Vestiges of the estate remain today. These were mainly Dutch colonists, although there was a scattering of nationalities among them. Sturdy and valorous stock they proved to be under the rigors of the frontier.

The pioneer Walloon settlement at Fort Orange served as a key to the cosmopolitan development that has been a mark of the region, in spite of the predominant influence of the Dutch over a great part of its existence. Here, too, was evidence of toleration for which the State of New York has been distinguished. The Walloons were highly valued as colonists. The West India Company felt it would be "very advantageous" if they could be secured to settle in the new lands. In support of this was their long career of duration under hardship. They had been subjected to many cruelties from the Spanish persecutions. They had been driven from their homes and were self-reliant in the extreme.

The name Walloon is supposed to have been derived from the Dutch name "Waalsche," by which they were known, apparently stemming from the original name of the people "Gallois." Historically the people were known in Cæsar's time and praised by him for their fortitude. In their refuge in Holland, whence they had fled after the Spanish dispersion, which drove over one million of them from their homes, they learned the spirit of liberty as typified in Holland's own struggles to achieve independence. Brodhead says it was "to the Walloons that the Dutch were probably indebted for much of the repute which they gained as a nation in many branches of manufacture." In New Netherland they became absorbed into the Dutch régime. Even the name "New Belgium" was soon lost from the Province. Yet their characteristics of courage and industry became welded into the framework of the State which finally evolved, and today in the Capital Region can still be found descendants of those who first tilled the soil of Fort Orange.

Editorial

Concerning Microfilm



AS a periodical devoted to serious literary work of scholarly import, "Americana" has taken interested note of the activity of a group known as University Microfilms at Ann Arbor, Michigan (not a university department) and, in the spirit of coöperation traditionally existent in the field of letters, sets forth for its readers an outline of what has been accomplished and what is planned. It is entirely possible that other organizations, of which we have not heard, are doing an equally valuable work. If such be the case, the enthusiastic approval here recorded is to be shared with them, for the number of co-workers in a program of the possible scope of this one cannot be too great.

Microfilm treatment of reference material housed in the world's famous collections has been in the headlines for a number of years, and though the "bottle-neck" in the fullest use of the technique is the reading machine (only five thousand of various kinds being in use in the United States), this latest competitor of "the art preservative of all arts," the making of films of this type, continues steadily. Indeed, war conditions have increased the tempo of reproduction in direct proportion to the amount of loss conceived as possible through enemy action. For instance, University Microfilms is engaged in copying all the books in the Pollard & Redgrave *Short Title Catalogue* (books printed in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1470-1640) and is supplying the positive film to subscribing libraries. For this work they have cameras both in England and in certain American libraries. They have just finished copying all the American periodicals prior to 1800 and are in the process of distributing copies of them; a selected list of Americana; and are now at work on a collection of American Revolutionary pamphlets. A present project is the copying of the principal and important portions of the manu-

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script collections in England as selected and indicated by the committee for the microfilming of research materials of the American Council of Learned Societies, operating under a Rockefeller Foundation grant. Approximately twenty-five million pages of important manuscripts have been selected and listed for copying in England, and for this purpose seven cameras are in use—one at Cambridge; two at the Public Record Office; two at the British Museum; two at the Bodleian.

Impressive as this program is, it was a new departure covering the field of university theses and dissertations that inspired the present note. In earlier days, the publication of scholarly material was comparatively easy, for a sufficient number of people were interested to justify the venture. However, with specialization of scholarship and consequent restriction of the potential market, the publication of scholarly material has become increasingly difficult, since reproductive processes are designed to produce a large number of copies economically, but are extremely expensive when only a small number of copies are needed. This is especially true of the doctoral dissertation, for these manuscripts, though often valuable and important to certain scholars, are, none the less, very limited in their potential appeal and, therefore, expensive to reproduce.

The procedure followed by most university presses, and other publishing organizations has been to estimate as closely as possible the probable market in relation to the minimum number of copies which can be produced economically by the processes at hand, hoping that a sufficient number will be sold to recover at least the initial investment. That such hopes are often vain is revealed by recent surveys indicating that an average of only one-third to one-half of the edition is sold, the balance being stored or given away. This undistributed one-half presents an investment of the total funds of scholarship which in most cases can never be recovered, being tied up in press work, paper, and binding.

If the functions of ordinary publication are broken down, two divisions of activity are found—notification or advising the prospective customer of what is offered, and distribution, or the delivery of a copy upon request. Because printing facilities are such that many copies must be produced at one time, stocks of books are produced and

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maintained to take fullest advantage of the economies of the process, from which copies are drawn as orders come in; and it is this stock which represents the major part of the investment in any publishing venture.

With the development of microfilm, however, another method of publication is possible, one which involves a different publishing philosophy and which offers an effective, satisfactory, and economical method of distributing copies of scholarly manuscripts to a limited market. Because microfilm is a straight-line cost process one copy can be produced as reasonably as a dozen or two dozen copies made at one time. Therefore, the only investment necessary is the cost of notification and the small cost of making the negative microfilm of the original manuscript, from which positive copies may be prepared from time to time as individual orders come in.

Although this method of publication is applicable to any manuscript with a limited market, it is of special value in the publication of doctoral dissertations, which, in most instances, require but a small number of copies for distribution. Briefly, the principal points of the plan are as follows:

1. The author submits with a carefully prepared first copy of his manuscript, an abstract of approximately five hundred words describing briefly his methods and results. The manuscript is microfilmed and returned to the author, the negative being kept on file.

2. The abstract is printed in "Microfilm Abstracts," issued periodically and distributed to leading libraries both here and abroad, to journals and the current bibliographies, without cost to those receiving it. Printed library catalog cards for each abstract accompany the booklet. This completes the process of notification.

3. Anyone working in a given field will find reference to the titles listed, either in their card catalogue file, their journals or their current bibliographies, all of which will refer them to the abstract of the paper which will give a fairly comprehensive idea of the contents of the original manuscript. Should it seem, upon examination, that the original manuscript meets the needs of the scholar, he can then secure a positive microfilm copy of the original manuscript made from the negative on file, which copy will be made up for him on order.

4. The cost of this service is an amount less than the usual cost of typing the manuscript. A ten per cent. royalty on all copies sold is paid to the author.

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If there are a number of people who wish copies of such manuscripts, they may secure them at rate comparable to current book rates. On the other hand, if but few people need such material it is still available at the same price and there is no loss through unsold stock as in the case of ordinary publishing methods. The use of an adequate abstract as a means of notification enables the scholar to determine fairly accurately whether the complete manuscript will meet his needs, enabling him to order with confidence.

Material published in this way is eligible for copyright protection, and should it prove through experience, that there is a considerable demand, publication may be arranged through any of the usual channels. In other words, there are no restrictions upon the author if he elects to publish his material originally in microfilm form.

Such a method of publication involves a new principle in publishing—that of production upon demand, and of limiting the investment in any given title to the processes of notification. It can make possible more effective use of the total available funds of scholarship than has ever before been possible, and at the same time will release the individual scholar from the limitations which highly mechanized printing presses have placed upon the distribution of his material.

W. S. D.

Robert E. Lee Archives

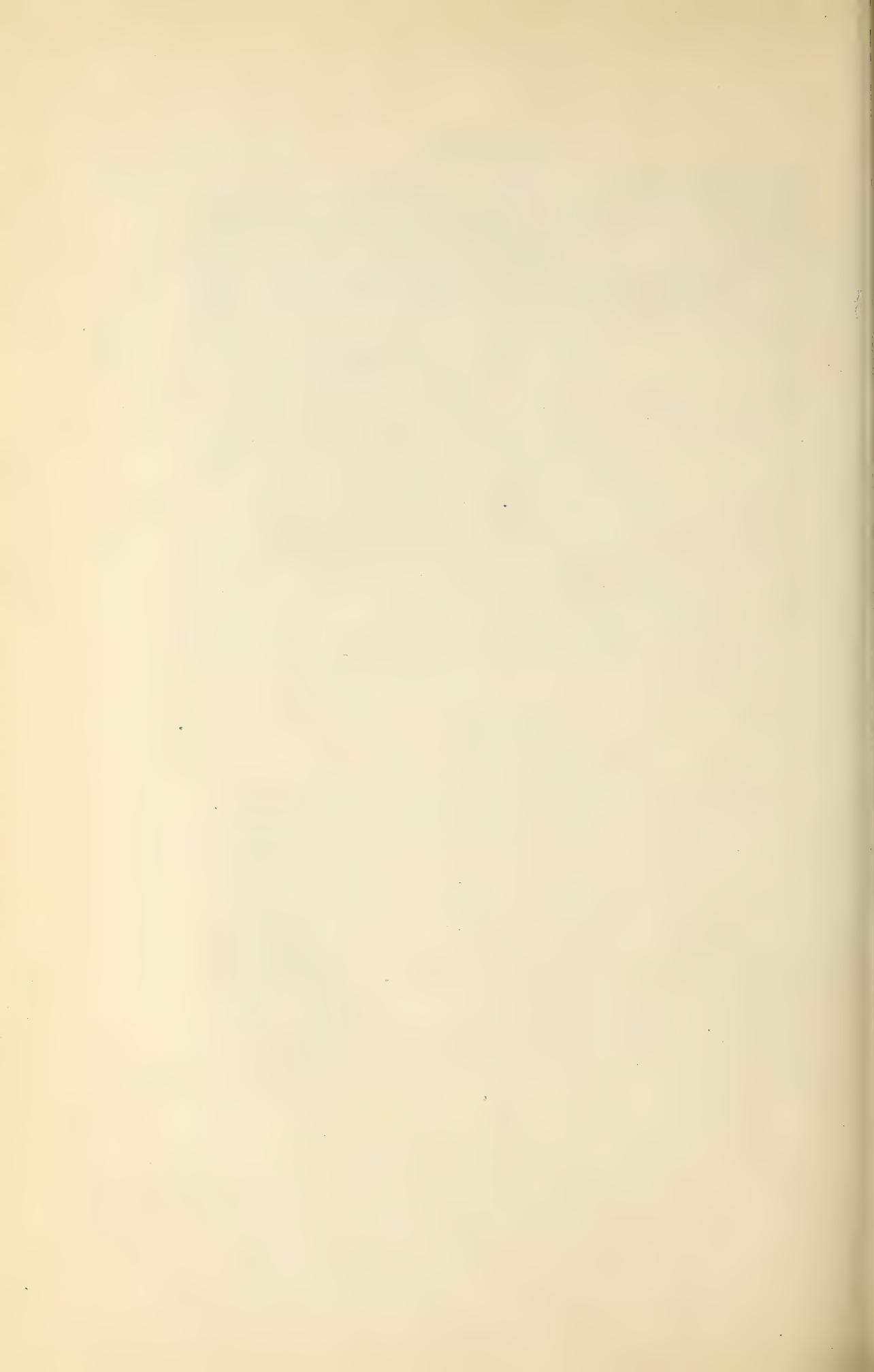
The Board of Trustees of Washington and Lee University has recently established the Robert E. Lee Archives as a division of the new Cyrus Hall McCormick Library. It is proposed to make the school which Washington endowed and to which Lee gave the last five years of his life a national repository of source material concerning the entire life of Robert E. Lee. Washington and Lee already owns four thousand manuscript items concerning Lee's life, and its collection of Lee books, pamphlets, and pictures is large. The most improved methods of cataloging manuscripts have been adopted.

To aid in this work a national advisory committee of prominent scholars and public men is being formed. Dr. W. G. Bean is chairman of the local committee, and Dr. Allen W. Moger of the history

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faculty has been made Lee Archivist. He will attempt to locate and secure other original manuscripts, photostats, and copies of original Lee items. It is particularly hoped that the numerous admirers of General Lee who possess individual letters to or from him will realize that the Robert E. Lee Archives at Lexington, Virginia, is the appropriate place where they will be preserved for posterity.

A. W. M.,
Washington and Lee University.





SAM DAVIS

(See pages 416 *et seq.*)

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED

JULY, 1942

VOLUME XXXVI . NUMBER 3



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, Inc.
SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK CITY

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AMERICANA

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All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor. All communications should be addressed:

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC.,
Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

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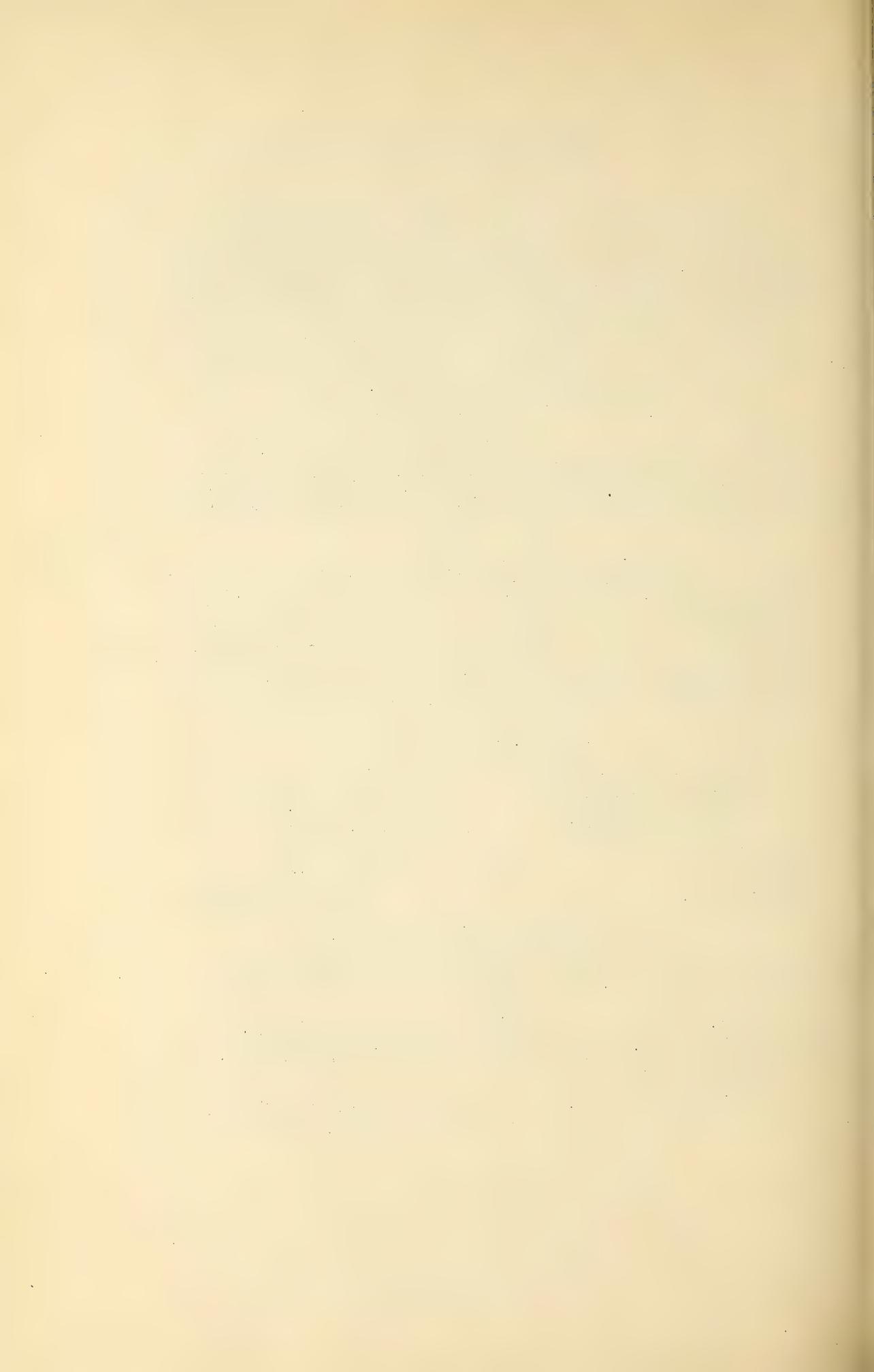
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Sally Hastings (1773-1812)

Poet and Pioneer

BY GEORGE E. HASTINGS, PH. D., UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

I. YOUTH IN LANCASTER COUNTY



SENTENCE from the *Georgics*, "*Primus ego in patriam mecum deducam Musas,*" which fired the ambition of a character in one of Willa Cather's novels,⁸ and which has been quoted as aptly summarizing the achievement of the novelist herself,⁹ can with some justice be said to suggest the more humble achievement of Sally Hastings, the subject of this study; for just as Willa Cather at the beginning of the twentieth century brought the Muses to rural Nebraska, so Sally Hastings at the beginning of the nineteenth brought them to western Pennsylvania, which was then on the edge of the frontier.

Sally Hastings, to be sure, made no great stir in the world, even in her own day; and the thin volume which contains all of her published works¹⁰ is now known only to those who explore the byways of American literature. Nevertheless, her poems, written primarily for the purpose of giving expression to her religious emotions, are also as definite a revelation of her love for literature and of her desire to create as are the more voluminous works of Anne Bradstreet. Her

1-7. These footnotes refer to the preface in a reprint of this article.

8. *My Antonia* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922), pp. 298-300.

9. Elizabeth Shepley Sargeant, *Fire Under the Andes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 265.

10. Sally Hastings, *Poems on Different Subjects. To Which is Added, a Descriptive Account of a Family Tour to the West; in the Year 1806. In a Letter to a Lady.* (Lancaster: Printed and Sold by William Dickson, for the Benefit of the Authoress, 1808.).

SALLY HASTINGS (1773-1812), POET AND PIONEER

account of her migration to western Pennsylvania, which is written with a spirit and charm that make it comparable to the *Journal of Sarah Kemble Knight*, has been recognized as a valuable contribution to state history, and has been republished in part.¹¹ And the few letters to her relatives that have been preserved reveal a gay and buoyant spirit that could not be completely suppressed by the bereavements and other domestic tribulations that she suffered, or by the ill health that brought her life to an end when she was only thirty-nine years old.

Robert Anderson, the father of Sarah Anderson Hastings, was born on March 16, 1734.¹² He was one of "that sturdy strain of Scotch-Irish stock which settled in the Pequea Valley and left the landmarks of its advance in the erection of the Pequea, Leacock and Donegal meeting houses." He was a patentee of land on both sides of the "Old Road" or "King's Highway" near Intercourse, Pennsylvania. When past thirty years of age and already classified by his neighbors as an old bachelor, Robert Anderson, possibly with a view to improving his condition, paid a visit to a friend of his named James Clark, "an early Presbyterian settler in the Martic region," and fell in love with his friend's daughter Margaret, a curly-haired girl, who bore the nickname of Peggy.

Margaret Clark's forebears on both sides of the family had come from Colerain, Londonderry, Ireland, and her family, like the Andersons, were all good Presbyterians.¹³ Margaret Clark was born in 1748,¹⁴ and hence was about eighteen years of age when the old bachelor paid his portentous visit. They were married in St. James Episcopal Church, in Lancaster, on June 2, 1767, and they lived in Leacock Township.¹⁵ To them were born six children: Rebekah, March 1, 1769; James, May 1, 1771; Sarah (Sally Hastings),

11. See *Pen Pictures of Early Western Pennsylvania*, ed. John W. Harpster (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1938), pp. 235-42.

12. Letter of Mrs. Lewis Bennett, of Des Moines, Iowa, to Ezra P. Young, of Glenwillard, Pennsylvania, November 22, 1927; in the collection of Samuel C. Young, of Glenwillard.

13. W. U. Hensel, "Sally Hastings: A Literary Grass Widow," *Papers Read Before the Lancaster County Historical Society*, X, x (November 2, 1906), 368-93.

14. Jacob L. Ziegler, *An Authentic History of Donegal Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia: F. McManus, Jr., & Co., 1902), p. 107. The inscription on her tombstone in the Donegal churchyard says that she "departed this life on April 27th, 1818, in the 70th year of her age."

15. Hensel, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

SALLY HASTINGS (1773-1812), POET AND PIONEER

March 25, 1773; William and Robert, March 23, 1776; and Margaret, June 18, 1778.¹⁶

What part Robert Anderson took in the Revolution is not easily determined, since three or four Robert Andersons are mentioned in the Lancaster County records that cover the period of the war. A Robert Anderson who took the oath of allegiance in Lancaster Township on July 2, 1777,¹⁷ may well have been he, since I can find no record in the *Pennsylvania Archives* that this oath was administered in Leacock Township. A reference which is almost certainly to him is found in an undated record bearing the heading "A True Acct. of Militia Draught Made in Lower End of Leacock Township." In this record Robert Anderson is listed as a private.¹⁸ On the other hand, a letter from the office of the Adjutant-General, in Washington, District of Columbia, written to Margaret Lewis, of Washington, Pennsylvania, on August 10, 1916, asserts that from December 12 to December 24, 1776, Robert Anderson was a sergeant in Captain James Ross's company, in the 3d Battalion of Lancaster County Militia, commanded by Colonel Thomas Porter.¹⁹ I have searched the *Pennsylvania Archives* for corroboration of this statement, but so far without success. The name Robert Anderson occurs many times in the *Archives*, but most of the references are obviously not to the subject of this sketch. According to tradition, Margaret Clark Anderson, and her negro slave, Eve, assisted the American cause by baking bread and knitting stockings for the soldiers.²⁰ Robert Anderson did not live to see the end of the war, for on December 7, 1778, he died.²¹

16. Record in a family Bible owned by Elizabeth B. Clark, of Philadelphia. William, the twin brother of Robert, must have died in childhood, since I have found no other reference to him in the collections of family papers that I have seen.

17. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIII, 453. Material for this study was found in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second, Third, Fifth and Sixth Series, all published in Harrisburg, as follows: Second, 19 vols., 1879-93; Third, 30 vols., 1894-99; Fifth, 8 vols., 1906; and Sixth, 15 vols., 1906-07. Since the individual volumes have special titles, and since different editors and printers were sometimes employed on the same series, a complete documentation of every reference would fill the notes with cumbersome and practically useless details.

18. *Ibid.*, Fifth Series, VII, 653.

19. Letter in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey, Washington, Pennsylvania.

20. Hensel, *op. cit.*, p. 372. The Hensel sketch is not documented, but the author informs us, on page 386, that he is greatly indebted to the Misses Clark, of Lancaster, for much of his material. It is, therefore, probable that details like those given above are family traditions communicated to Mr. Hensel orally by Margaret Clark Anderson's great-granddaughters.

21. Letters of Mrs. Lewis Bennett to Ezra P. Young, November 22, 1927; in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

SALLY HASTINGS (1773-1812), POET AND PIONEER

Having been in my youth a great reader of Indian stories and an enthusiastic admirer of Buffalo Bill, I was naturally much interested in the statement of Ezra P. Young, mentioned in the Preface above, that Captain John C. Anderson, the son of Robert Anderson, II, and the nephew of Sally Hastings, while in the West, met Colonel William F. Cody, whom he discovered to be a second cousin of his. Surprised at this picturesque addition to my family circle, I have sought for more information about this relationship; and while I have not been able to verify Mr. Young's astonishing statement, I have found evidence that tends to support it.

The *Pennsylvania Archives* record the names of soldiers named Cody who fought in both the French and Indian War and the Revolution. David Cody, for example, was one of six men who were killed in a "battoe" at some place not named, on March 28, 1759.²² One Abel Cody, during the Revolution, was a member of the militia in Northumberland County,²³ which lies north of Lancaster County and is separated from it only by Dauphin County. These items would hardly be worth recording were it not for the fact that we have records which show that from 1777 to 1781 a man named William Cody served in the 1st Battalion of Lancaster County Militia.²⁴ Hence, the grandfather of Captain John C. Anderson and a man bearing the same surname and Christian name as Buffalo Bill lived in Lancaster County at the same time, and both served in the same military organization.

The various accounts of the life of William F. Cody that I have seen give no information about his ancestry except that his father's name was Isaac, that his mother's maiden name was Mary Ann Leacock, and that both of his parents migrated from Ohio to Iowa, where Cody himself was born.²⁵ Among these meager details, however, there is one that may be significant. The maiden name of Cody's mother was the same as that of the township in which Robert and Margaret Anderson lived; and this fact naturally raised the question of the origin of the name of Leacock Township.

22. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, I. 275.

23. *Ibid.*, IV. 360.

24. *Ibid.*, II, 1075; IV, 135; VII, 49, 75.

25. *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Company, 1924), pp. 3-4.

SALLY HASTINGS (1773-1812), POET AND PIONEER

In reply to an inquiry about this subject, Dr. Herbert H. Beck, President of the Lancaster County Historical Society, wrote to me on November 28, 1940:

Our authority on the naming of townships says that, like Cole-raine and Drumore, Leacock was named for a place in Ireland, though he admits that while he was able to locate the first two in Ire-land he could not find a Leacock there. I know of no families of that name in Lancaster County history.

Stephen Leacock, who can trace his ancestors back to the year 1740 and who knows the names of many collateral relatives, tells me that he knows of no place named Leacock in the British Isles, and that he therefore imagines that Leacock Township was named for an early settler, although he is unable to find this settler on any of the branches of his own family tree.

I have been unable to find the name Leacock in the early records of Lancaster County, but I have found it repeated thirty-five times or more in the records of other counties. In 1774, for example, one Thomas Leacock owned property in Chester County, which adjoins Lancaster County on the east.²⁶ During the last quarter of the eighteenth century John Leacock, Joseph Leacock and William Leacock lived and paid taxes in Northumberland County.²⁷ Leacocks bearing the Christian names John, Joseph, Mary, Samuel, and Thomas are mentioned fifteen or twenty times in the records of Philadelphia County;²⁸ and still others named Isaac, James, John, and Joseph are to be found in the records of Bucks, Cumberland, Wash-ington and Westmoreland counties.²⁹

Ezra P. Young's records show such evidence of having been made with painstaking care that I should be unwilling to question any state-ment of his without having positive proof that he was mistaken. The facts given above make it possible, if not probable, that William F. Cody's ancestors, both paternal and maternal, came from Lancaster County or one of the neighboring counties. Therefore, until further evidence is discovered, I accept Mr. Young's statement that Captain

26. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XII, 3.

27. *Ibid.*, XIX, 405, 547, 629, 676; XXV, 213.

28. *Ibid.*, XIV-XVI.

29. *Ibid.*, XII, XX, XXIII-XXVI; Fifth Series, IV, VI-VII.

SALLY HASTINGS (1773-1812), POET AND PIONEER

John C. Anderson and Buffalo Bill were second cousins. Stephen Leacock, who has followed my genealogical investigations with amused interest, wrote to me on Christmas Day, 1940, "So you and I and Buffalo Bill are all relatives? I am very glad to accept. It reminds me of a German poem that ended,

*'Ich sei, gewährt mir die Bitte
In eurem Bunde der Dritte.'*"³⁰

In 1779 or 1780 Margaret Clark Anderson was married again, this time to a Scotch-Irish widower named Brice Clark. John Clark, the father of Brice Clark, came to America prior to 1760 from County Derry, Ireland, and settled in New Castle County, Delaware, where he died in 1763. He left three sons, William (1735-1818), Brice (1739-1820), and John (dates unknown), who, about 1750, removed to Leacock Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where William and Brice acquired large tracts of land. After a time they sold this land and removed, William to Cumberland County and Brice to Donegal Township, Lancaster County, where he bought another large tract of land from James Anderson, who was probably Robert Anderson's brother.³¹ Of John Clark no record has been preserved except that he accompanied his brothers to Pennsylvania. William Clark, who never married, finally returned to Lancaster County and died at the home of his brother; he is buried in Donegal Churchyard.³²

Brice Clark's first wife was Mary Crawford, by whom he had two children, Mary and Sarah.³³ Whether or not he and his second wife, Margaret Clark Anderson, were related, my sources of information disagree. Ezra P. Young thought that they were perhaps cousins,³⁴ but Elizabeth B. Clark informs me that they were not related.³⁵ Brice and Margaret Clark had five children: Elizabeth

30. These are the concluding lines of Schiller's "*Die Burgschaft*."

31. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83; notes of Ezra P. Young, in the collection of Samuel C. Young. This farm, which James Anderson bought from an Indian trader named Colonel Alexander Lowry, was owned by three generations of Clarks: Brice (1739-1820), John (1785-1860) and James Brice (1817-83). The last sold it to J. Donald Cameron, once a great figure in Pennsylvania politics.

32. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

34. Letter of August 10, 1917, to Margaret Lewis; in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

35. Letter of September 18, 1939.

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(1781-1814), whom Sally called Eliza; Jane (1782-1842), who married the Rev. Samuel Porter (died in 1813), but left no children; John (1785-1860), who married Mary Hamilton and left two sons and two daughters; Brice (1787-1833), who died unmarried; and Esther (1791-92).³⁶

When the Assembly of Pennsylvania granted a charter to the Donegal Presbyterian Church, in 1786, Brice Clark became one of the first trustees, and he continued to be active in church affairs throughout his entire life.³⁷ William and Brice Clark both served in the Revolution.³⁸ Elizabeth B. Clark owns portraits of Brice Clark and Margaret Anderson Clark.³⁹

Of the education of Sally Hastings W. U. Hensel wrote:

We may easily conjecture that her educational advantages were not above the average of her day, and the sentiment of her poems indicates a devotional frame of mind rather than a wide range of classical learning or reading.⁴⁰

This statement is substantially correct, but the author need not have resorted to conjecture, since Sally Hastings herself frankly confessed the deficiencies of her education:

The little Novice, who accosts
Your hearts, with wisdom fraught,
No genius owns, no science boasts,
But what affliction taught.
Just in the op'ning bud of youth,
The iron hand of fate,
Did crush her intellectual growth,
With more than ten-fold weight.
Secluded in an infant land,
Immers'd in household care,
Her tender wings could not expand,
Nor mental organs clear.⁴¹

After telling of the removal of the Clark family from Leacock Township to Donegal Township, Mr. Hensel continues:

36. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 and 106-07; notes of Ezra P. Young, in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

37. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-16.

38. Notes of Ezra P. Young; in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

39. Letter of October 7, 1939.

40. *Op. cit.*, p. 373.

41. "To Critics," *Poems on Different Subjects*, pp. 7-10.

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There the susceptible Sally met and married Enoch Hastings, a carpenter, and they dwelt for a time in the brick house in the Square at Maytown, where later Amos Slaymaker and more recently John C. Sweiler kept a store. She soon discovered that her family had been wiser than herself in their objections to her choice of a husband; years of separation ensued, which only failed to culminate in a divorce because her stepfather had sterner Presbyterian ideas on the legal dissolution of marriage than prevail in these later days of free and easy divorce.⁴²

Although the details about Enoch Hastings given by Hensel are few, and although none of them are authenticated, a very considerable amount of reliable information about him can be found. Just who he was, however, or where he and his forebears came from, I have been unable to learn, partly because people named Hastings were very numerous in Lancaster County in the eighteenth century. In 1734 one Peter Hastings came from England and bought land from William Penn in Coleraine Township, where he settled and reared a family. Among his descendants occur the names Peter, Joseph, James, and John.⁴³ In the Library of the Lancaster County Historical Society I found an unsigned account of one John Hastings, of Maytown, who was born in 1773. He married a woman named Agnes McCurdy, from County Donegal, Ireland, and left two sons named John Richards and Edmond McCurdy. In the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second, Third, Fifth and Sixth Series, I have found many references to Hastings living in Lancaster County between the years 1737 and 1785. The surname is spelled variously "Hastings," "Hasting," "Heastings," "Hasten," "Hastend," and "Haston," and individuals named Enoch, Henry, John, Mary, Peter, Simeon, Simon, Thomas, and William are mentioned. The names Enoch and John appear together so frequently that I suspect the bearers to have been

42. *Op. cit.*, pp. 372-73. W. U. Hensel received the details given in this paragraph from the Clark family. Elizabeth B. Clark, in a letter written on February 17, 1941, informs me that she remembers hearing a similar statement about Sally's marriage and separation from her husband made by her father, John William Clark, or her aunt, Martha Bladen Clark. Miss Clark believes that the family thought that Sally married beneath herself because of her husband's trade. Hensel seems to have conceived a prejudice against Sally herself because she separated from her husband. This prejudice is revealed in the pert title of his sketch, "Sally Hastings: A Literary Grass Widow," and in many passages in it.

43. Anon., *Biographical Annals of Lancaster County Pennsylvania* (Lancaster: J. C. Beers & Co., 1903), pp. 403-04.

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brothers, but what relationship these Hastings bore to other members of the clan I have not yet learned.

According to records owned by the descendants of Enoch Hastings now living in western Pennsylvania, he was born in 1728.⁴⁴ If this date is correct, he was forty-five years older than Sarah Anderson, six years older than her father, and eighteen years older than her mother—discrepancies which in themselves give probability to the tradition that Sally's family objected to her choice, and which further explain the incompatibility that developed between her and her husband.

On November 27, 1766, Enoch Hastings was married in St. James Protestant Episcopal Church, in Lancaster, to Sarah Richards,⁴⁵ by whom he had a son named William, born in 1769.⁴⁶

Enoch Hastings was a landowner and taxpayer in Lancaster County before the Revolution. In 1773 he paid tax in Donegal Township on three acres of land and one head of cattle.⁴⁷ In the same year Thomas Hastings paid tax in Salisbury Township on two hundred acres, four horses, and four cattle; and John Hastings on one hundred acres, four horses and three cattle.⁴⁸ In 1779 Enoch Hastings still owned three acres in Donegal Township, and had increased the number of his cattle to two, but the education of the assessors and tax collectors had not improved in the meantime, for his name appears in this record as "Enough Heastings."⁴⁹ The name of Thomas Hastings does not appear in the record of 1779, but John Hastings in that year paid tax in Salisbury Township on one hundred acres of land, three horses and two cattle; and John and "Enochs" paid tax on two hundred acres of land, six horses, and five cattle.⁵⁰ From these records I suspect that Thomas Hastings was the father of Enoch and John, that he died some time between 1773 and 1779, and

44. Memorandum in the handwriting of Margaret Lewis; in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

45. William Henry Egle, ed., *Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical* (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1897), p. 12.

46. Notes of Margaret Lewis; in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

47. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, XVII, 425. His name is spelled "Haston."

48. *Ibid.*, p. 442.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 519. The ability to spell the name Hastings correctly is evidence of a higher education. No laundry employee has ever mastered the spelling.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 599. In 1782 Simon "Hasting" was a taxpayer in Lancaster County (*ibid.*, p. 768), and so was William "Haston," who owned three hundred and eighteen acres of land in Leacock Township (*ibid.*, p. 825).

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that his sons jointly inherited the two hundred acres of land that he had owned in Salisbury Township.

In 1785 or 1786 Enoch Hastings migrated to Northumberland County, where he remained for two or three years. In 1785 John "Haston" paid tax in Potter Township, Northumberland County, on two hundred and fifty acres of land⁵¹ and in 1786 on two hundred and fifty-two.⁵² On October 10, 1786, Enoch Hastings served as a judge at the general election in Northumberland County.⁵³ In 1787 John "Hasting" paid tax in Northumberland County on two hundred acres of land, two horses and two cattle; and Enoch "Hasting" on three hundred acres of land and one horse;⁵⁴ and in that same year Enoch Hastings became a warrantee of one hundred acres of land, and John of two hundred. Both tracts were surveyed on December 26, 1787.⁵⁵

During the Revolution the Hastings were on the side of the Whigs. On November 10, 1777, Enoch "Hasting" took the oath of allegiance in Donegal Township;⁵⁶ and some time between December 8 and December 20 of that year he enlisted in Salisbury Township as a private of the third class in the Lancaster County Militia.⁵⁷ By August 26, 1780, he had become captain of the 2d Company of the First Battalion of Lancaster Militia,⁵⁸ and he held this office until after May 15, 1783, the date of his last recorded report.⁵⁹ John Hastings was a sixth-class private in 1782⁶⁰ and probably remained a private until the end of the war. Several others of the Hastings tribe joined

51. *Ibid.*, XIX, 631.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 701.

53. *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, XI, 305-08.

54. *Ibid.*, Third Series, XIX, 802.

55. *Ibid.*, XXV, 172. On February 25, 1794, Samuel, Jane, Peter, and Mary Hastings each became a warrantee of four hundred acres of land in Northumberland County, and on March 27 of that year Peter became a warrantee of one hundred and twenty-five acres (*ibid.*, pp. 183-85).

56. *Ibid.*, Second Series, XIII, 471.

57. *Ibid.*, Fifth Series, VII, 642. The date of his enlistment is not given, but the record stands between items bearing the dates given above. John "Hasten" enlisted at the same time and place as a private of the first class. The privates of each company of Lancaster County Militia were assigned to classes numbered from one to eight and were called to duty by classes.

58. *Ibid.*, Second Series, XIII, 365.

59. *Ibid.*, Fifth Series, VII, 77-78. Many references to his military services are found in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second, Third and Fifth Series.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

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the Lancaster Militia,⁶¹ and one, Simon, held the rank of corporal.⁶² I find no record that Enoch Hastings took part in any actual fighting. He conscientiously fined members of his company for absence from drill,⁶³ and on April 4, 1781, he was paid ninety pounds "for warning the militia to march."⁶⁴

When Sarah Richards, the first wife of Enoch Hastings, died I have not been able to learn; neither do I know what became of her son William. In 1788, according to family tradition,⁶⁵ Enoch Hastings, who was sixty years old and who had a son nineteen years old, married Sarah Anderson, a girl of fifteen. If the ages given above are correct (and they cannot be far wrong), Mr. Hensel was apparently justified in calling Sally susceptible, even though he did not state his reasons for doing so.

To Enoch and Sarah Hastings were born three children: Margaret, on October 18, 1791; Enoch, on December 31, 1793; and Sarah on December 12, 1795.⁶⁶ Margaret died in youth;⁶⁷ Enoch and Sarah after the separation of their parents, some time between 1795 and 1800, remained with their mother, whom they accompanied in 1808 or followed later to Washington, Pennsylvania, where they spent the rest of their lives and where their descendants are still to be found.

II. JOURNEY TO THE WEST

On August 20, 1789, Sarah Hastings' brother, Robert Anderson, became a warrantee of land in Washington County, Pennsylvania,⁶⁸ and some time between that date and 1800 he left Lancaster and established a new home in the West.⁶⁹ About the time that Robert

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 434, 449, 454, 693, 946.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 592.

63. *Ibid.*, Third Series, V, 256-57, 410, 411, 460-61, 557, 558.

64. *Ibid.*, VI, 410.

65. Memorandum in the handwriting of Margaret Lewis; in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

66. Letter of Mrs. Lewis Bennett to Inez Bailey, October 13, 1927; in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey. Mrs. Bennett gives as the source of her information "our family record."

67. A memorandum in the hand of Margaret Lewis in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey, says that Margaret died in infancy. Hensel (*op. cit.*, p. 373) says she died in childhood. He makes no mention of the other two children.

68. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, VIII, 28-29.

69. Letter from Ezra P. Young to the Sewickley *Herald*, written on November 28, 1927; copy in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

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Anderson went west, Joseph Barton, who had married Rebekah Anderson, the sister of Robert and of Sally Hastings, purchased land in Washington County, and on October 7, 1800, the Barton family, accompanied by Sally, set out for their new home beyond the mountains.

The story of the twenty-four day journey from Donegal Township in Lancaster County to Cross Creek, Washington County, is told in a journal bearing the title *A Descriptive Account of a Family Tour to the West; in the Year 1800. In a Letter to a Lady*. Who the lady was I do not know, but that she was a real person and not a literary fiction is proved by the author's preface, which begins:

The following Notes were originally written at the Request, and intended for the Amusement, of a highly respected Lady. They are now offered to the Public, in compliance with the joint Solicitations of a number of Persons of the first Character, who have honored me with a particular and very disinterested Friendship.⁷⁰

Like Professor Leon Howard, I suspect, however, that Sally had publication in mind from the beginning.⁷¹ I also suspect that the lady was her mother.

Her reasons for going with the party are explained in the first entry in her journal:

My Sister (into whose Protection I have been thrown by the rough hand of unrelenting Adversity) has been, under divine Providence, my sole Dependence. She is now in a declining state of Health: And some one says, that "the Wants and Weaknesses of Individuals form the great Bonds of Society."⁷²

Her emotions on leaving home are expressed in these words:

You, Madam, can better imagine than I describe the variety of Feelings which agitate my Mind, as the moment approaches which is to separate me from my tender Infants. Yes, Madam, "impelled by strong Necessity's supreme Command," I am commencing an Exile from my native home, my Family, and all any heart holds dear on earth; with the humble Intention of seeking, among Strangers, that

70. *A Family Tour*, p. 175.

71. Leon Howard, "Literature and the Frontier: The Case of Sally Hastings," *E L H. A Journal of Literary History*, VII (March, 1940), 71. To this interesting article and to Professor Howard's letters I am indebted for many suggestions.

72. *A Family Tour*, p. 178. This passage reveals the fact that Sally had separated from her husband, apparently some time before.

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sympathetic Friendship, to which the Child of Misfortune has ever a Claim; and of procuring an Asylum where, far removed from the varied scene of my more prosperous days, in the tranquil bosom of Retirement and Solitude, I may become so familiarized with Adversity, as to forget that I once was blest. . . . To Children, Friends, and Acquaintances, with trembling hand and palpitating heart, I bid a long, and perhaps a last adieu!⁷³

The passages quoted above make it clear that she did not take her children with her—a singular fact, since Margaret, the eldest, if still living, was only nine years old, and Enoch and Sarah were seven and five, respectively. She was, however, as she herself said, impelled by necessity: Rebekah Barton had a family of young children and was herself mortally ill of tuberculosis, of which she died about a year after leaving Lancaster County. Sally, therefore, went along because her help was necessary; but she evidently planned, if all went well, to seek for herself a home in the West.

After stating again that she is keeping a journal at the request of an unnamed lady, the writer continues:

Our family consists of ten Persons; five of whom are Children. Our mode of travelling is in a Wagon; a Kind of Conveyance entirely new to us all; but particularly so to me, who am, in every sense of the word, a homebred Rustic.⁷⁴

Of the five adults in the party, the Bartons and Sally made three. The other two are described in *A Family Tour* as “a young Man who belonged to us, and who had the Ague,” and “a young Woman, almost as debilitated as [Mrs. Barton] herself.” Since these invalids helped Mrs. Barton and the children over the rough places in the mountains,⁷⁵ they may have been servants. The Bartons had at this time three little girls. From the inscriptions on their tombstones in Donegal Churchyard, we learn that Margaret, the oldest, was five years and one month old on the day on which the family started for the West, and that Eliza Jane, the youngest, was less than a year old.⁷⁶ A letter written by Mrs. Lewis Bennett to Ezra P. Young, on November 12, 1927, indicates that Esther, the second daughter, was three.⁷⁷

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 179.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

76. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

77. Letter in the collection of Samuel C. Young. The letter states that Hettie (Esther) Barton Mann died in 1839, aged forty-two years.

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Knowing nothing about the other two children mentioned in the journal, I assume that they belonged to the debilitated young woman referred to above.

In spite of her description of herself as the child of misfortune and of her long and perhaps last adieu to all that she held dear on earth, Sally was too much the normal young woman to look forward to a big trip without some anticipations of pleasure. Therefore, after describing herself as a "homebred rustic," she declared that she entered upon this journey "with those raised Expectations, which Persons of this description are apt to possess, when entering on a scene calculated, by its Novelty, to gratify that laudable Curiosity, inherent in every breast, unhurt by Apathy, and not spoiled by Art."⁷⁸ Her chief motive in going, however, was the one stated above: her sister, to whom she was deeply obligated, needed her.

Sally estimated the distance between Lancaster and Washington at two hundred and fifty miles, and the time required for the journey at three weeks.⁷⁹ The time actually spent on the way was twenty-four days. The journal was written en route and finished on the day on which the family arrived at their new home in Washington County.

On the first day, October 7, 1800, the family traveled eighteen miles over very swampy roads and entered Dauphin County, where they spent the night at an inn. Though very tired, they were unable to enjoy "that sweet restorative of exhausted Nature, balmy Sleep," because they were afflicted with low spirits and "disturbed by the Noise of an intoxicated Gentleman." After mentioning this disturbance of her rest, Sally comments with feeling on the sufferings of persons of sensibility when exposed to rudeness and vulgarity.⁸⁰

Commenting on the spirit with which Sally met the discomforts of pioneer life, Leon Howard says:

Mrs. Hastings was unusual . . . in her constant attempts to read the scale of balance between her "philosophy" and the "passions" aroused by the new adventures of pioneer life. She frequently placed her old ideas that had been accepted on authority in opposition

78. *A Family Tour*, p. 178.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79. On September 6, 1940, Earle R. Forrest published in the *Washington Reporter* an article about Sally Hastings, which calls attention to the fact that the "Dream Highway" just opened for traffic, follows the route over which the pioneers made but ten miles a day.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 179

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to the new ones derived from experience, weighing the old by the new and modifying her previous beliefs accordingly. Some were changed immediately.⁸¹

Indeed, so flexible was her mind and so honest was her self-analysis that she discovered two notable examples of inconsistency in herself by the time she had been on the road twenty-four hours:

Philosophers may argue as wisely as they please, and attribute what wonders they will, to Sympathy; and inculcate the Principles of universal Benevolence, with all the powers of Eloquence, and strength of Argument; yet, I am sceptical enough to disbelieve that the former ever exists, in any great degree, except between Parties possessing congenial Dispositions; and that the latter, though a fine-spun theory, is by no means reducible to practice; and, consequently, exists only in the Imagination of those exalted Geniuses, who scorn to depreciate their own refined Speculations, by comparing them with the vulgar Experience of real Life. I am only eighteen miles from home; yet I begin to perceive that the links of the chain which bind Man to Man are becoming exceedingly fragile: And, however binding the Principles of universal Benevolence may be, they form no distinguishing trait in the Character of your humble Servant.

This morning we crossed the Susquehanna; and such is my Fear of venturing into a Ferry-boat, that it required a full quarter of an hour's Reasoning to convince me, that, to a Predestinarian, the greatest Danger, and no Danger, is absolutely the same thing! Perhaps there are no two things in Nature more at variance, than my Principles and Practice: For, though I indubitably believe in the universal Sovereignty of the Deity; yet I perceive I am never willing to resign the reigns, of government into his hands, while I can possibly hold them in my own.⁸²

In Cumberland County, on the second day of the journey, she found "a fine champaign Country, in the highest state of cultivation," which she thus described in verse:

And bounteous Ceres clothes each smiling vale,
And the pleas'd Swain relates her artless tale;
The Woodman's pondrous strokes, the Virgin's songs,
And whistling echo, still each note prolongs.

Then, turning her eyes to the distant mountains, she abandoned the insipid conventionalities of neo-classical verse and wrote this sincere

81. *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

82. *A Family Tour*, pp. 179-80.

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and impressive sentence in prose: "The prospect is grand, and bounded by the bending skies or terminated by the interference of surrounding mountains; which rise like smoky columns, and lose their azure summits amidst the fleeting clouds."⁸³ Carlisle, the county seat, through which the party passed on October 9, impressed Sally as being beautifully situated, but the people seemed to her to possess an impertinent curiosity which reminded her of "the Story of the Nose related by the inimitable Sterne." It is, however, "one of the Misfortunes of Travelers, that their Situation excludes them, in a great measure, from the Society of those who are generally styled 'the better Sort': and consequently, their Observations are, for the most part, confined to the Populace."⁸⁴

On October 10 she recorded the fact that she had spent the preceding night at an inn, where a variety of vexatious incidents and the repulsive looks and behaviour of the landlady would have metamorphosed her into a snarling cynic had she not had the happiness to be introduced to a fellow lodger of intelligence and respectability, whose agreeable conversation served as a talisman to restore her spirits and reduce her temper.⁸⁵ Apparently she had been pleased with the gentleman's appearance, for she continued:

You, Madam, whom I believe to be no Adept in the science of Physiognomy, will scarce credit the Influence which a Countenance possesses over a whimsical Being like myself; who consider the Face as a Title-page, and every variation of the Features, an Index, to the human Heart.

Finally she described the landlord of the inn in eight lines of verse which can be summed up in her statement that he was "not quite a Fool."⁸⁶

In Franklin County she found poor land, and houses most of which were little better than huts; nevertheless the people seemed to be well informed. From Shippensburg she says, "we made a Visit to _____, accompanied by Mr. _____, with whom we took Tea; and afterwards proceeded by a kind of by-road to our present Lodging." Here she overheard the swearing of some unnamed person who had

83. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

85. Hensel, remarks that the person who restored her spirits was "a man, of course" (*op. cit.*, p. 380).

86. *A Family Tour*, pp. 181-82.

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at his command the whole vocabulary of his Satanic Majesty, with some additions and alterations. Profanity was so little to her taste that she here jotted down a pair of couplets expressing the opinion that "he who swears will lie, betray, and cheat." Here, too, she was annoyed by the conceited young landlord of the inn, who sought to unite in one person "the various Virtues of Soldier, Statesman, and Innkeeper," and declared himself "willing to add another trait to his Character, by commencing Lover." A friend of his apologized for him, and assured Sally that he had an excellent heart. "Doctor (said I) I respect your Veracity, as your Panegyric does not include his Head likewise."⁸⁷

In Strasburg, on October 11, she observed the military evolutions of a brigade of well-disciplined soldiers, which appeared to her "an Exercise better calculated to display the manly graces of a finely-proportioned Figure, than the most approved Country-dance," she had ever seen.⁸⁸

She is now approaching one of the high ridges of the Appalachian Mountains. About her lies "a fine level Country, smooth as the unruffled face of Heaven, in all the pride of luxurious Vegetation." In front "clad in awful sublimity and majestic grandeur rise the stupendous Mountains; which heave their forest-crowned summits to the clouds. . . ."

Surely, one would think that Nature had here drawn her Boundary-line; fixed her limits with the most impregnable barriers; and said to the intrepid Sons of Men, "Hitherto, but no farther, shall ye come!"

Arriving on the highest pinnacle of the first mountain, she seats herself, and attempts to describe the scene that lies about her. She quotes a stanza from the pious Watts and improvises five equally devout stanzas of her own; then she writes a paragraph of prose superior to either:

All here is wild—wild, beyond the reach of Description; and great, beyond the grasp of Imagination. Nature, divested of the gaudy Decorations of Ornament (like the impetuous Efforts of a masterly Genius) has here arrayed herself in terrific magnificence and sublimity. The gloomy grandeur of the Scene fills me with a degree

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

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of painful Astonishment. Above, Mountains seem heaped on Mountains; whose cloud-capt summits threaten, in proud defiance, even the Heavens themselves!⁸⁹

All about her the rocks rose to stupendous heights, and through the craggy cliffs the persevering pines forced their way, and grew exceedingly tall and beautiful, without any visible soil to nourish them. Everywhere the mountains were clothed with a luxuriant growth of wild vines intermingled with low thorn trees, and under foot the ground was carpeted with the fragrant wintergreen, or mountain-tea, as it is called in Pennsylvania. The only signs of man that she saw were some huts, the inhabitants of which made a miserable living selling liquor to travelers. During the day the party crossed two high mountains, and at evening, almost completely exhausted, they came to a third, at the foot of which, in a lovely valley called the Path, lay the little village of Fannetsburg, where they spent the night.⁹⁰

The inn at which they stayed was so crowded that on October 12, although the day was the "Sabbath" and the morning cloudy, they determined to cross the third mountain before breakfast and then rest until Monday. They were now in Huntington County. The road by which they ascended the mountain was so steep that they were obliged to walk, and it was made so slippery by the falling showers that they often found it impossible to keep their feet. On the brow of the mountain about half a mile from the summit they came to a fire where three poor families had spent the night:

At this Fire, we determined to prepare our Breakfast; as we had every necessary Article with us, except Water. This I went in search of, by the guidance of a small winding Path, which led down the Declivity. My attention soon became so occupied with surrounding Objects, that I forgot my Errand, neglected the Path, and strayed from place to place, examining the Curiosities of Nature; unmindful of the existence of any other Individual of the Family of Adam; until I became entangled in a Thicket, on the brow of a frightful Precipice! This awoke me to a sense of the Impropriety of my Conduct. There was no Appearance of any human Being ever having trodden the

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-85.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

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lonely Labyrinth; and the Prospect, from every quarter, presented a scene of wild Devastation and Horror.

“Here Melancholy sits and round her throws
A death-like silence, and a dread repose.”

Sally now made such vigorous attempts to regain the road she had left that she exhausted her strength, confused her ideas, and entirely incapacitated herself for further exertion. Accordingly, she sat down and composed ten lines of poetry about introspection, and probably would have composed more if her brother-in-law had not appeared and obliged her to dismiss her muse “with considerable Abruptness.”⁹¹

Since Sally had failed to find water, the party were obliged to go on to the summit before they could prepare breakfast. Here, while others did the cooking, she sat down beside a beautiful spring, and entertained herself by gazing at the scenery and writing a description of it:

The Air, on these Eminences, is exceedingly thin and sharp; and the Weather changes every quarter of an hour; or, rather, we have every kind of Weather at the same time. The Sun is shining bright on the summit, where I now am; the midst is enveloped in Clouds; while heavy Rains are falling in the Valley below.⁹²

On the mountain top she had the feeling that her soul was uncommonly alive, and she speculated at some length on the possible causes of this sensation. They had a delightful breakfast, served in the Turkish manner, but on carpets of Nature’s manufacture, and were happy because they “could once more enjoy the Blessings of Life, and the Pleasures of domestic Society, independent of every Being, except Omnipotence.” Happiness, Sally continued, is limited by neither time nor circumstances. She is a coquette, who flies from those who pursue her and lavishes her choicest smiles on those who treat her with disregard. Of all her numerous adorers, persons of delicate sensibility are least favored by her.

The party must have started very early in the morning, for at ten o’clock they came to a “genteel private Lodging,” where they were

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-88.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

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This Neighborhood is so mountainous, that few parts of it admit of Cultivation; but its Inhabitants are the robust Sons of Nature.

The Roads are very bad; and the Juniata twines itself into so many Circumvolutions, that it rolls alternately on the right and left sides of the Road. The lofty Pines form a gloomy shade, and almost exclude the rays of the Sun.

You may free yourself of all Apprehension, Madam, of my Pen taking undue License here. You may take my word for it, that to exaggerate, in describing the terrific Wildness of this Country, would require the efforts of a Genius infinitely superior to mine.

Great Nature, scorning ev'ry polish'd grace,
In awful terror decks her frowning face;
Assumes the ancient sceptre of her throne
Bids Art retire, and reigns supreme alone.

Discomfort and lack of privacy prevented Sally from writing in her journal on October 14. At the end of the next day, in Bedford County, she recorded the experiences and impressions summarized above, and closed her entry with this brief description of her own feelings at the end of two strenuous days:

To-night we enjoy all the Comforts our situation will admit; among which, a clean Room and a cheering Fire are very conspicuous. But I drop the Pen, and acknowledge myself capable of no higher Employment, to-night, than that of the most indolent Animal.⁹⁶

On October 17 she recorded that rain and bad roads, together with her sister's feeble health, had made their progress slow. The party were all much fatigued, and she was particularly so, because the team had been so overloaded that she had been obliged to walk. When they arrived in Bedford, one of their horses was foundered, and they were obliged to take such lodging as they could get at once, which was a little cabin. Sally, however, was not too weary to comment on the surroundings. Bedford she thought too closely surrounded by mountains, though others had told her that the town was handsomely situated. "Though I can admire the Sublime; yet I perceive that sublimity loses much of its effect when deprived of the advantages of Contrast." This thought she elaborated in eight lines, which end with the generalization:

"Contrasts still heighten—change renews delight."⁹⁷

96. *A Family Tour*, pp. 191-92.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

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Sally's next entry in her journal is dated October 20:

The Rains having swelled the Waters to an alarming degree, we were obliged to tarry at the Seat of a Gentleman, nearly related to the Family, for the space of two days. Yesterday, being the Sabbath, I went to hear a German Minister, in company with three young Ladies. When he had delivered his Discourse, in a Language which we did not understand, he was so polite as to preach to us in English. For his Condescension, I conceived it my Duty to tender him my respectful Acknowledgements; and we parted with as much Cordiality, as if our Friendship had been cemented by the growing intimacy of many years.

"There was a Frankness in him, that let you at once into his soul and showed you the Goodness of his Heart."⁹⁸

To-day we crossed the Allegany [*sic*] Mountain, which is not rocky and barren like the others. There are Farms on the top, and the Land is rich. The ascent is so gradual, that Persons do not suspect the height they are elevated above the common surface of the Earth, until, almost at the summit, by a sudden turn in the Road, the Abyss below appears unveiled—the adjacent Mountain-tops rising far beneath—while the lofty summit of the Allegany towers majestically through the opening Clouds, and looks down on the rest of Creation, as sovereign Mistress of our Northern World.

My Head grows light, as I contemplate the almost unfathomable Gulph below; and, with a heavy Heart, I view the dreadful Barrier that now separates me from my native home, and from you.⁹⁹

From the next entry in the journal, written on October 21, we learn that the family spent the night of October 20 in a comfortable inn on the top of the Allegheny Mountain:

Here is a large Company of Gentlemen; one of whom, like myself, seems to have contracted a passion for the Quill; and the rest of us, either from Respect to his Person, or Veneration for his Talents, became as silent as the Inhabitants of our Great Grandfather's Tombs. As soon as a private Parlor could be prepared, our Party retired; and some noisy Person, breaking the Charm which held the rest in Silence sung a loud and merry Song. His Example was followed by several others. They were, however, too humane to suffer their Hilarity to deprive us of the Blessings of uninterrupted Sleep; which, to the fatigued Traveller, is the most refined pleasure.

98. Cf. *Tristram Shandy*, VI; x.

99. *A Family Tour*, pp. 192-93. The last sentence strengthens my suspicion that the "highly respected lady" for whom the journal was kept was Sally's mother.

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As on the lonely mountain's top I slept,
Celestial Guards then wakeful vigils kept;
Around my couch their guardian Aegis spread,
And balmy Sleep o'er all my senses shed.

Having polished this jewel of my brain, and leaving the Disciple of the Quill to do the same with his, we continued our route through the Mountains; and are arrived in safety at Stoneycreek.¹⁰⁰

Of Stony Creek, which is in Somerset County, she wrote as follows:

Here we have alighted; seated ourselves on a large stone; and are attentively engaged in a Debate, on the height of the surrounding Pine-trees; which is really surprising. In vain do the rays of the Sun exert their Influence to penetrate their bushy tops. The Turpentine, mingling its Perfume with that of the Shrubs and spicy Underwood, fills all the Air with Fragrance. This, with the murmuring of the Water, the clank of the Mill, and the sighing of the Breeze among the Pines, conspire to render Stoneycreek the most melancholy, romantic spot I ever saw. . . .

To-night we sleep at a private House; the Owner of which has blessed the Community with fifteen hopeful Sons, and one Daughter. I presume it is uncertain how many more such Tokens of Regard he may bestow on his Country; for, both his Wife and Daughter, a few days ago, have each added one to the number.¹⁰¹

Two days of hardship followed the night at Stony Creek. On October 23 Sally wrote in her diary:

Yesterday we crossed the Laurel-hill; which is very steep, and so rocky that no one would venture to ride over it. The rain and snow began to fall in great abundance; which, freezing, formed a crust on the rocks, and rendered them so slippery, that the utmost Caution was insufficient to prevent our receiving some severe Falls. The Cold was intense; Night came on, with pitchy darkness; and my Sister, unaccustomed to Difficulty, and totally exhausted with Fatigue, was obliged to sit down with her Children on a rock; where she wept.

100. Hensel's summary of the events of October 20 and 21 (*op. cit.*, p. 381) illustrates in a remarkable manner his habit of misrepresentation: "When she finds herself entirely separated by the further mountain slope [*sic*] from her Eastern home, grief inconsolable sets in; but, happily, at the very crisis, a kindred soul appears—a man, of course—at the next tavern, who, like herself, has 'a passion for the quill.' They exchange verses. Is it any wonder she had peaceful sleep and happy dreams? Hear now how changed the note

'As on the lonely mountain's top I slept, etc.'

101. *A Family Tour*, pp. 193-94.

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Our Situation admitted of no other alternative, than perish on the Hill, or make our way over it on foot; for our Wagon was far before. I perceived the necessity of making an extraordinary Exertion; and, taking one Child in my arms, while a young Man who belonged to us, and who had the Ague, took another, we carried them to the foot of the Hill, and afterwards conveyed the two younger children in the same manner. Then my Sister, by the Assistance of a young Woman, almost as debilitated as herself, with much Difficulty, likewise made her way over. We were as wet as possible, and extremely cold. Considering our Situation, the Condition of the Mountain, the darkness of the night, and the inclemency of the weather, it is a Miracle to me that we all arrived safe at the base of the Laurel-hill.

After commenting philosophically on the power of human beings in hours of trial to tap unsuspected reservoirs of strength and endurance, she compares the human breast to a public inn, the proprietor of which is obliged to give hospitality to a succession of guests who are uncongenial to one another, and to accommodate himself to the humor of each.

Last night I had an opportunity of seeing the propriety of this Comparison: For, though our Feelings were of the most uncomfortable Kind, having made our way over the Laurel-hill with a Difficulty and Perseverance that would, in Hannibal's days, have entitled our Names to Immortality; yet as soon as we arrived at its base, and discovered a House illuminated by cheering Fires, we were the happiest Group West of the Allegany Mountains.

Their relief, however, was soon succeeded by other emotions.

When we arrived at the Inn, and found it full of Men of a Savage appearance, in an outlandish dress, our short interval of Joy was succeeded by Perplexity and Terror. However, there was no Alternative, and we entered the House; resigning ourselves, with the worst grace imaginable, to the Protection of that Spirit, who presides over the Fate of Travellers. One large, unfinished, and unfurnished Room, with a Kitchen of equal dimensions, composed the whole of this Building. Both the Apartments were enlivened by an exhilarating Fire; round which sat upwards of twenty Persons, engaged in different scenes of the most turbulent Merriment. Our arrival produced a momentary Calm; and the cheerful readiness with which they made way for us, and procured us Seats around the Fire, evinced that they were not Strangers to the dictates of Humanity.

Our new Companions were a set of Hunters; and, from their Conversation and Behavior, we were led to conclude that Humanity was their cardinal Virtue. The Innkeeper had no spirituous Liquors;

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and they were therefore forced to practice Temperance. This exasperated them so highly, that they swore they would extirpate his Signpost. So, out they marched, in Battle Array, with a purpose as sanguinary, as was entertained by "Columbia's heaven-born Band,"¹⁰² when they marched over the mountains some years since, upon a similar Expedition! And this exploit was crowned with a similar success; for upon arriving at the place of Action, there was no Signpost to be found!

The landlady refused to prepare supper for the travelers, but gave them materials with which to prepare the meal for themselves. They supped heartily and later slept sweetly, despite the fact that their bedding was wet.¹⁰³

On the following day rain fell incessantly, and the roads became almost impassible. Therefore, the family resolved to take shelter in the first decent house that would admit them. In spite of the unfavorable weather, Sally wrote down a few of her impressions of the country through which she was passing. She found the houses in the rich and thickly populated Ligonier Valley tolerably good, but she thought the inhabitants "rather more distinguished by their Curiosity, than by Urbanity or Hospitality."

The Storm renders it impossible for us to cross the Chestnut Ridge; and our Landlady, it seems, has conceived an Antipathy to "Flitters." She gave intimation of this by her contracted Brows and polite Sarcasms; but finding that we had too long endured the rage of the Elements without, to suffer ourselves to be greatly incommoded by a Thunderstorm within doors—her ready Genius, which I suspect to be of Tartarean origin, inspired the project of carrying the Fire out of the Room! The Feelings of every one remonstrated against the Inhumanity of the Proceedure; and, for my own part, I really found that my Philosophy was not a counterpose against my irascible Passions. My Brother being absent, I was under the Necessity of taking "a great Gulp, and swallowing it."

However, respectfully following the supercilious Dame, I submissively requested her to order us some Wood; but she replied, "that she would not trouble herself, for a pack of saucy Gentry, who would not have taken Shelter there, had the Storm permitted them to cross the Mountain." She was not only inexorable, but an entire Stranger to the very outlines of Good-breeding: So, assuming an air of Contempt, I once more, very reluctantly indeed, practised the Virtue of Resignation.

102. The quotation is from Joseph Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia."

103. *A Family Tour*, pp. 194-97.

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My Brother returned in a short time and procured some Wood. The exhilarating Blaze soon restored the drooping Spirits of our disconsolate Family.

The Landlord, who had been all day absent, on his return seemed determined to compensate for his Lady's Inattention, by devoting all his time and talents to our Amusement. But it unfortunately happened, that, among the number of his Pastimes, whistling was the most conspicuous; and he filled every pause in his Conversation with a gust of that irritating Music, to the great annoyance of my sensitive Nerves.

Before he retired, I was obliged to confess to myself, that the most insufferable thing, which disagreeable People can engage in is the attempt to be Amusing. . . .¹⁰⁴

On October 24, although the day was snowy and very cold, the party resolved to push on. The entry in Sally's journal for this day, written in Westmoreland County, bears eloquent testimony to both her courage and her zeal for writing:

We purpose to cross the Chestnut Ridge and take shelter wherever Providence may prepare a Place for our reception; for our half-perished Family cannot long endure the fury of the Storm. At the moment I am seated on the top of the Ridge, with two Children beside me; who are crying because of the Cold. I have wrapped my Cloak about them, and endeavored to sooth their Anguish. You will wonder at my Employment and Situation; but my reason for not Changing them is, that, owing either to the Mismanagement of our Driver, or the Drivers of a number of Wagons on the opposite side of the Mountain, we have met them in such a Situation as to preclude the possibility of passing without unloading the Wagons.

With sympathetic Cares opprest
I on the dreary Mountain rest;
Conflicting Storms of sleet and snow,
Do round my head unpitying blow;
While angry winds, with eager strife,
Congeal the crimson tide of life;
And raw condensing damps impart
Their chilling influence to the heart:
Far off from every social joy,
I heave the deep despairing sigh;
Chide unrelenting Fate severe,
Recall the past, and drop a Tear.¹⁰⁵

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-98.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.

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These lines, as Leon Howard has suggested, sound more like a literary exercise than a realistic account of a vital experience,¹⁰⁶ but they record a great crisis in the author's life, as we discover in the first paragraph of her entry for October 25:

Had not the Storm suddenly abated yesterday, I believe you would not have been troubled with reading this Account; for, I am of opinion, we would have finished our Pilgrimage, through Life, a few paces from the summit of the Chestnut Ridge.

In the passages just quoted, then, we have a vivid illustration of a fact that is brought out in Leon Howard's article. When Sally wrote prose, she was her real self, lively, humorous, realistic, appreciative, sincere; when she turned to verse, literary convention descended upon her like a blight and almost completely destroyed her originality and spontaneity.¹⁰⁷

Today [continues the narrative] we enjoy the Comforts of a warm House, and excellent Fare. Here we remain stationary,

'Till scowling storms lead off their vap'ry train,
And genial Phœbus gilds the frozen scene.
Do thou, celestial Muse, my Theme inspire,
And touch my Pen with consecrated fire:
Weary of toils, of pageantry, and show,
And every passing vanity below,
I woo thy genial soul-expanding smile,
Life's complicated Evils to beguile;
Tir'd of the Jest profane, the Drunkard's Song,
And the rude Bacchanalian's impious tongue—
Retire with me, unknowing and unknown,
To rear an air-spun Fabric of my own.

It was not long, however, before her repose was broken and her communion with the muse interrupted by incidents that were as alarming as they were novel.

The Landlord here is a confirmed Drunkard. His Wife (who seems well calculated to perform the Duties of her Station, and who has certainly, some years since, been very handsome) is the Object on which he vents the Overflowings of his acrimoribus Humor. I fear that on some former occasion, he has taught her an ill lesson against himself; for, in defiance of that reasonable Precept which enjoins

106. *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

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unconditionally, Love, Honor, and Obedience, on the part of the Female, she took a Whip and powerfully remonstrated with him on the Necessity of sometimes reversing the Laws of Custom. The first act of Discipline, failing to produce the desired effect, was succeeded by a second, inflicted with a degree of Severity, which I wish the gentle Boscum of a female Beauty may never again sanction. During this Operation I had the mortification to observe, that Modesty and Power are very jarring Attributes, in the Female Character.¹⁰⁸

On October 26 Sally records the fact that during the preceding night her rest had been much disturbed by a cornhusking and dance held in the room below her bedchamber. The dancing was executed with great spirit and vigor; the landlady, her daughter, and the maid vied with one another in agility, and the landlord, forgetting the two whippings he had received, "swore and shouted in conjunction with his Guests." The sounds reminded poor Sally of Pandemonium and gave her a sharp attack of nostalgia.

No Pilgrim, in the burning Deserts of Arabia, ever longed more intensely for a refreshing Fountain, than did I to enjoy tranquil Happiness, in the sweet domestic Circle of mutual Friendship—A Friendship cemented by mutual Esteem and refined and endeared by the invigorating Principle of mutual Love.

She goes on to say that to her the ideas of home and happiness are inseparable, and then quotes from an unnamed poet the couplet:

Man may, for Wealth or Glory roam;
But Woman must be blest at Home;

and from the "judicious Thomson" four lines from "Autumn":

Home is the resort
Of Love, of Joy, of Peace, of Friendship; where,
Supporting and supported, polish'd Friends
And dear Relations mingle into Bliss.¹⁰⁹

About noon on October 26 the sun came out, and the party moved on to Greensburg, which they reached about dark. Here they were again disappointed in their hope of finding repose, for they arrived just at the close of a general military review.

Most of the officers of the Battalions had met in this Place, and were refreshing themselves, after the Fatigues of the day, in all the

108. *A Family Tour*, pp. 199-200.

109. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-01.

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various Exercises which the martial Spirit of Man could invent, or a convivial Bottle inspire. Being all completely equipped, in the various Uniforms of their respective Corps, their Appearance was at once solemn, splendid, and ludicrous; for every man, except the Landlord, was intoxicated. This Gentleman, who is of the first Character and Respectability, assured us that, except Noise and want of Sleep, we had no other Inconvenience to expect at his House; for, though it might appear paradoxical to assert it, every Man under his roof was a Gentleman and a Man of Honor—who would sooner forfeit his Life, than his Pretensions to these sacred Characters.

The officers spent the night dancing, and after a time began to grow irritable and quarrelsome. Being of different political opinions, they became involved in arguments so violent that Sally was again reminded of Pandemonium. Unable to secure rooms to which they could retire, the travelers were obliged to remain as spectators of the riotous scene throughout the entire night. Once when they saw the glitter of swords and heard the clashing of them over their heads, they began to entertain strong apprehensions for their personal safety; but they were reassured by an officer, who told them that he himself was from Lancaster County and that he would shed the last drop of his heart's blood to procure a proper respect for every individual from that place. Then in a stentorian voice he called the assembly to attention, and

delivered a concise and very nervous Address on the Indecorum of Fighting in the presence of Ladies, and the want of Gallantry betrayed in being the Cause of raising their Terrors. He concluded by reminding them, "that Intoxication, though excusable in a Gentleman, under certain Circumstances, was by no means an Apology for a Breach of the Laws of Good-breeding; and the respect which every Gentleman felt himself bound in Honor and in Duty to pay to the Female Sex."

Having quieted the contestants, the officer

carried his Politeness so far as to make Love to a Person of our Party; whom he entertained with a Song, which consisted in two elegant Lines and a—Hiccough.

In the meantime the landlord concealed all of the swords, so that when the next argument arose, no appeal to arms was possible. Consequently, the contestants went outside and settled their quarrels in

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a series of boxing matches, after which they returned "as peaceable and affectionate as Brothers."¹¹⁰

Although October 27 was Sunday, the party decided to move on "to a place remote from Noise, and stay there the remainder of the day." That night they spent in an inn, the landlord of which talked so profoundly of states, fleets, revenues, and standing armies that Sally, thinking that he must be at least a member of Congress, asked him respectfully "what Branch of Government had the honor of claiming him as its Member"—a question which so disconcerted him that he abruptly left the room. This experience inspired her to the following flight of irony:

Happy, O America! favored Nation! How securely art thou fortified against foreign Invasion and homebred Faction; when even thy Retailers of Gin and Brandy possess the Brains adequate to inspect, judge of, and determine the most intricate Affairs of Government—the very sound of which has disordered my intellectual Machine.¹¹¹

On their way to McKeesport, in Allegheny County, the "small village" in which they spent the night of October 28, they passed many officers in uniform, who had come from the garrison at Pittsburgh, and were going to Greensburg, where public races were to be held that day. During this part of the journey Sally was impressed by the beauty of the wheat fields that covered the hills. The evident fertility of the land caused her to remark in true neo-classical language that "jocund Plenty seemed to spread her luxuriant train over the whole face of Nature."

The inhabitants of western Pennsylvania she found moderately agreeable, but not faultless:

The generality of the People possess a Kind of instinctive Politeness, which, were it divested of that popular ingredient, Curiosity, would render them quite agreeable, as they are really very intelligent.

In McKeesport she found little to commend:

Although the Country around is laughing with Plenty; yet in this Village, we could scarcely be supplied with the Necessaries of Life, at any price whatever. I can only account for this Scarcity of

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-04.

111. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-05.

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Provision, by the general Conduct of the Inhabitants; who, I think, appear to employ their Time after the Athenian Manner in the days of St. Paul.¹¹²

On the other hand, she found the country beautiful, and she observed it with a keenness that has caused Leon Howard to compare her with Thoreau.¹¹³

The Rivers Youghiogheny and Monongahela are beautiful, and the Country through which they pass is exceedingly fertile. An air of Wildness pervades the County, but it is the wild Exuberance of overgrown, untamed Nature. The Water of the Monongahela is remarkably clear, and glides along its Channel almost imperceptibly; and that of the Youghiogheny is somewhat green and rather more rapid. They tenaciously preserve these Distinctions as far as I have had the opportunity of observing them, after their Confluence.¹¹⁴

On October 30 the family entered Washington County, which was to become their home. On the night of the twenty-ninth they were entertained with great kindness in a private house, but Sally was so dispirited with fatigue that she could not enjoy the evening, and her "spleen" increased to such a degree as to form a kind of unpenetrable gloom around her. She mentioned this fact when she wrote in her journal next day, but she made no attempt to dramatize herself or sentimentalize over her low spirits. On the contrary she tried to fortify herself against depression by writing this invocation:

Ye Spirits of Cheerfulness and Content, descend from your celestial Abode, and enlighten, strengthen, and warm my heart by your exhilarating Influence: Guard it from the Poison of Guilt, and the pressure of Despondency; nor suffer it to become absorbed in the narrow limits of its own pitiful Concerns; which dry up all the sympathetic sluices of the Soul, unfit it for every Duty of Life, render it unamiable and unthankful, and finally make Existence a Curse.

Washington County she found hilly but very fertile, and the people "sober, rational, and even courteous." During the day the party passed through a college town, which she described thus:

112. Though not in general censorious, Sally disliked people who were curious. She found too much curiosity in the inhabitants of Carlisle, Ligonier, Greensburg, and McKeesport.

113. *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

114. *A Family Tour*, p. 205. In our day the steel mills and coal mines have destroyed the clarity of the Monongahela and the greenness of the Youghiogheny; but I myself have seen the contrasting colors described by Sally at the confluence of the Monongahela and the Cheat.

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There is a Seminary of Learning in the Town of Canonsburg, which is in great Repute; and this being the time of a Commencement, the streets are crowded, and all is Life and Activity. This spot, a few years ago, was the unhallowed Haunt of Savages; the Scene of Desolation, Bloodshed and Horror.

Next she introduced sixteen lines of verse describing an Indian massacre in this very country where

Now the bright Son's kind healing wings expand,
And holy Temples consecrated stand;
Now shines the glorious Gospel from above,
And all is Peace, and Harmony, and Love.¹¹⁵

Then follows a paragraph that seems artificial and affected when compared with most of Sally's prose:

This is a thickly settled Country, in which there are many Churches erected; Seminaries of Education founded, and all the Arts of Civilization introduced. Luxury, and its concomitant Diseases, are almost unknown here. Health, Peace, and Plenty lead in, and accompany the hours; which seem principally devoted to the simple Enjoyments of artless Innocence. Few are immensely rich: None are miserably poor. It is a popular Maxim here, that Principles, not Talents or Fortune settle the scale of Respectability.

This highly idealized description is followed by two matter-of-fact statements, the first of which makes us realize vividly the changes that have taken place since Sally Hastings' day, and the second of which produces evidence tending to disprove the theory held by many, that drouths did not occur in this part of the country before the timber was cut off:

Two things are particularly unfavorable to this County. Its principal Trade being to Neworleans, the great Distance (together with the Influence of those Southern Climes on Northern Constitutions) renders a Voyage thither arduous, precarious, and expensive. The other Difficulty arises from the Failure of the Western Waters in the Fall Season. At this time the largest Creeks are but standing Shallows. . . .¹¹⁶

Failing to reach their destination on October 30, as they had expected to do, the travelers were once more "obliged to solicit Lodg-

¹¹⁵ Sally's grandson and my grandfather, William C. Hastings, married Lavina Luellen; she told me that her grandmother's parents and brothers, who lived in this section, were all massacred or carried off by the Indians.

¹¹⁶ *A Family Tour*, pp. 206-08.

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ing from a private Gentleman." At this disappointment Sally's spirits sank so low that she was obliged to sit down and moralize herself into a better temper.

How do both Nature and Experience assist Revelation in demonstrating the Immortality of the Soul, by ever placing our principal Happiness in the Prospect of some future Enjoyment—which we, like minor Heirs, subsist upon by Anticipation! How then should we admire the Wisdom of our heavenly Father, in barely granting what is sufficient for our present Demands—that we may duly appreciate that Inheritance which will undoubtably be ours, if we squander it not away by a most criminal Prodigality.

After taking a wrong direction and rambling six miles out of their way the family reached their destination on October 31. While the men were cutting a road to the house which was to be her home, Sally seated herself on the trunk of a tree and wrote this description of her surroundings:

Great Nature, in her loose array,
Derives from Art no foreign aid;
The lofty Oak, the spreading Bay,
With "shade still deepening into shade!"
The Moss, the Ivy, and the Vine
Increase the awful gloom profound;
Whilst Hills and lonely Wilds combine
To shed fantastic Terrors round!

Immediately after finishing these trite and conventional lines, she wrote this realistic paragraph containing a humorous reference to the Abbé Raynal's romantic theory about the nutritive value of woodland air:¹¹⁷

We have had no Dinner to-day; and our stock of Pleasure is not augmented by anticipation with regard to Supper: For, I assure you, we do not find the Western Air more nutrimental than that we formerly breathed in Donegal; and, though we enjoy a plentiful share of this wholesome Element—for our Cottage has neither Window-glass, Plaister, nor Roof—I never felt a better Appetite for a solid Supper in my Life.

Having preserved her courage and sense of humor thus far, Sally may perhaps be excused, under the circumstances, for allowing her last paragraph to become somewhat plaintive:

117. See Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

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I find, Madam, that, in our pursuit of Happiness, we too often mistake the Shadow for the Substance; and are shamefully misled by the same restless Curiosity which, I believe, aided the Deception practised upon our credulous Mother Eve; and which still continues to prey upon human Bliss: Nor is it until after we have received some severe Lectures, in the School of Experience, that we are brought to acknowledge this great Truth, that, beneath the Sun, "all is Vanity."¹¹⁸

III. LIFE AT CROSS CREEK

From their new home, which was at Cross Creek, Washington County, Sally and her sister wrote to their friends and relatives in Lancaster County whenever they found some one going east whom they could employ as a messenger. The earliest of their letters that I have been able to find are two written by Rebekah Barton, of which the Washington County Historical Society owns copies. These copies are somewhat puzzling to the reader: the subject matter and the language are what one might expect from a sister of Sally Hastings, but the spelling, grammar, capitalization, and punctuation are atrocious. I doubt, however, whether poor Rebekah should be blamed for all the errors in these letters, for "C.C.B.," the person who made the copies, has inserted a few comments of her own, which contain mistakes similar to those found in the letters themselves. Therefore, I feel under no obligation to record all the errors in the passages that I shall quote. Unfortunately the copies contain no notes telling where the originals are to be found.

The first letter, dated January 21, 1801, opens with a sentence which shows why I am reluctant to quote verbatim at any great length: "The sean seams to chainge a little this weeke we have had visiters every day but the moste of them has been so insipped they are not worth mentioning." Rebekah did not care for her new neighbors. The excessive length of their calls and the profuse apologies they made for causing trouble when she served them tea convinced her that they lacked social background. She herself had made no calls.

After mentioning the fact that she had had a visit from her brother Robert, and from a Mrs. Clark, whose husband was evidently a relative of her own stepfather, Brice Clark, she described a surprising phenomenon that she had observed about two weeks before.

118. *A Family Tour*, pp. 208-09.

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On January 6 or 8, at about eight o'clock in the evening, a mysterious light seemed to turn night into day, and then an equally mysterious noise added to the surprise and concern of those who had seen the strange illumination.

In some places it shook the houses dreadfully, but at our house it was like thunder at a distance, not very alarming.¹¹⁹

The letter was addressed to Mrs. Margaret Clark, Donegal Township, Lancaster County, and was sent by the "favor" of James McCreary.

The second letter, which was started late in the spring or early in the summer of 1801, begins by explaining why her family do not hear from her more frequently. It is very hard to send a message from a retired and lonely spot such as that in which she lives to a place so distant as Lancaster County. Indeed, so hilly is the country and so bad are the roads that she rarely hears from her brother, who lives only eighteen miles away. "It would be fully as easy," she continues, "for you to go to see friends in Martic as [for] us [to go] to Washington." Therefore, she hopes that her parents will not blame her if they do not hear from her as often as they wish.

She is alone, because "Polly" still stays with Mrs. Agnew, who wants to keep her as long as possible,¹²⁰ and because "Josy" (her husband) and Sally have gone to Buffalo Village to attend an open-air communion service. It is wonderful, she says, what crowds attend meetings of this kind. "Sally says it puts her in mind of the Judgment. But I confess it brings the idea of bees swarming into my mind." All is turmoil and disorder: people hurrying in different directions crowd and jostle one another; the sound of hymns rising above the murmur of the throng creates a confusion surpassing belief.

Next she tells of attending a meeting at Raccoon that was interrupted by a violent storm. The minister kept the congregation in their seats until the tempest was almost upon them.

119. President Arthur M. Harding, formerly Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at the University of Arkansas, informs me that for two thousand years or more the earth crossed the orbit of a particular swarm of meteors every thirty-three years. The last three crossings occurred about the middle of November in the years 1800, 1833 ("the year the stars fell"), and 1866. Since 1866 the attraction of Jupiter seems to have changed the orbit of the meteors, so that we did not collide with them in 1809 and 1932. It was probably a wanderer from this famous swarm that frightened the pioneers in western Pennsylvania in January, 1831.

120. "Polly" was probably Margaret, her oldest daughter, and Mrs. Agnew was probably the mother or sister-in-law of Robert Anderson's wife, whose maiden name was Agnew.

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The wind blew, the trees cracked, the clouds looked big with rain, but we sat still, though I think we did not get much good of the sermon. At length the minister stopped, and told us that as many as could might go into the meeting-house. But I have never seen such a crowded place, though large. The storm came on almost as soon as we got in. It was indeed dreadful—thunder and hail, lightning and rain. Beside the noise of the wind and the trees falling, the minister prayed all the time of the first storm, but we could hear nothing but the murmur of his voice. We were mercifully preserved.

Rebekah informs her mother that she and her husband have applied for permission to take part in the communion service at the Presbyterian Church in Cross Creek, and have been "admitted without any scruple upon the strength of [their] certificates." Sally has not applied for this privilege.

After finishing her description of the storm, and informing her mother that it did no damage at Cross Creek, Rebekah laid her letter aside until July 12, which was some days or even weeks later. She wrote on this date:

I would not send this scribble which I wrote so long ago, and which I see I have not dated only that I have just received one from you in which you again upbraid me for neglect. I therefore thought I would send it that you may see that I sometimes write, and my letters lie by till they are out of date before there is any opportunity of sending them.

This was a "throng time" with the pioneers because they were in the middle of harvest. Their crops were good, particularly the hay, which her husband thought the heaviest he had ever seen. They were fortunate in having the help of a man named John, who had come from Charleston to work for them at the beginning of harvest. As a rule it was impossible to hire harvest hands, but neighbors sometimes exchanged help with one another. In addition to the hired man, they had a tenant farmer, to whom they furnished a team and gave one-third of the crop for his work. Joseph Barton was kept pretty busy supervising the work of the farm and looking after odd jobs, but he had a little patch of corn and potatoes in which he "pottered" when he could find time.

From this letter we learn that a third sister, Margaret, had been thinking of joining Rebekah and Sarah, but had decided not to do so.

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Rebekah, who was an invalid, and who was soon to undergo her fourth confinement, tried to convince her family that they had no reason to feel apprehensive for her: "I am sorry you, my dear mother, have had any uneasiness on my account. I hope I will soon be well. My cough is much better." Near the end of the letter, however, she revealed the fact that she fully realized the seriousness of her physical condition:

Before I break off I must thank for your kind advice. I have indeed great need to prepare for Death. I am very weak and have a sore trial to go through. God only knows—but I will not vex you by telling you my fears. The Almighty is all-sufficient and in him do I trust. The verse you sent me is very pretty.

After mentioning various neighbors and members of the family, she closed her letter with some news about her brother James, who at that time was evidently in the army. She had recently met an ex-soldier who had seen him at Fort Pitt, and who had informed her that he was well, and that he was planning to leave the army when his term of enlistment expired.

The letter, which begins with the salutation "My dear Friends," ends with the words, "I am, my dear friends, yours affectionately, Becky Barton."

The oldest of the letters of Sally Hastings that have been preserved is one that she sent to her mother from Cross Creek on August 14, 1801. It was written on a sheet of foolscap, folded and sealed so that no envelope was required, and it was transmitted by the "favor" of Mr. Elder. After addressing her mother in a most formal and courtly manner, Sally opened her letter with a report on her sister's health, followed by some general comments, not wholly favorable, on the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania:

CROSS CREEK August 14th 1801

HONR^d MOTHER

Hearing that Mr Elder is going down to your County Next week, I could not deny myself the satisfaction of writing to you. We all enjoy our usual State of health at present, only Beckky who is not quite recovered of her lying inn. She still has a bad Cough and does not Seem very Stout. I think if she was able to ride a little it would be of use to her, Be not alarm'd at this I pray you, time may do a great deal for her, Though at present, she is greatly out of spirits.

Long Branch October 14th 1811

Dear Mother

Hearing that Mr Elder is going down to your Country I do not wish, I could not deny myself the satisfaction of writing to you; We all enjoy our usual State of health at present, only Betty who is not quite recovered of her lying in, she still has a bad cough and does not seem very stout, I think if she was able to ride a little it would be of use to her. Do not alarm at this I pray you, Time may do a great deal for her, though at present she is greatly out of spirits, Nothing affords her any pleasure. She neither likes the place or people, I in vain endeavour to amuse her, My own spirits are grown somewhat flat too though I like the people much better than I did at first, yet Madam this is a bad Soil for Wheat to thrive in, I sometimes make our little Family laugh at the Blunders I make when I am among them, I mean the Inconsequences of the Plan I once was treated to a Glass of Methygen which I took for Wine and asked the Gentleman that gave it me what sort it was, as I never had drank any but such a queer Tattle, I go very little abroad only to Meeting, There I attend as regularly as the Church Doors are open, I will not say it is merely Religion takes me there, I believe indeed it is more for the pleasure I take in hearing the Eloquent Parson speak, than the Sound Doctrine, But be that as it may It is for the pleasure of hearing Mr Madens alone, to hear him is harmony, though he often gives us the growth of the Law in all its ferocity, He has before now fairly made me jump off my seat with terror and flapping the Subject, If he would only grant that he is would be the sweetest man in the world, But the people here would not like him if he would proceed in moderation, he is the dreadfullest Thunder-bolt I ever heard Nothing seems more at variance than the preaching and his countenance, one is all Terror talk all sweet rep and mild persuasion, Sober as he may I will say him Nay I cannot help it, he was found to be so. It is only giving him his due But you sensible people would not bear him at all if he would take a bit.

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Nothing affords her any pleasure. She Neither likes this place or people. I in vain endeavour to amuse her. My own spirits are grown somewhat flat too. Though I like the people much better than I did at first, yet Madam this is a bad Soil for Witt to thrive in. I sometimes make our little Family laugh at the Blunders I make when I am among them, I mean the Inhabitants of this place. I once was treated to a glass of Metheglin which I took for wine and asked the Gentleman that gave it me what sort it was, as I never had drank any had such a queer taste.

Next Sally gave her mother an amusing description of her pastor, the Rev. Thomas Marquis, a famous Presbyterian minister, who preached for thirty-two years at Cross Creek:¹²¹

I go very little abroad only to Meeting. There I attend as regularly as the Church Doors are open, I will not say it is merely Religion takes me there, I believe indeed it is more for the pleasure I take in hearing the Eloquent Orator speak, than the Sound Devine. But be that as it may It is for the pleasure of hearing Mr. Marcus alone. To hear him is harmony, Though he often gives us the slash of the law in all its severity. He has before now fairly made me jump off my seat with terror and slapping the pulpit. If he would only quit that he would be the sweetest man in the world. But the people here would not like him if he would preach in moderation, he is the Dreadfullest Thunderer I ever heard. Nothing seems more at variance than his preaching and his Countenance, one is all Terror tother all sweetness and Mild persuasion. Scold as he may I will love him. Nay I cannot help it, he was formed to be loved. It is only giving him his due. But you donnegall people would not bear him at all if he would take a fit of sending you to the D——l and that he would do without any Ceremony, for things you would scarce think you merited such rough treatment. Oh how he would handle your Dancing and singing your Dressing and Gay Conversations your giddy round of Idle visits your taste and refinements, your preparations for Company, and all the etce[te]ras of your Fations. I just wish to hear him at you. Yet he would do it so nicely, and with such a grace, you would love him.

After painting this vivid portrait of a frontier Presbyterian divine, whose red corpuscles were not impaired by the anemia of Modernism, Sally next gave her mother a lively account of the incidents that had occurred on the day of the birth of Rebekah Barton's

¹²¹. Hensel, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-89; Martha Bladen Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.

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baby. "I wish you Madam had been here when Beckky was brought to bed," she remarked with feeling. Becky, not without reason, one would think, "whin'd about all day." Sally herself was embarrassed because some callers appeared at this inopportune time. "I verily thought all the Beaus on Cross Creek had taken a fit of coming here that day," she declared. She told them that her sister was sick, but they stayed on until she warned them that if they did not go, she would send them for the midwife. At this point she interrupted her narrative to ask her mother not to repeat what she had written, lest the story get back to the young men. "They would not like me the Better for making fun of them," she prudently remarked; "and at present I am a great favourite with them."

Sally sat up with her sister the night after the birth of the baby, which occurred on Saturday afternoon, and Polly kept her company. Toward morning Sally took the infant in her arms and lay down on the floor, where she was sadly bitten by fleas. Polly slipped under her head a piece of "dreaming cheese," which seems to have had occult powers, for she dreamed that she was at a wedding, where all the guests were, for some reason, required to make up a stanza of verse. When her turn came, she recited a foolish piece of doggerel, and so vivid was her dream that she actually said the words aloud, to the great amusement of Polly, who overheard them, as did "Josy" and the midwife, who had by this time arisen. On Sunday night Sally and Polly sat up by turns.

Monday night I thought she needed not to be sat up with, but in the Evening Seven or Eight young Men and Women came to sit up. So Polly and I Sat too, that night She was well Sat up with and every night untill all of the young women of our acquaintance had been here sitting up. I am sure I would not trust scarce one of them all to either feed the Child or make a bowl of Penadae.¹²²

At the end of the letter Sally gave brief expression to the home-sickness under which she was suffering:

Oh how I long to see you all. I dare not write what I think of these people but If I could see you I could Divert you I think But I cannot trust a letter, as I have to live among them. They are

¹²² From Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 107, we learn that the child whose birth is recorded in this letter was named Anna, and that she "departed this life on March 6th A. D. 1820 in the 19th year of her age."

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mostly Oblidgeing but I can form no Society among them. They are too uninteresting. I think them too Insipid. In short they are not to my taste. I act under a perpetual restraint. I am to[o] apt to draw Comparisons between them and the people I was rais'd among and this is greatly to their disadvantage.

After sending her love to her stepfather and to all her friends, she brought her letter to a conclusion with these words, which she obligingly told her mother were written by Shakespeare:

"Could I forget
What I have been I might the better bear
What I'm destined to."

I am dearest Mother

SALLY.¹²³

To Sally's modest biographer, W. U. Hensel, "her letter indicates a certain freedom of manner in respectable society then, that nowadays would be counted rude and even gross," but he doubts not that the communications of the young people of that day "were quite free from much of the nasty nice things in literature and on the stage which our boys and girls are allowed to touch with impunity, and which they are expected to taste without impurity." In short, he disapproves of the young people of Sally's day, but on second thought he decides that those of his own day are worse. As a result of this disquieting discovery he becomes so absorbed in his own moral reflections that he passes hastily over all parts of the letter except that describing the fulminations of the Rev. Thomas Marquis,¹²⁴ which he quotes in full.

On October 2, 1801, Sally wrote to her mother from Cross Creek another letter, which begins as follows:

Hearing of an opportunity of sending a letter to you I am again perched at the little round table a scribbling. I am beginning to dread that either the multitude or insipidity of them (I mean my letters) has caused you to throw them by unopened as I know no other reason for your not answering them, except indifference. And as I have experienced somewhat the anxiety of a mother absent from her

123. Letter given by Mrs. Leonard U. Hill, of Piqua, Ohio, to the author. It is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

124. Hensel, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-89. The same passage, with spelling, capitalization, and punctuation much improved, is quoted by Martha Bladen Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.

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children I would sooner ascribe silence to any other Motive than that one. But no more of this, it may be owing to want of opportunity, to a thousand things, to things I know nothing of. I pray it may not be owing to want of ability in you. But be it what it may I have not received a single scratch of the pen from you or one of you since the beginning of July.

Next she expressed anxiety about a parcel of letters that she had entrusted to Mr. Elder, who had gone east in August. Of these, the letter of August 14 that has just been discussed was apparently the most important. Mr. Elder had carried the parcel to Bedford, and there had turned it over to a Mr. Star, who had later entrusted it to a third messenger.

. . . . What has become of it I cannot tell. But it has given me some uneasiness on different accounts, one of which is that as I expected Mr. Elder would deliver it into your hand I had not spared to animadvert a little on this place, people and their awkward customs and outlandish manners. And I should be sorry the letter should fall into the hands of any by whose means they might come to hear of it, as it would create me some Enemies, and little as I esteem their friendship, I would nevertheless dread their Malice. As Religious Zeal is ever most bitter, I know not Madam but it might shut Heaven against me. Another reason is Madam that without these letters as a key you will be at a loss to understand any others you may have received since. But I hope they are in your possession so I say no more about them.

Her sister, Rebekah Barton, was rapidly sinking under the malady that was soon to bring her life to an end.

Becky still continues lingering, drooping. Sometimes a ray of hope diffuses itself across my mind. Then perhaps the very next hour serves but to confirm my fears—so changeable in her disorder. I know this intelligence will give you all great uneasiness, but it may save you from a surprise, though she may languish on for many months—Nay, Madam, perhaps years. Yet she may not and I find my own feelings too much interested to join in deceiving those of others. To what a fortune am I born. 'Tis not enough for me to bear my own weighty and accumulated misfortunes, but I must share deeply in those of all around me. My spirits, Madam, begin to droop, and I in vain endeavor to rally my sinking fortitude. It often is disobedient to my call. Yet why should a living man complain? I forget that it is my duty if I cannot lessen your afflictions at least not

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to add to them my repinings, but the language of complaint is new to me. I believe this is the first time misfortune has forced a murmur from my lips or pen, Whatever it may have wrung from my heart. I beg you will forgive me this, and I promise that it shall not often be repeated.

The letter which begins "Honrd Madam" and ends, "I am Honrd Madam your most ob^t Sally,"¹²⁵ is followed by a postscript which apologizes for sending her letter to her mother inside another addressed to her half-sister, Eliza Clark. Finally, Sally asks her to tell some of her friends in Donegal that she longs to hear from them and to remind them that "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick."¹²⁶

The anxiety about her sister expressed in Sally's letter of October 2 was entirely justified. Rebekah Barton's short life was rapidly drawing to a close. Not long before the end she had a vivid dream which she regarded as prophetic, and which she dictated to her sister, who sent the account as a farewell communication from the dying woman to her mother. The first part of the letter is lost, but the part containing Rebekah's story of her dream has been preserved.

"I dreamed I was in Donegal Meeting. Mr. Stuart preached on those words of our Savior, 'In my Father's house are many mansions.' I awoke and felt a strong impression from the sermon. I again fell asleep and dreamed that I was exceedingly sick and at length died and went to Heaven. There I saw glory inexpressible. I saw the Almighty seated on a throne surpassing in glory anything I can express, the S[on] equal in glory, surrounded with myriads of Angels and glorified Saints, falling prostrate worshipping before the throne, happy beyond all possible description, some of which I knew. I likewise fell down to worship before the throne but one of the company came to me and raised me up and told me I might return to earth, [as] my time to continue there [*sic*] was not yet come. It was with reluctance that I obeyed the sentence and was conveyed again to the earth with a privilege of [knowing] that in a short time I would be called again to abide forever."

This Madam, as far as her weak state of body and mind will enable her to recollect, is the dream you desired me to write. She is

125. The resemblance between the salutation and conclusion of *A Family Tour* and the salutations and conclusions of Sally's letters to her mother tends to confirm my suspicion that the "highly respected Lady" at whose request she kept her journal was Margaret Anderson Clark.

126. Copies of this letter, made by Ezra P. Young, are owned by Samuel C. Young and Mrs. Henry T. Bailey. The differences between the two copies are few and slight.

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just able to speak it for me to write and in all probability it will be the last she will ever write. But she is patient and resigned, and is about to depart in full assurance of hope, saying with the S[avior] "His left hand is under my head and with his right hand he doth embrace me."
I am dear Madam

S.H.¹²⁷

After finishing and signing her letter, she added as a postscript a stanza from the hymn by Isaac Watts, which begins:

"Stoop down my thoughts that use to rise"

This letter is doubtless Rebekah's last message to her mother; it is also the last of the letters written by Sally from Cross Creek that I have found.

Rebekah died in 1801, leaving two little girls aged six and four, and two babies, the older of whom was between one and two years old and the younger less than three months. Sally remained at Cross Creek and took care of these children until their father's second marriage,¹²⁸ which must have taken place at the end of 1804 or the beginning of 1805, for in her collected writings we find a poem of nineteen stanzas bearing the title "On Leaving My Place of Residence in the West and Resigning the Charge of My Deceased Sister's Orphan Family, February 1, 1805." In this poem she bids a last adieu to her "once-lov'd peaceful home"; to a "tender, kind, parental Friend," whom a footnote identifies as "The Rev. T.M.," or the Rev. Thomas Marquis, whose sermons had filled her with such delightful terrors; to the children, objects of her tender care; and to her faithful friends, to whom she is bound by silken cords of mutual love. She speaks with affection of the grove of oaks in which she has invoked the sylvan muse, has supervised the study and sports of the children, and has served them their tea; and of the rural cottage, "drest with simple taste and vernal flow'rs," where she has entertained the friendly guest. In spite of the fact that she is returning to her mother and her own children, she is very sad, and she reflects mournfully that when Innocence was driven from Eden she took her sister Happiness with her.¹²⁹

127. Copy made by Ezra P. Young; in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

128. Letter of Mrs. Lewis Bennett to Inez Bailey, October 13, 1927; in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

129. *Poems on Different Subjects*, pp. 103-05.

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Sally's failure to mention her children by name in the letters she sent home from Cross Creek, and her apparent reluctance to return to Donegal after an absence of four years, may cause the reader to suspect that she lacked maternal affection. This suspicion, however, is removed when we read a poem entitled "To Mr. ——," which deals with this period of her life. Who Mr. —— was I do not know, but he might well have been her stepfather, Brice Clark:

Friend of my life, by heav'n design'd,
A guardman, bountiful and kind;
Who ev'ry needful good supplies,
And quells misfortunes as they rise.

When, with my tender Infants left,
Of ev'ry human aid bereft;
O'erwhelm'd with pain, and piercing grief,
You, pitying, flew to my relief.

You felt the lonely Mourner's cares,
And wip'd the suff'ring Orphans' tears;
And to the woe-worn sinking heart,
Did pity's lenient balm impart.

When from my Infants far remov'd,
My native home and friends belov'd;
When, by one desolating blow,
Death laid my blasted comforts low;

When each supporting prop was gone,
And I, forsaken and alone,
By unrelenting Fate severe,
Was doom'd a wandering Exile there;

Opress'd with sickness, care and pain,
No friend to comfort or sustain;
Suspended o'er an early grave—
You heard; and mercy bade you save.

Were India's boasted treasures mine,
'Twould not my weighty debts remove;
But all that I possess is thine—
Unfeigned gratitude and love.

On thee I trust, on thee depend,
My benefactor and my friend:
O may that mercy shewn to me
Be, by Kind heav'n, vouchsaf'd to thee.

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These stanzas are followed by six others which call down upon her benefactor the blessings promised by the Scriptures to those who feed the hungry, clothe the poor, and set the mourning prisoners free.¹³⁰

IV. RETURN TO LANCASTER COUNTY; PUBLICATION OF POEMS AND JOURNAL

The years 1805-08 were probably the happiest of Sally's life, for during this time she was at Donegal, surrounded by her family. Her health was reasonably good and her "Muse" was kind. Dated poems reveal the fact that of the one hundred and seventy-three pages of verse in her book, at least seventy were written during these years. During these years also she prepared her works for publication and had the pleasure of seeing them in print.

The first poem that we know to have been written after her return from the West is "A Morning Song," which is dated May 2, 1805. Lancaster County must be very beautiful in May—I have seen it in June—but Sally is too much in the power of neo-classical tradition to be able to give us anything from which to construct a clear and vivid picture of the county. Describing the landscape, she mentions such details as silver dews, healthful gales, swelling breezes, verdant fields, damask rosebuds, and opening blooms. Animating the scene are lowing herds, aerial songsters of the grove, murmuring bees, a lordly cock, and what appears to be an English skylark, for

The cheerful Lark, on soaring wings
Mounts swiftly up the morning sky.

In this pruned and conventionalized setting we encounter buxom Health, Innocence, and Contentment. Overhead soars the sun, whose sovereign sway all nature owns, and whose glory reminds the writer of the divine Creator:

What then art Thou, who points his beam
And hurls him flaming through the skies!
His orb sustains, and feeds his flame;
Bids when to set and when to rise?
'Tis thou who makes the morning shine
'Tis thou who sheds the silver dew
Thou Soul immense, thou source divine,
Of goodness, grace, and beauty too.¹³¹

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-08.

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Her next dated poem, "The Recollection," was written at Donegal on June 9, 1805. It is a farewell to one of her ministerial friends, who apparently has been visiting in Lancaster County. He is now far away, and she has no hope of ever seeing him again:

Friend of my soul (unfeign'dly lov'd,
Faithful and kind) a long adieu
My heart, tho' far from thee remov'd,
Recalls the hours I spent with you.

Ah! fleeting hours, in vain your haste
I mourn; your short-lived stay deplore;
For you are fled, forever past;
But memory doth the past restore.

She describes the charm of his manner and the power of his sermons, and she speculates about the source of his inspiration.

Is it by learned authors taught;
By Nature giv'n; by practice learn'd;
Or by celestial spirits brought,
Or scientific studies earn'd?

The line "Arrayed by ——— ———'s charming tongue" tempts us to try to identify this "polish'd shaft . . . in God's own quiver." If each dash stands for a syllable of the surname only, the person who inspired the poem may have been the Rev. Thomas Marquis.¹³²

On September 2, 1805, she dashed off a bit of light verse entitled "Extempore on Going to the House of Mrs. C . . . When She Was Absent," in which she speculated about the source of the impulse that prompted her to call at this particular time.¹³³

Four days later, on September 6, she wrote "To the Accomplished Miss ———," which Hensel described as "a poetic warning,"¹³⁴ and from which he quoted two stanzas, without realizing that they refute his theory that Sally was frivolous and flirtatious. The poem, which contains six stanzas, begins:

Sweet Delia, draw your tucker close,
And do not needlessly expose
Your bosoms, like the lily fair:

132. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-11.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

134. *Op. cit.*, p. 377.

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It grieve my heart to see those charms,
So form'd to bless a wise man's arms,
To vulgar eyes disclos'd, and bare.

One who has youth, beauty, and charm, the writer continues, needs no vain art to make herself captivating. Moreover, immodesty of this sort defeats its own purpose.

Believe me, love, the modest Youth,
Whose bosom beats with honest truth,
Would deem the act profane to view:
He would the impious thought disown,
And guess your blushes by his own;
And such alone can merit you.

Shun faulty fashion's scheme to please;
And dress with modest taste and ease;
And leave to vain Coquette the prize,
To captivate each silly heart,
By ev'ry idle, trifling art:
Do you those trifling arts despise.¹³⁵

On September 7, 1805, Sally composed an "Ode on Love. Written at the Request of Miss Eliza C——." Eliza was her half-sister, Elizabeth Clark, whose name she affectionately shortened. This ode, which consists of fifteen six-line stanzas, first corrects some of the false ideas about love that are to be found in literature, namely, that it is capricious, blind, cruel, vicious; and then it pictures human and divine love as conceived by the writer. True human love is "no transient, selfish, partial passion."

Love fills the soul with chaste desires,
And purifies its grosser fires,
Inflames, irradiates, and refines,
Exalts, enobles, and sublimes;
Wakes ev'ry dormant faculty,
And tunes each chord to harmony.

When the cares of life gather about us, divine love becomes our only support:

Oft in this mourning vale of tears,
O'erwhelm'd with sorrows, pains, and fears,
When friends forsake, when foes oppress,

135. *Poems*, pp. 96-97.

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When fortune frowns, and cares distress;
Love, ever faithful, ever true
Gives strength to suffer, or subdue.

Divine love is our last comfort on earth:

When all our earthly props are gone,
And ev'ry human aid unknown;
When closing time demands our breath,
And ev'ry pulse is fraught with death;
Immortal Love the just sustains,
Confirms their hopes, and soothes their pains.

The most original part of the poem is perhaps that which develops the conceit that when our first parents were placed in Eden, love forsook his native skies and came to dwell with them. Later,

When Innocence, from Eden driv'n
Left earth, and reascended heav'n,
With Happiness, her sister fair,
And fixt their lasting mansion there;
In pity to our fallen kind,
Propitious Love remain'd behind.¹³⁶

It has pleased me very much to observe the impartial affection that Sally felt for her young half-sisters. Having written a poem at the request of Elizabeth, she next, on September 29, 1805, wrote one for Jane. "To Miss Jane C——," consists of sixteen rather commonplace stanzas, in which she draws from a tree that has borne no fruit and is now losing its leaves the lesson that youth should prepare for age.

Wilt thou, sweet Girl, while beauty, youth,
And smiling health are yours,
Choose virtue, piety, and truth,
Of Paradise the flow'rs?

O don't neglect with watchful care,
Each op'ning bud to bind,
In wisdom's sacred garland fair,
Implanted in the mind.

"Then, in old age, when others fade"
Like barren leafless trees,
You still will bloom, yield fruit and shade;
You'll profit, shine, and please.¹³⁷

136. *Poems*, pp. 62-64.

137. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

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On the same date on which she wrote the poem to Jane Clark, Sally also wrote or completed "A Landscape," one of her longest and most ambitious efforts. The poem begins with a metrical paragraph giving a conventional neo-classical description of an evening in September:

The evening's mild; but just a shiv'ring breeze
Doth gently whisper, thro' the willow trees:
No chilling damps nor baneful dews are here;
No agues now we feel, nor fevers fear;
No nipping frosts congeal the vital flood;
All things conspire to tempt my steps abroad.
The sun is not yet set; but, with its rays,
Declining, gilds the scene with softer blaze;
And decorates the western sky with light,
Beyond meridian splendor, dazzling bright.
The fleecy clouds are ting'd with ev'ry hue,
That float, fantastic, o'er th' ethereal blue;
A solemn grandeur gilds the falling day,
And all surrounding Nature owns its sway.

The second paragraph, which begins,

"O, for a Friend, to share my rural walk,"

reveals the fact that she mourns the absence of "Altamont," who is described in a footnote as "a highly-respected gentleman," and in the poem itself as her guide, counsellor, and friend. A reference to his "piety sincere" suggests that he is one of the ministers whom she so much admired—possibly the one to whom she had addressed "The Recollection." Evidently he had encouraged her literary ambitions, for now that he is gone, she complains:

My pensive Muse folds up each drooping wing;
No more she soars—no more attempts to sing.

Continuing her ramble, she passes a "folding gate," behind which young Philander "strikes his sylvan lyre." Touched by the "mournful cadence," she prays for the musician, who is blessed with innocence, peace, youth, genius, health, and friendship, and who has never known the ills of life:

O may you still, from all those ills be free,
And your long life a lasting blessing be.

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Next she passes beneath two rows of trees, no doubt the same that suggested her poem to Jane Clark written on the same day. A late spring has prevented the trees from bearing fruit, and an early frost is now robbing them of their leaves:

The early frost, the infant season foil'd;
Ill-natur'd April Autumn's treasure spoil'd.

The season, she sadly reflects, has been like her own life:

E'en so, did adverse Fortune's early blast
My infant Spring, and all my joys o'ercast.
E'en so, my Summer spent in fruitless hopes
Affliction scorches, and my verdure drops!
In vain I try each gentle art to break
Her iron yoke from off my weary neck;
In vain I try her heavy chain to bear,
My spirit sinks, a prey to dark despair.

She resolves, however, to submit to her lot and to seek a refuge in God; so she prays that her follies may "fall with Autumn's wind" until not one vanity remains.

Then if my life to Winter should extend,
Grant all I ask—Contentment and a Friend;
Like thee, Altamont, faithful and refin'd,
At once the eye and mirror of the mind.

Next follows a description of a Lancaster County farm, so full of realistic details that not even the conventional diction in which it is written is quite able to spoil it. Some of the items that she mentions are a wagon load of Indian corn, a sounding spinning wheel, a woman filling her pail with foaming milk, a row of beehives guarded by a sunny wall, a poultry yard, a vegetable garden, a full barn, stacks of wheat, a dairy under a willow, a green meadow, a clothes line full of snowy linen. About the intellectual life of the inhabitants of this farm, however, she has no romantic illusions:

No plodding State affairs disturb their mind:
Their griefs and joys are of domestic kind.

The description of the farm is followed by three paragraphs of patriotic verse. The first of these begins with a description of the wealth of America, which is so great as to make the land already the

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world's great granary. In this rich land, sheltered from oppression, dwell a noble people who are wisely governed.

Thy Sons, bold, active, generous, and kind,
Thy Daughters virtuous, lovely and refin'd:
Enlighten'd Statesmen do thy Laws devise;
To Guard thy rights is Jefferson, the wise.
Happy at home, respected from abroad,
Thy mother's Liberty—thy sovereign's God.

The next paragraph calls attention to the dangers arising out of party strife, and the third is a review of the glorious achievement of the Revolution and a plea for the preservation of the Union.

A sound, apparently of voices, now warns her of the approach of guests, and leads her to moralize on social relations, and to condemn detraction, scandal, the betrayal of secrets, unkind references to misfortunes, wit at the expense of others, indecent mirth, untruthfulness, and deceit.

Approaching the grove where her absent friend was accustomed to retire for religious meditation, she again mourns her loss. In the moonlight she sees the mountains which separate her from him and from her other friends in the West. Sadly she wonders who now will encourage her muse:

Who now shall raise my grov'ling genius high?
Who teach my feeble pinions how to fly?
Who now shall prune my too advent'rous wing;
Inspire my note; or listen while I sing?
Now, lowly flut'ring on the sordid ground,
My useless plumes lie scatter'd all around.

At this point Sally, practical as usual, dismisses her sad thoughts and reminds herself that she is with her kindred, with her dearest friends, and with her God, who daily reveals to her His love and power.

Just as she consoles herself with this thought, she hears the housemaid calling her to supper, but before she obeys the call, she breathes a humble song of thanks to God, into whose temple she has ventured to stray.¹³⁸

Sally's next literary effort, another long and ambitious one, was inspired by an event very different from the incidents mentioned in

138. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-24.

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the poems that have been discussed so far: the spectacular exploit of the United States consul at Algiers, General William Eaton, who in the spring of 1805 led an expedition into Tripoli and captured the city of Derne (now Derna), which he held until the arrival, on June 11, of the frigate *Constitution*, bringing news that the war between the United States and Tripoli was over. The poem, which is dated October 7, is entitled "Derne," and is dedicated to General Eaton. It throws new light on the author's character by showing that, to some extent at least, she was interested in national and international events.

It is written in heroic couplets grouped in metrical paragraphs, the first of which is an apostrophe to Columbia, whose heroic sons have sealed her peace with their blood. Then, at considerable length, the author eulogizes "the great, the good, the glorious Washington," who has gone to join his kindred spirits in the skies, where, welcomed by angels and attended by celestial guards, he dwells in bliss eternal.

Next she bids Columbia dry her falling tears, because Washington's place has been taken by "great Jefferson, the wise,"

The ornament and darling of the age;
The Patriot, Philanthropist, and Sage.

She prays that this "illumin'd, philosophic man," who is guided by reason and virtue, may long continue to be the guardian of the States; and she predicts that when his radiant course on earth is run, he will depart to the pure realms of uncreated light, where he will scan all the wonders of creation, find employment for all his faculties, and enjoy happiness and wisdom without alloy.

Then, after prophesying that the great men of her day will be succeeded by "Washingtons and Jeffersons unborn," she proceeds to the subject announced in her title, and in eight metrical paragraphs tells the story of the daring expedition across Libya's burning sands, made by the little band of heroes, led by General Eaton, "Columbia's warlike son," on whom the valiant spirit of the great Washington seems to have descended.¹³⁹

The last dated poem of the year, "To the Incomparable Isabella," written at the request of the subject, on December 5, 1805, under-

¹³⁹. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-30. By a strange coincidence, Derna again became the scene of heroic events while I was writing these pages.

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takes the difficult task of telling the incomparable one her defects as well as her merits. Since the poem appears in her collected works, Sally must have avoided giving offense, in spite of the fact that she described her friend as being no longer beautiful, and declared that she did not possess a single brilliant quality. Isabella unquestionably possessed many admirable traits, but none that was unique; nevertheless she held her power alone, and reigned "like the Turkish Monarch" through the sheer force of her personality.¹⁴⁰

Sally celebrated the New Year by writing a poem "On the Rev. C. M'F——r." The subject of these lines was the Rev. Colin McFarquhar, who had come to Lancaster in the spring of 1776 and had become pastor of the Donegal Presbyterian Church in 1777. On January 1, 1806, at the age of seventy-seven, he still proclaimed "salvation's joyful sound" to his devoted congregation, and like Goldsmith's village preacher, directed them to Heaven and himself led the way.¹⁴¹ Hensel speaks of this aged and worthy man as being the object of Sally's "poetic and personal adoration."¹⁴² but his malice against the "grass widow" or his desire to be humorous has probably led him to misinterpret the feelings that inspired the poem. I cannot believe that a lively young woman of thirty-three encumbered with a seventy-eight-year-old husband could feel personal adoration for any man of seventy-seven, however venerable. Neither can I believe that even a man of seventy-seven could extract a confession of love from a poem ending with such a prayer as this:

Father of light and life, thou God above,
O may thy Spirit aid his feeble breath;
O may thy arms of everlasting love
Support, defend him in the hour of death.

And, when consigned to the peaceful tomb,
May guardian angels watch his slumb'ring dust
'Till the last trumpet calls the faithful home;
Then wake to joys immortal, with the just.¹⁴³

A poem which is undated, but which probably was written in 1805 or 1806, is "A Private Prayer," which consists of sixty-eight four-

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.

141. Martha Bladen Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-57; Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

142. *Op. cit.*, p. 375.

143. *Poems*, pp. 44-46.

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line stanzas. This devout but somewhat tedious expression of the writer's religious beliefs and aspirations begins with an attempt to describe, or at least suggest, God's majesty, followed by a confession of man's unworthiness. The writer next outlines her conception of the plan of salvation revealed in the New Testament, and disclaims any hope of obtaining pardon through her own merits.

Coming now to her actual petition, she asks God to pardon her sins and to help her to lead such a life that she may see His face in Heaven. After asking God to endow her with all the spiritual qualities of a true Christian, she beseeches Him to aid and bless all who are attempting to extend His kingdom on earth.

Her next request, that God bless her aged pastor, deal gently with his feeble frame, and give him peace to the end, suggests that the poem was written about the time of the resignation of the Rev. Colin McFarquhar, which took place on May 7, 1806.¹⁴⁴ Then she prays that her friend who is preaching to sinners in the West¹⁴⁵ may be the dearest object of God's care and in the end the recipient of a crown of glory.

Near the end of the poem, she comes to her own family—her parents, her brothers and sisters, and her children:

My Parents dear, almighty God,
I humbly thee implore,
Wash them in pure redeeming blood,
And bless them evermore.

My Brothers all, and Sisters dear,
If strangers still to thee,
Make them Thy gracious call to hear;
Do Thou them sanctify.

Make them each sweet command of thine
Most joyfully obey:
May they, thro' grace, in glory shine,
In realms of endless day.

My helpless Offspring—hear my pray'r;
For Jesus' sake I plead;
Be thou their Father; for they are
Most fatherless indeed.

¹⁴⁴. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁴⁵. In all probability the Rev. Thomas Marquis.

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Be thou their friend, their shield to save;
Then guide to thine abode:
May they in thee their portion have,
And covenanted God.

In conclusion, after imploring God to hasten the spread of Christ's Kingdom over all the earth, she consigns all of her acquaintances to the Father's care and ends her prayer with a metrical benediction:

May pure religion, undefil'd,
Assume the regal sway:
May error and delusion, foil'd
Ashamed slink away.

O may the season come to pass,
The glorious age of gold;
When (as there but one Shepherd is)
There may be but one fold.

Each friend and foe, I recommend
(If foes be mine) to thee:
Teach, Lord, and guide, and then defend,
From sin and suff'ring free.

And unto One Eternal Three,
The God whom I adore
Be praise now and eternally
In time—when time's no more.¹⁴⁶

Sally's next dated poem is entitled "Invocation to Religion. Written when laboring under a complication of Distressing Providences, May 7, 1806." It happens that the Rev. Colin McFarquhar resigned his pastorate on that date,¹⁴⁷ but whether his resignation was one of the "distressing providences" I shall not venture to guess. The verses trace all suffering to sin, and all joy to God. Therefore, the writer turns to religion, "fairest offspring of the Eternal Mind," for patience, strength, and comfort in this life, and for peace in the life to come.¹⁴⁸

Her prayer evidently brought her relief, for on the very next day, May 8, she wrote a "Song," which begins with a conventional but cheerful description of spring. This description consists of seven and a half stanzas, of which the following are typical examples:

146. *Poems*, pp. 11-20.

147. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

148. *Poems*, pp. 58-59.

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In all the beauteous robes of May,
The glitt'ring Season shines;
And life, and joy, and harmony,
In swelling concert joins.

The vital soul of jovial Spring
Inspires each warbling throat;
Groves, orchards, gardens, echoing ring,
With ever-varying note.

One wishes that her reviving spirits had caused her to look at the "spangled meads" a little more carefully than she did, for she was still laboring under the delusion that the lark is indigenous to Pennsylvania:

The Lark, the Blackbird and the Dove,
Unite their am'rous songs!

Sally is serious, however, even when she is happy. The birds dressing their gaudy plumes, and flitting carelessly from spray to spray remind her of "Florella, vain and gay," who consumes life's fleeting hours as carelessly as they:

Like them to flutter, dress, and sing,
Her studious time employs;
To ev'ry pleasure, on the wing,
The thoughtless Fair One flies.

Stranger to all the nobler pow'rs,
Which guide the reasoning mind,
She sports away life's dancing hours,
Which leave no trace behind!

But soon shall fade her youthful Spring,
Her Summer disappear:
And Autumn no rich treasures bring,
Her wintry months to cheer!

But sweet Lavinia spends her youth
In Virtue's pure employ;
Where Wisdom, Piety, and Truth
Secure unfading joy.

With ev'ry charm of beauty grac'd,
The lovely Maid doth shine;
Which, when the bloom of life is past,
Will ripen to divine.¹⁴⁹

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.

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The good spirits revealed in the "Song" of May 8 continued at least until June 6, when Sally wrote "An Apology to a Lady, Who Accused Me of Flattery in an Epistle from Me to Another." To the accusation that "her characters surpass the tint of modest Nature," she replied:

I own it is my pleasing care,
And study to delight you;
I therefore paint, in colors fair,
Lest dark ones should affright you!
Vice, in any page, ne'er finds a place;
No share in my affection:
'Tis quite too rough my Rhyme to grace,
Too dull for my correction.
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Another's failing, foible, whim,
The tender-hearted Poet
Doth, as her own, a secret deem,
And hates the world should know it.

The poem contains a total of twelve stanzas, all intended to show that the author writes in a spirit of true Christian charity:

She suffers long, and thinks no ill;
But puts a kind construction;
Hopes and believes, and still speaks well
Of ev'ry doubtful action.¹⁵⁰

On July 1, 1806, William Dickson, editor of the *Lancaster Intelligencer & Weekly Advertiser*, announced a "proposal . . . to publish by subscription, for the benefit of the Author, an original Work entitled *Poems, on Different Subjects. To Which Is Added, a Descriptive Account of a Family Tour to the West; in the year 1800. In a Letter to a Lady. By Sally Hastings.*" He described the forthcoming work as a duodecimo volume of about two hundred pages, and promised to use good type and good paper. He fixed the price of the book to subscribers at seventy-five cents, and warned non-subscribers that they would have to pay more. He announced that the names of the subscribers would be printed in the book, and promised that everyone who obtained nine subscribers and became "accountable

150. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

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for the money" should have one copy gratis. After describing the book as "the genuine Production of a young Pen, new in its Office," and expressing the hope that the authoress would receive "sufficient Encouragement from a generous Public," the printer added a special appeal consisting of six stanzas of verse "respectfully addressed" to his readers by the poet herself. These stanzas, however, are so dull and lifeless that we cannot believe that they did much to break down the "sales resistance" of those who read them. Even Sally realized that they lacked vitality, and so ascribed to them only the humble merits that the author of "Mr. Finney's Turnip" claimed for that lowly vegetable:

You know, my Friends, the frowns of Fate
Do sometimes need a Charm;
'Tis this that prompts me now to write,
This does my simple Song indite
That's free, at least, from harm.

Of the proposed book she says,

If you approve my artless lay,
My Gratitude is due:
To you, my humble Court I pay;
Then grant your Patronage, I pray,
And sign your names thereto.

She expresses a hope that no one will hastily condemn her work without giving it a second thought, and then continues:

If still you find you can't approve
My Scribbling, tell me so:
You shall partake my cordial love,
And find the simple Muse above
A mercenary view.

She hopes that her friends will not accuse her of publishing a book "her vanity to prop"; and in conclusion she asks those who approve of her work to put down their names on the subscription list and those who disapprove of it to keep their censure in their own bosoms.

The printer ran the advertisement of Sally's book four times in July, three times in August, twice in September and once in October. After October 14 the poem was dropped and the rest of the advertisement was printed about twice a month.

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A few days after William Dickson announced his intention of publishing the *Poems* and *Family Tour* Sally wrote a long poem bearing the cumbersome title "The Invitation. Collected, in Part, from an Exhortation, Delivered at Donegal, Previous to the Administration of the Lord's Supper. July 6, 1806." Since Colin McFarquhar had resigned his pastorate one day less than two months before, and since his successor had not yet been appointed,¹⁵¹ he was probably the author of the sermon summarized in this poem.

The invitation to the "sacred board" had been extended to all who were present: youths, children, and even infants had been encouraged to come and own their Lord; and sinners of all ages had been urged to turn to God and live. Then, after dwelling at some length on the atonement, the preacher had prayed that Christ would send out His Spirit and compel all men to come to Him, so that the glorious time may soon arrive when He shall reign from the distant plain of Sandusky to the shores of fair Indostan.¹⁵²

Sally began the year 1807 by writing, on January 26, a poem entitled "Sacred to the Memory of John Whitehill, Esquire, Late of Donegal, Lancaster County. Dedicated to Mrs. Mary Whitehill." John Whitehill was a prominent citizen, who for many years had been associated with Sally's stepfather, Brice Clark, on the board of trustees of the Donegal Presbyterian Church. From his tombstone in the churchyard we learn that he died on December 10, 1806, in the fifty-third year of his age, and that "He was beloved in life and lamented in death."¹⁵³ The poem reveals the fact that Sally was an intimate friend of one of the most substantial families in the community, and therefore not the sentimental and frivolous grass widow that Hensel represents her to have been. Her reflections about death are those of an intelligent person, well grounded in the teachings of the Presbyterian Church.

Death's sorrows and afflictions God has giv'n,
As steps whereon, with ease, we climb to heav'n;
And, one by one, he snaps the silken ties,
Which hold our sordid spirits from the skies:
And, when he blasts the joys we must admire,

151. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

152. *Poems*, pp. 47-51.

153. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16, 122.

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'Tis that we may to higher joys aspire;
Tears the lov'd idol from its impious shrine,
And fills, himself, the aching breast within;
Subdues each darling rival on his throne,
That in our bosoms he may reign alone.

To the widow herself she gives this advice:

Gladly enjoy the blessings God has lent;
And, when he claims his own, be thou content
Nay more: Be thankful; for he only knows
What's truly good; and what is good bestows.¹⁵⁴

Sally's next dated poem, "Lines Addressed to Mrs. T.——
When Detained, by the Breaking Up of the Ice on the Susquehanna, on
the Opposite Shore from Home, Feb. 1807," has a title so ambiguous
that W. U. Hensel may be excused for thinking that it was the author
herself who "was detained on the further [*sic*] shore" of the river,¹⁵⁵
though he could have avoided the error by reading the poem carefully
before attempting to discuss it:

Tho' angry floods of ice and rain combine
To raise vain terrors in thy tender mind;
Or swelling rivers rise and proudly foam
Between thee, and thy longing Friends at home;
Yet the same voice, that bids the tempest roar,
Commands the stormy winds to rage no more.

The writer reminds her friend that all the forces in the universe move
at the command of God, who cannot err, and who is in all respects
perfect and divine.

Then cease repining—Troubles, when they're o'er,
Increase each blessing we enjoy'd before!
Soon shall the storm be hush'd; the winds shall cease;
And the rough billows glide away in peace:
Submission only make afflictions light;
And God's decrees are infinitely right.¹⁵⁶

On March 3, the *Intelligencer & Weekly Examiner* published
this announcement:

SALLY HASTINGS' POEMS

Gentlemen holding Subscription papers, for this *new Work*, will
oblige the Editor, by immediately forwarding to him the number of

154. *Poems*, pp. 70-71.

155. *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

156. *Poems*, pp. 145-46.

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Subscribers they have respectively received; as Arrangements are making to put the work to Press.

The Papers may be retained, and Subscriptions received until the Work is nearly finished; of which Notice will be given in the *Intelligencer*.

This notice was republished on March 10, 17 and 31.

On May 1, 1807, William Kerr was ordained a minister and installed as pastor of the Donegal Church, to succeed the Rev. Colin McFarquhar.¹⁵⁷ To anticipate this event, Sally, on March 10, wrote "To the Rev. *****" Evidently she gave to her new minister the same loyal support that she had given to his predecessor, as she credited him with power to guide the judgment, gain the will, sway the soul, wake the conscience, warm the heart, clear away mental gloom, and point the road that leads the wandering spirit home to God; also

To check the bold, the erring to restrain;
Arrest the careless, and to awe the vain;
To warm the languid, the depress'd revive
And teach a dying Nation how to live.

Two stanzas acknowledge the author's obligation to her pastor for the inspiration he gives her, and a long prayer for his continued happiness and success brings the poem to a close.¹⁵⁸

On April 19 she wrote another "Song" inspired by the return of spring. Her powers of observation seem to have improved a little from year to year, but not very much. In her "Morning Song," written on May 2, 1805,¹⁵⁹ she mentioned by name only one of "the aerial songsters of the grove," the lark, a bird not found in Pennsylvania. In her "Song" of May 8, 1806,¹⁶⁰ she named three birds, the lark, the blackbird, and the dove. And in this, her third spring song, she named the catbird, the lark, the blackbird, and the jay.¹⁶¹

Sally evidently continued to esteem her new pastor very highly, for she complimented him in another poem entitled "Verses, Occasioned by a Sermon Preached at Donegal, June 21, 1807, by the Rev.

157. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 32ff. William Kerr, who was very popular, held the pastorate until his death on September 21, 1821.

158. *Poems*, pp. 147-48.

159. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-08.

160. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.

161. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.

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W.K. from *These Words*: 'How shall ye escape, if ye neglect so great salvation.'" The poem, which is evidently a summary of the sermon, tells the story of the Incarnation and Atonement, and urges the reader not to despise the offered grace.¹⁶²

Her next dated poem is entitled "Ejaculation, Written, during a Cessation of Pain from a Cramp in the Breast, July 5, 1807." It consists of four stanzas, in which she reflects sadly that God has not seen fit to relieve the heart-dissolving anguish she endures; therefore, she begs Him to teach her submission to His holy will, and so make her sufferings a blessing to her soul.

Let no rebellious word my tongue profane,
Nor in my breast one impious murmur reign.¹⁶³

In "Aurora, An Ode, Composed Aug. 16, 1807," she compared the influence of the rising sun upon vapors, clouds, shadows, and darkness with the influence of God's spirit upon the doubts and fears of the human heart.¹⁶⁴

On December 1, 1807, William Dickson published in the *Intelligencer & Weekly Advertiser* the following announcement:

MRS. HASTINGS' POEMS

Gentlemen holding subscription papers for this Work, will oblige the Editor of the *Intelligencer*, by forwarding them immediately, as the book is nearly finished, and he promised to annex the names of the subscribers.

On February 9, 1808, he announced that the book was "just published and for sale" at eighty-seven and a half cents, and requested that the subscribers call for their copies. Advertisements appeared in the *Intelligencer* at frequent intervals throughout the year. In that of May 10 the printer tactfully remarked, "As the Work has been finished at considerable Expense, it is hoped that everyone will see the Propriety of paying for his Book before it is taken from the Store of the Publisher." On June 14 he announced that copyright had been secured, according to law.

The book published by William Dickson measures 6¾ inches by 4¼ inches, and it contains 220 pages. The paper is good, and the

¹⁶². *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

¹⁶³. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

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leather binding is handsome. The printer, however, spoiled the appearance of the first part of the volume by printing the poems in type of two different sizes. Although many of the poems are dated, no attempt was made to arrange them in chronological order or in any other kind of order.

The first poem, "To the Public," discusses a question that the author has often been asked:

Some ask me if my numbers flow
Spontaneous from my pen;
Or, if the fickle Muse I woo
By curious art, by strength subdued,
"Or labor of the brain."

The gist of her reply is that sometimes she writes with great ease and sometimes with great difficulty. When her winged Pegasus would take her to the top of Parnassus, she becomes lightheaded and drops to earth; when he is dull and slow, she mounts without fear because she knows that

"'Low fliers seldom fall.'"¹⁶⁵

The second poem, "To Critics," begins with the statement about the author's education which has already been discussed and quoted in part. Sally assures her readers that she does not expect to derive fame or wealth from her writings, but that:

She sings, because her numbers do
Spontaneous fill her brain.¹⁶⁶

In both of her introductory poems, then, she makes very modest claims for her work, and begs the indulgence of critics and of the public.

The list of subscribers at the end is not the least interesting part of the book. From it we learn that 762 persons ordered a total of 854 copies. Of the subscribers, 732 lived in Pennsylvania, eighteen in Delaware, and the rest in Maryland, Ohio, New York and Virginia. Most of the books were sold in Lancaster and Washington counties, but considerable numbers were sold in Adams, Centre, Chester, Cumberland, Dauphin, Franklin, Huntingdon, Mifflin and York counties;

¹⁶⁵. *Poems*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶⁶. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-10.

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and a few were sold in Allegheny, Bedford, Erie, Indiana, and Philadelphia counties.

The most liberal subscribers were John Buchannan, of Huntingdon County, and David Cooke, of Washington County, who took twelve copies each. Sally's brother, Robert Anderson, in Washington County, bought ten copies; her brother James, who was a Presbyterian preacher,¹⁶⁷ probably bought one or two, since the name James Anderson appears on both the Huntingdon and the York County lists. Joseph Barton, of Washington County, the husband of her deceased sister Rebekah, subscribed for one copy.

The Clarks, in Lancaster County, gave her their loyal support. On the list appear the names William, Eliza, Jane, Margaret, John, Brice, Thomas, and Mary. Margaret Clark was Sally's mother, and Brice her stepfather. William Clark, who took three copies, was probably Brice Clark's old-bachelor brother. Eliza was doubtless Sally's half-sister, Elizabeth; and John, who subscribed for three copies, her half-brother. Mary may have been John's wife, Mary Hamilton Clark. Thomas Clark I have not been able to identify. Jane Clark was possibly Sally's half-sister, who married the Rev. Samuel Porter; but the name Jane Porter also appears on the list.

On the Lancaster County list "Rev. Colin M'Farquhar" is credited with buying seven and on the Washington County list "Colin M'Farquhar"¹⁶⁸ is credited with one. The Rev. Thomas Marquis, of Washington County, whom she had so frequently and lavishly praised, took only one copy. The Hastings showed little interest in the work. Eliza Hastings, of Centre County, and John Hastings, of Lancaster County, subscribed for one copy each. Enoch Hastings was not a subscriber, but since he was probably a brother of John, he doubtless had an opportunity to peruse the work. What he thought of it and how he enjoyed finding his children described as being "most fatherless indeed,"¹⁶⁹ we can only surmise.

V. LAST DAYS IN WASHINGTON

Soon after the publication of her book Sally left Lancaster for Washington. Her brother, Robert Anderson, had become a promi-

167. Notes of Ezra P. Young, in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

168. About the identity of this subscriber I have no information. He may have been the son of the pastor of Donegal Church.

169. "A Private Prayer," *Poems*, p. 20.

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ment man in the West. In business he was a member of the firm of Anderson & Hutchinson, who owned a jewelry store in Washington, and made grandfather's clocks, some of which are still in existence.¹⁷⁰ When the town of Washington became a borough, he was chosen as a member of the first council,¹⁷¹ and in 1808 he was becoming active in politics. His wife, however, had died, and he needed his sister to keep house for him and help take care of his children.

From Washington, not long after her arrival, she wrote to her stepfather, Brice Clark, a letter which contains the only specific reference to her matrimonial troubles that is to be found in any of her writings that I have seen. The first part of this letter, because it deals with a subject of great importance to the woman who wrote it, and because it has been hastily summarized and unkindly misinterpreted by W. U. Hensel, is here quoted in full:

WASHINGTON June 29th 1808

DEAR FRIENDS:

Perhaps there has seldom occurred a period since I parted with you, in which I so earnestly desired to be present with you, as at this present time—My thoughts hover incessantly around your dwelling, and I in imagination am again one of its Inhabitants, but those airy visions are forced to give way to the more active employments of life, which I ingeniously [*sic*] confess have in a good degree lost their charms with me of late. This I believe the consequence of extremely low-spirits which seem to increase and which I almost despair of ever subduing—And which if unsubdued will speedily terminate my career of usefulness. To point out the cause of this depression will be a difficult undertaking at present while I enjoy every degree of indulgence from my affect[ionate] brother, who gratifies my slightest wish and reposes the most unlimited confidence in me and invests me with every authority consistent with my situation, in short with respect to our domestic situation we are as harmonious as the jarring elements of which human nature is composed will admit. My Character too in every point of view is fair—is flattering. But it is envied—by some, and my unhappy Matrimonial connection is the only shaft by which I am obliged incessantly to smart—I believe it is generally understood here that I have obtained a divorce from that connection but

170. Letter of Ezra P. Young to Margaret Lewis, June 23, 1916; in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey. This letter asserts that clocks made by Anderson and Hutchinson are owned by the Way family and by D. Leet Wilson, in the Sewickley Valley.

171. Letter from Ezra P. Young to the *Washington Reporter*; published in 1917; clipping in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

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some I am told assert that I am not entitled to that privilege on account of my own conduct. Could the auxiliary of Satan have devised a more malicious Slander? I now perceive and bitterly lament my own obstinate folly in not long since having applied to the civil authority for that form the want of which is likely to blast my brightest prospects in this world and my unspotted character after I have left it. These considerations have at length influenced me to consult you on the subject of immediately making arrangements for that purpose. I believe there will be no difficulty in having the thing settled at Lancaster Court after some preliminaries being settled here in a private way. Robert approves of any design and I presume will attend to it as far as he can here and after experiencing the long and unvaried [*sic*] kindness of my father I humbly trust that he will not refuse to espouse my cause in that place especially as he has so often expressed a wish for such an accommodation—You certainly know my dearest friends the reluctance I always felt to engage in this dreadful business, but that reluctance is completely removed, and I am exceedingly anxious to have it brought to a speedy issue—will you have the goodness to write to me immediately and inform me what is your opinion and what I am to do in the affair.—There is a gentleman of the Bar here fully acquainted with the circumstances who will advise Robert concerning what measures to pursue but I wish to have the circumstances kept as quiet in this place as possible, every one knows that I have been entangled but but a few suspect those entangle[ments] to exist in a legal point of view any longer. I have painfully exerted myself in giving you this sketch of my feelings. I am sensible that it will pain you to hear of my anxiety but I cannot support with any degree of fortitude the unremitting calamities of life much longer. The above event would place it in my power to put many of them to an end—Why must I trail a lengthening chain of misery through life on account of an unhappy transaction which is beyond the power of human skill to amend and from which the law will fully extricate me? My life may perhaps not be long but my health is really good and my constitution acquiring strength—indeed to confess a truth anxiety of mind rather than bodily infirmity is hurrying me to a state of debility. I am not here surrounded with indulgent friends all anxious to soothe and flatter but the Eagle eye of —— is watching all my movements,¹⁷² and the very celebrity of my character renders me the more conspicuously observable.

A concluding paragraph and two notes in the margin report that other members of the family are well and happy, and mention a few things that have been happening in Washington.

¹⁷². I should give much to know who this was.

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Robert is "much hurried" because court is coming on and business is accumulating. Consequently he is "very lazy about writing." He is planning to run for the Legislature, to which he will surely be elected because he has "attained the summit of popularity," and "will meet no opposition."

Concerning her own activities she says:

In addition to our former honors we have lately the honor of a literary Society being held at our house—this is composed of almost all the Literati of this place, and promises extensive information.

She requests the family not to "bring forward" any of the toasts that she wrote during the preceding July, because she has already used some of them in the literary society and is apparently planning to use more. Those that she has presented have been received "with unbounded applause."

This is the real seat of the Muses—talents are understood and admired—but we in the Square have ours fettered by an incessant attention to Law.

At the end of the letter she says that she has seventy pounds of feathers, which she will send to Jane as soon as she can find an opportunity. Afterthoughts jotted down in the margins apologize for the haste with which the letter has been written and give messages to some of her friends in Lancaster County; and the last sentence bids farewell to her "beloved parents" and "dear friends." The letter is signed "*S H.*"¹⁷³

Sally's statement about her brother's work and his political plans indicates that he was a prominent citizen, and that he either held some county office or that he was employed by some county official. The nature of his work is suggested by her rather cryptic remark that in Washington talents are understood and admired, but that "we in the Square have ours fettered by an incessant attention to Law." In 1808 the courthouse, "gaol," and sheriff's quarters were all in the same building, a two-story log structure that stood on the public square. John McCluney was sheriff of Washington County from

¹⁷³. Letter given by James C. Marshall, of Detroit, to the author. It is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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1805 to 1808, but he may have employed Robert Anderson as a deputy to look after the jail. This conjecture gains probability from the fact, to be brought out later, that when Robert Anderson himself became sheriff, he placed the jail in charge of a deputy. No one who is familiar with the habits of lawyers will doubt that the orations delivered in the court room were sometimes audible in the sheriff's quarters on the second floor.¹⁷⁴

W. U. Hensel gives a very false impression of the contents of this letter by asserting that Sally in it "argues at length, expostulates, entreats and coaxes for a divorce." Since the letter itself does none of these things, except possibly the first, he summarizes it very briefly, and enlivens his narrative by trying to show that she wanted a divorce because she was in love with some unknown man. In support of this assumption, for which there exists no evidence whatsoever, he takes a letter which Sally wrote to her half-sister, Elizabeth Clark, in 1811, and misdates, misquotes, and misinterprets it in such a way as to try to give plausibility to his malicious supposition. This second letter, which has nothing to do with her letter to her stepfather, will be discussed later.

Concerning the outcome of Sally's attempt to secure a divorce W. U. Hensel says:

She argues her case with an eloquence of logic that no modern court could resist; but there were giants in those days—among the Presbyterians. Brice Clark was inexorable and Sally Hastings died as she lived, a "grass widow."¹⁷⁵

This statement is based on oral tradition supplied by the Clark family. In a letter written to me on February 17, 1941, Elizabeth B. Clark says:

I remember hearing it said by Father or his sister Martha, who was quite a genealogist, that Sally wanted a divorce, but that her stepfather, Brice Clark, being a good churchman, very much opposed a divorce.

Why Sally left her husband we do not know, but in the absence of specific evidence to the contrary, we may assume that the separation

¹⁷⁴. The information about the log courthouse and the early sheriffs of Washington County was secured for me from local histories and county records by Helen M. Hall, Secretary of the Washington County Historical Society.

¹⁷⁵. *Op. cit.*, pp. 390-91.

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was the result of incompatibility of temperament, due partly, at least, to the enormous disparity of their ages. Neither do we know precisely why she did not get a divorce. The explanation given by the Clark family is a reasonable one, but the reader will not forget that Sally in her letter to Brice Clark reminded him that he had "often expressed a wish for such an accommodation." Whatever the cause of the estrangement between Enoch and Sarah Hastings, their situation was not without pathos: the young wife and mother, dependant on her family for support, crossing the Appalachian Mountains to seek a home on the frontier; the old husband and father, his wife's senior by forty-five years, left behind to die alone, without ever seeing her or his children again.

Robert Anderson apparently did not carry out his plan to run for the Assembly in the fall of 1808, but instead succeeded John McCluney as sheriff of Washington County.¹⁷⁶ He also married a second wife,¹⁷⁷ whom he took on a wedding trip to his old home in Lancaster County. To him on December 22, 1808, his sister, who was taking care of his children in Washington, wrote a long letter, telling him what had happened in town since he had left and giving him many details about domestic affairs.

She complains that those from whom she buys necessities are so shiftless that she has had some difficulty in keeping the family supplied with wood, coal, and flour. Even water is "an article of extreme scarcity," since her supply comes from a spring-house, which is on the other side of an alley so muddy that she can seldom cross it.

The general health of the community seems to be low. "The children," she says, "all have had a slight attack of the Bilious cholick and myself am at the moment reduced by it and my inflamed throat together with my chills, fever, and perspiration to a state of piteous debility." James Agnew is at the point of death from some "inward complaint."

M^{rs} Valentine is about departing this life Hawkins 'tis said will lose his thumb. McKinley dies gradually, old Chambers is gone—

¹⁷⁶. His commission, dated October 25, 1808, and signed by Governor Thomas McKean, is in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

¹⁷⁷. According to notes in the Young collection, Robert Anderson's first wife was Betsy Agnew, by whom he had four children: Samuel, Robert, Clark, and Eliza. By his second wife, Jemima Swearingen, he had seven children: Margaret, James, Julia, Hetty, David, John, and Mary. Margaret became the mother of Ezra P. Young.

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and I know not how many more sick M^r Alexander has buried his spouse, and a number of children in the county have died.

Her little family, she says, are now all well and as happy as possible.

We scarcely miss you, or at most you are principally missed by myself.—we live so retired in this place that we appear to be “the world forgetting, by the world forgot” Let your mind at ease my dear brother, with respect to your children, they know no other mother than myself and I am certain feel for me all the affection due to that tender relation, and I assure you that their state of dependence on myself has greatly endeared them to me. Clark and I have a frolick sometimes but it generally ends without bloodshed—I have not received the cloth from the Mill and have been obliged to allow Samuel some new clothing. He is really a good little boy—but my little old Robert is far better—Eliza is the old affair, Robert says very saucy.

She has had a considerable amount of business to look after. She mentions the receipt of letters from her brother and of a packet, apparently from him also. She has received eighty-five dollars from Captain Wyley, and has paid fifty dollars to Mr. M——. She asks advice about how to collect a sum of money that is due at the end of the year. The wheat is not yet threshed. She has been feeding the bees, but has been warned that they will probably die. The sheep have been sent to the farm. She fears that her hogs are too fat, and is planning to have them butchered the next week.

The letter contains many humorous touches. A certain Mr. Leet insists on lodging with her, but she will not permit him to do so; she presumes that “his feathers are up.” Mrs. McFadden is converting John Hoge to Methodism. Sally apparently no longer lives in the apartment in the combined courthouse and jail, which she formerly occupied, and she is amused to discover that the change has improved her social position. She has had “many offers of intimacy from ladies of the high-ton, who really could not be seen at a Prison,” but she has declined to accept any of these offers because she does not wish to entangle herself “with the weighty tax of tonish ceremony.” “You know,” she adds, “my sentiments of ‘High life below stairs.’” Mr. Biard¹⁷⁸ (apparently a deputy sheriff) now “tries to support style

¹⁷⁸. The person whom Sally mentions here may have been George Baird, who succeeded Robert Anderson as sheriff and held office from 1811 to 1814.

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in prison," but with little success, as "few persons go into the house." She evidently suspects that things are not going well, for she writes between dashes the somewhat cryptic words, "Altered times, dear Brother," and then remarks that the prisoners in the jail are "penned up like Bees in winter."

After mentioning that the next day is communion Sunday and that Mr. Marquis will assist her pastor with the service, she continues:

We had two Ministresses from Massachusetts last week. The Courthouse was thronged beyond any former occasion. One of the Ladies in a voice fraught with all of the charms of melody addressed us for the space of I think a full hour. Her language was pure eloquence but her sentiments fraught with a more deadly poison—and all under the imposing garb of meekness and female modesty. The other address was shorter. I was taken up by a friend to the bench and honored by an introduction to them.

In conclusion Sally sends her love and that of the children to all the family, including the new stepmother, and quotes one of the small children who has remarked that his mammy has taken away his daddy.¹⁷⁹

Of Sally's activities during the next year and ten months I have found no record. The *Reporter* during this time published a few unsigned poems, but none that I can identify as hers. Then, in October, 1810, occurred an incident which gave her more newspaper publicity than she had received in all her previous life. Before recounting this experience, I must narrate briefly a few incidents that led to it.

On April 8, 1807, a Scotch-Irish preacher named Thomas Campbell sailed from Londonderry, Ireland, to seek a home in America. Thirty-five days later he arrived in Philadelphia, where he was so fortunate as to find the "Seceder Anti-Burgher Synod of North America" in session. Presenting his credentials to this body, he was cordially received and at once assigned to the Presbytery of Chartiers, in western Pennsylvania.¹⁸⁰ He accordingly went to Washington, where he remained for some years, although he soon parted company with the Seceders and formed an association of his own;¹⁸¹ and there, in October, 1809, he was joined by his wife and six children,

179. Letter owned by Robert M. Carrons, of Washington, Pennsylvania.

180. Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lipincott & Company, 1868), I, 81, 85, 222.

181. *Ibid.*, I, 222-46.

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the oldest of whom was a son named Alexander, a youth of twenty-one,¹⁸² who was destined to make a deep impression on the religious life of America.

On October 1, 1810, the following notice appeared in the *Washington Reporter*:

WASHINGTON COLLEGE

The summer session of this Seminary was closed on Thursday 27th inst., with the usual public exercises. The students repaired, at the appointed hour, to the college. A very numerous assembly of the most respectable citizens from town and country convened in the college yard, where seats were prepared for their accommodation. A rich variety of entertainments, suited to the varied tastes of the audience, was then presented. The gay and the grave, the young and the old, wise men and fools, each had a portion meted out unto them, in well-composed pieces, original and selected; the vices and follies of the times were gently exposed in many ways. The drunkard, the duelist, the gambler, the swearer, the fop, and the fool respectively groaned under the lash of satire. To amuse themselves as well as entertain the audience, the young gentlemen availed themselves of the liberties of speech sanctioned by universal and immemorial custom. The different callings and professions were truly noticed in their turns; but the *lawyers* received a Benjamin's portion; also in touching the peculiar language or manners of nations some freedom was indulged. But it was evident from the whole of the exercises, the object was to please, not to offend.

In the numerous assembly of most respectable citizens for whom the rich variety of entertainment was prepared, sat one who was more offended than pleased by what he saw and heard. Alexander Campbell was only twenty-two years old and a newcomer in Washington and America, but he already had the decided opinions and the fondness for controversy that were later to make him a scourge to all, preachers as well as unbelievers, who were so imprudent as not to accept his views on all subjects.

Finding on the program much that offended him, he expressed his displeasure in a "Correct Compendious Account of the late Exhibition of Washington College," in what purported to be a letter written on September 28, 1810, by "Bonus Homo" to a friend in the East, and published in the *Reporter* on October 1. Though the *Reporter*

182. *Ibid.*, I, 19, 96-97, 205-19.

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owns an almost complete file for the year 1810, the issue of October 1 is missing.¹⁸³ Fortunately, however, Richardson gives in full the favorable account of the commencement quoted above, which was probably written by a member of the faculty, and summarizes with numerous quotations the ponderous criticism of the performance published by Alexander Campbell.¹⁸⁴

From Richardson's summary we learn that Bonus Homo's letter, written in an ironical vein, began with a reference to an opinion which he had formerly expressed to his friend; namely, that

the real nature and benevolent intention of the Christian religion, when correctly understood, was to render mankind happy here, and thus, of course, to give him a taste and relish for happiness hereafter.

"Upon this topic, my friend will remember, we used to differ, though with our usual good nature and reciprocal esteem. I always told you that your views on this important subject were by far too precise and severe. You used to boast of the evidence in your favor on this side of the mountain, where you used to tell me that the genuine effects were experienced to a degree somewhat adequate to the nature of the subject, especially in the late revivals that had taken place. To these effects you used to appeal to strengthen your arguments, wishing that I were here to see the effects produced in consequence upon the inhabitants of this side of the Alleghany, and therefore congratulated me on my intended purpose of becoming a resider in the Western country."

Now that he is in the West, however, he finds that the people beyond the Alleghenies agree with him rather than with his friend.

The unexpected occurrence of yesterday has contributed more to my satisfaction, upon the whole result, than the simple residence of years would otherwise have done. It afforded me an opportunity of contemplating the effects of the combined influence of all means and privileges, civil and religious, literary and moral; not upon a solitary individual or a few, but upon a large aggregate of individuals of all ranks and orders in the community. The day was fine, the assembly numerous and respectable; composed of reverend clergymen, lawyers, merchants, farmers, and a great variety of elegant ladies, young and old, married and single. The thing intended and to be exhibited

183. In reply to a letter of mine inquiring about the possibility of finding another copy of the lost issue, Clarence S. Brigham, of the American Antiquarian Society, wrote, "There is no copy of the *Washington Reporter*, unless it is in the fine file which you examined in Washington. This is a scarce newspaper and only a few scattering issues are to be found anywhere in the country, outside of the file referred to."

184. *Op. cit.*, I, 297-302.

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[sic] for the entertainment of the elegant assembly, was an exhibition of the attainments of the students of Washington College in their various departments; and all this under the superintendence and direction of some of the most sacred characters of which enlightened society can boast. The names of some of them were, as I was informed, the Rev. Mr. Brown, president of the college, Rev. Mr. Russel, and Mr. Reed, professor of mathematics; teachers in the academy, Rev. Messrs. Guinn and Dodd, besides many other venerable characters on the board.

This inflated and obscure introduction is followed by a list of the numbers on the program, of which the writer speaks with mock admiration, because they show that an enlightened Christian community approves of forms of entertainment which his narrow-minded friend would condemn. Richardson omits Campbell's discussion of the first three numbers on the program, but from a reply published by "A Friend of Truth" on October 8, we learn that the twenty-two-year-old critic had spoken sarcastically of the "composition" of the first speaker, who had delivered an "oration upon the necessity of studying history of all kinds, civil and ecclesiastical"; and had derided the "elocution or oratory" of the second, in such a manner as to imply that this subject "is unworthy of cultivation in our land of liberty, and that the institution in which it is being taught should be discouraged." He had also disapproved of the third number on the program, a mock trial, which attempted "to ridicule the peculiar niceties and chicanery of the bar." We do not know all of Alexander Campbell's objections to these performances, but letters published later in the controversy indicate that he criticized the students for failing to treat gambling and drinking with the proper severity.

Campbell's account of the next five parts of the program are quoted in full by Richardson, but it is too prolix to be repeated here. According to this account, the program included exhibitions of fencing, boxing, "polite swearing," singing to the accompaniment of the fiddle, and stage-playing. Still another form of entertainment mentioned by Campbell as having had a place on the commencement program, but not included in Richardson's summary, is "polite blackguarding"—*blackguarding* being a word commonly used in western Pennsylvania to indicate the use of indecent language.

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From "A Friend of Truth" we learn that the "stage-playing" was the presentation of a scene or two from Smollett's *The Reprisal*, in which the French, the Scotch, and particularly the Irish are humorously treated. The uncomplimentary portrayal of his fellow-countrymen was probably one of the things that aroused Campbell's ire, and the language of the play may have been the source of some of the polite swearing and blackguarding that he heard.

After denouncing the various numbers on the program with merciless verbosity, the youthful moralist ended his letter with this paragraph:

Having spent the day thus happily among a liberal and enlightened people, who all seemed as pleased and happy as myself at the truly delightful and entertaining specimens of the very flattering progress of our youth in the various branches—composition, elocution, pleading at the bar, fencing, boxing, polite swearing, music, both vocal and instrumental, stage-playing, polite blackguarding, and many other less important though elegant accomplishments—I left the sacred spot amidst the approving group, with the following reflections: Happy people! at once the wonder and envy of the world! May I long enjoy the happiness of your pleasing society! May I imbibe your liberal principles, improve by your virtuous example in all the various departments of a truly polite and refined education; free from the vicious extremes of a morose philosophy, of a too rigid morality, and of an austere and squeamish scrupulosity, so unbecoming the benevolent genius of the Christian religion—all which have a native tendency to freeze the genial current of the soul and spoil the social vivacity and mirth of mankind! Auspicious omen for the progressive amelioration of society, far and near, by the diffusive influence of the salutiferous example of many well-taught youths returning to intermingle with the various circles of private life; and, by-and-by, as chance or choice may direct, to fill all the important offices in Church and State. But time would fail to enumerate all the pleasing and happifying prospects which such an *extensive* and *liberal* education is calculated to produce upon society; wishing you to come and live with us in this truly happy and agreeable part of the country. I am, etc.,

BONUS HOMO

To this long and tedious letter Campbell added a long and tedious postscript, in which he made an ominous threat, which he later carried out, that he was preparing to continue the war on the college by writing an account of the commencement in verse. This reference to

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verse, and a statement somewhere in the letter that the author was a stranger in town, led some of the readers of the *Reporter* to suspect that Bonus Homo was really Sally Hastings. In spite of the fact that the commencement exercises were probably somewhat rowdy, the people of Washington resented deeply Bonus Homo's criticism, which insulted impartially the board, the faculty, the students, and the audience; Sally, therefore, thought it advisable to disclaim any responsibility for the "Compendious Account." Accordingly, on October 8, she published in the *Reporter* the following letter:

TO THE PUBLIC

In the "Reporter" of Monday last, there appeared a publication under the signature of "*Bonus Homo*," the writer of which in order, I presume to screen himself if not from merited contempt at least from Chastisement, has taken uncommon pains to transfer the odium due to his illiberal irony to myself—I arrived in Washington, a few days prior to the exhibition, and attended on that occasion, and was much pleased with the performance of the young gentlemen, and not novice enough to mistake the assumption of a vicious or ridiculous character, in order to expose its absurdities, tantamount to a desire of inculcating vice or folly.—Neither am I so ignorant of the genuine effects of the Christian religion or of its late revivals on this or the other side of the Allegheny Mountains, as to attribute those Utopian indecencies which produced such an exhilarating an effect on the spirits of Bonus Homo to the influence of either. I am no judge of *Scotch airs*, never having visited that island, nor do I stand indebted to it for any scientific information. I am equally ignorant of the sciences of fencing, boxing, polite or even vulgar swearing, stageplaying and blackguarding; and unequivocally assert that as far as my capacity of observation and judging extend, the performances at the late exhibition of the pupils belonging to the college of Washington, were not in the least calculated to remove that ignorance otherwise than by exciting my contempt for those enormities. I heard no ludicrous quotations from scripture, nor anything that ought in my opinion

To Modesty's fair face a blush impart,
Or to meek Piety a pained heart,

and I am fully convinced that the statement of "Bonus Homo" is erroneous and stands indebted for its origin to mistake or malice, or perhaps to both.

I was not present at the performance of the Irishman, but from the statement made by the faculty in the last Reporter I should presume that a liberal, enlightened spirited people will not suppose

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themselves satirized by a humorous attempt to expose the preposterous custom of ridiculing national characters, especially when that people are so intimately connected with ourselves not only in a full participation of our privileges, civil and religious, but also by the more endearing ties of nature and affection.

Upon the whole the performance of *Bonus Homo* appears to me to be an indirect attempt to crush the rising honor of the infant college, destroy the influence of the respectable faculty, subvert the interests of vital piety, pour contempt on the late revivals of religion, and cast the odium due to this contumacious conduct upon an inoffensive unprotected and unassuming stranger!!!

As the author of "Bonus Homo" exhibits an evident design to change his sex—I presume he is experimentally convinced that nature has better qualified him for the protection afforded to the *chemezett* [*sic*] than the duties enjoined by the *pulpit*. And as probably the vicissitudes of our climate may have a disorganizing influence over this newly assumed system, I would recommend to his attention the prudent injunction of the apostle, for the future not to exhibit himself with his head uncovered.

I am sometimes in the habit of scribbling a little poetry, and as *Bonus Homo* has promised his friend at some future period a poem on the late exhibition as a reward for his generosity both of design and invention, I shall do myself the honor to inscribe the following little specimen to himself

Not all Apollo's ragged crew
In talents with you vie,
For though in *fire* they equal you
In fiction nothing nigh!
The Laureat chaplet to you wit,
I cheerfully resign
And to your native claims submit
This *gray goose quill* of mine.

I hope a generous public will pardon my temerity in thus introducing myself to its attention, through the medium of a newspaper. Nothing should have prevailed over my repugnance to join the list of common place scribblers, of less importance than the respect which I owe to my own character, to which your suffrage has long given the sanction of sacred [*sic*]. But the uncommon pains taken by *Bonus Homo*, to impose it on the public opinion as the production of my pen, and the assiduity of others to give currency to that opinion, obliges me at the expense of great personal delicacy to come forward and thus publicly disclaim having act or part in a performance, which I consider low, scurrilous and false.

Washington, 8th Oct. 1810.

SARAH HASTINGS

SALLY HASTINGS (1773-1812), POET AND PIONEER

Campbell's reply, to Sally's attack, which was published in the *Reporter* on October 15, begins with an ironical expression of regret that Mrs. Hastings' feelings have been so much hurt by "the false imputation to her of a piece of which Bonus Homo is the author." The writer declares that he was "so far from *intending* or endeavoring to impose Bonus Homo on her that he had never heard of her when he wrote the letter, and that he would not, even then, know her if he met her on the street. With this statement he would conclude his letter had Mrs. Hastings not "impeached" him and then commented on his piece. "Before I proceed," he continued, "you will please observe that there are two things that forbid me to treat your piece according to its merits: The one is, you are a female, I am a male—the other is, you are known, I am not." After paying this clumsy tribute to his own gallantry, he asserted that his reply was not to be considered a complete criticism of Mrs. Hastings' letter. "It is only to free me from the burthen of your impeachments; which I excuse as I know you wrote with ruffled passions."

Next he summed up the accusations that Sally had made against him as follows:

With a three-fold tautological imputation you accuse me saying—
1st. Bonus Homo "has taken uncommon pains to transfer the odium due to his illiberal irony to myself."

2d. "And cast the odium of his contumacious conduct upon an inoffensive, unprotected, unassuming stranger."

3d. You add "but the uncommon pains taken by Bonus Homo to impose it upon the public opinion as the production of my pen."

In reply to this "three-fold tautological imputation," he burst forth angrily:

What "uncommon pains"? Was it because I represented myself as a stranger? There were many strangers there as well as you and I, able to describe the exhibition in its true colors; or was it because I said in my postscript that I sometimes scribble poetry? Pray, madam, did you think that you were the only favorite of the muse in the Western Country?

Her inability to see anything offensive in the performance proved that her standards of modesty differed from his. He assured her that his letter had had "the esteem and applause of the better

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informed part of the citizens." He hinted vaguely at the nature of some of the improprieties that he had heard: the Scriptures had been quoted irreverently; a Chinese doctor had made references to the technique and art of midwifery. "I might mention other things," he continued, "that appeared to be very immodest, would it not hurt my modesty." He had learned the second commandment in youth and had been pained to hear it broken at a college commencement. As for the apologies implied in the account of the commencement published by the faculty, he declared that they "added insult to injury." In reply to Sally's statement that he had exhibited "an evident desire to change his sex," he made a demand rather surprising as coming from one so modest, that she "be so kind as to specify the evidence." In conclusion, he replied to the verses that she had inscribed to him by producing some verses of his own, in which he declared that if he had Apollo's wondrous art, he would impart to her a spark of nobler fire, and teach her to write gentler strains and milder lays. Near the end of his letter he expressed the opinion that Sally would not have attacked him "had it not been for the importunity of the president of the college."

On October 22 Bonus Homo carried out the threat he had made in his letter of October 1 by publishing "The Genius of the West. A Descriptive Poem Upon the Late Exhibition at Washington College," which repeats the complaints found in his former criticism.

On October 29 Sally made her last contribution to the controversy:

TO BONUS HOMO

Believe me sir, while I assure you that I consider myself much flattered by your pointed attention, and esteem the circumstance which introduced me to your notice a fortunate one indeed—you appear to possess an intuitive knowledge which qualifies you for ascertaining the opinions of "the well informed part of our citizens" without awaiting the tedious process of their promulgating them, and this knowledge is so far from being limited to the success of your own talents that it enables you to decide with unerring precision on those of your neighbors and determine their conduct, character and sphere of existence.

But I am sorry to find that notwithstanding all the light which emanates from your self-effluent orb, there are many, and myself one of their number, who persist in the opinion that the performance

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of Bonus Homo is an ignorant misrepresentation of facts, and an ill-natured representation of falsehoods. I here beg leave to correct a trifling error into which you have fallen, by supposing that my last address to the public was written under the influence of ruffled passions; on the contrary, sir, the crimson current in any veins languishes so slowly along its channel and my passions partake so much of its indolent qualities that I defy all the feathers in the wings of your Pegasus to arouse them into an effervescence.

You are perfectly correct in supposing that your standard of modesty differs from mine. But this dissimilarity may originate from your ignorance of the *technica and art* of *midwifery*. For I would suppose that the person who indiscriminately brands a whole college with the infamous act of disseminating every species of vulgarity & vice, and a large assembly of people with publicly expressing their approbation of obscenity & wickedness, might by a little exertion of fortitude hold up his head while a well personified quack extolled the miraculous effects of the essence of a Humming bird's marrow. Indeed sir, the Chinese Doctor was absolutely ignorant of the extraordinary virtues of his wonder-working catholicon, for I am convinced that the art which could produce a blush of real modesty on the cheek of "Bonus Homo" must be consummate indeed.

I am surprised sir, that you did not withdraw from a scene so fraught with contamination, especially when there were so many others present capable of describing it in its true colors: an office for which I am sorry to find your jaundiced constitution has utterly disqualified you.

I sir, learned in my youth not only the 2nd commandment but the whole decalogue and am not sensible of seeing at the late exhibition any image worshiped except a wig of tow, which in my opinion resembled nothing in the upper, nether, or surrounding sphere unless the head of your inspiring muse. The 9th commandment, if I mistake not, prohibits bearing false witness against our neighbors—These commandments I value as a perfect rule of morality, but if ever a spark of true religion has irradiated my mind, I learned it from no book whatever, but attribute it all to the immediate influence of the spirit of grace.

I acknowledge sir, that I am somewhat mortified to find that you consider me a subject too unimportant to occupy the full powers of your prolific genius, but I am amply compensated by your appointing me an auxiliary no less important than the president of Washington College. Justice, however, both to myself and the president, obliges me to declare that at the time I penned the performance in question, it was with difficulty I could recognize the person of the president—Tho' his character and talents had long been familiar to my ears.

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These the hundred tongued damsel had resounded and re-resounded where the name of the modest, pious and blushing Bonus Homo has never been dreamt of.

I am sorry my style is too tautologous to suit your taste, and more so, as it has hitherto been honored with the public admiration of many who had scaled the summit of scientific fame while Bonus Homo was a helpless infant "mewling and puking in his nurse's arms."

You are highly welcome to amuse yourself with my talents and performances, but my character as an author occupies a sphere too extensive either for individual influence to affect, or individual malice to injure. To the public tribunal I have appealed, and by its decision alone I abide.

That my name never reached your ears is, I confess, possible; that you would not know me on the streets is highly probable, but that neither yourself nor any of your satellites endeavored, and with astonishing success, to mislead the public opinion in respect to my being the author of Bonus Homo is, I beg your pardon, a positive mistake.

As my grey goose quill has exalted you into fame, I shall just employ it in giving you a hint, not as a satirist but a friend and then as my "itch of scribbling" has long since subsided, and [as] I possess neither vanity, leisure, health, nor inclination sufficient for a newspaper contest, and consider a correspondence with an anonymous author highly derogatory to my sex, I take my leave of you, no more to resume the pen unless compelled by imperious necessity.

My advice is this, "that you tarry in Jericho, 'till your beard is grown."

SARAH HASTINGS

Washington, October 20th, 1810.

On November 5 Campbell wrote his last letter addressed to Sally Hastings. Since he had cleared her of the charge of being Bonus Homo, and since he believed that she had too much sense to approve of the commencement program, he was forced to believe that her motive in attacking him was "love of fame." He accused her of descending to personal invective, and declared that he had no disposition to contend with her for fame "in these trifling female ingenious satires."

Next he complained because she had failed to do two things that he had asked her to do: one was "to discover" the uncommon pains he had taken to have the authorship of his letter attributed to her; the other was "to point out the evidences" he had given of having changed his sex. Instead of giving him the evidence on which her

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charges had been made, she had merely amplified her first accusation, by asserting, "with astonishing temerity," that he and his "satellites" had endeavored to mislead the public into believing her to be Bonus Homo. "I will not," he continued, "be so impolite as to tell you that you assert a falsehood; but were I to have asserted this, I should have been guilty of a gross falsehood."

Next he declared that he was not going to notice all of the items in her last letter, because doing so would lead him to discuss half a dozen subjects; and then he mentioned at considerable length the subjects on which he was not going to "expatiate." In reply to her rather surprising statement that she derived any spark of true religion that had ever irradiated her mind, not from books but from the "immediate influence of the spirit of grace," he remarked sarcastically, "I would . . . enquire after the new revelation you have got, which makes you pious independent of the Bible."¹⁸⁵

Her reply to his accusation that she had attacked him at the importunity of the president of the college so annoyed him that in commenting upon it he became quite incoherent:

I would applaud your ingenuity in exculpating the president from his alleged importunity in enquiring at you whether you were the author of Bonus Homo and of indirectly desiring you to clear yourself: by only saying you found it difficult to ascertain his features—not declaring, however, that he never spoke to you on the subject.

He commented sarcastically on the high opinion of her own talents and fame that she had expressed and reminded her of the maxim of the wisest of men, "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger and not thine own lips." Particularly annoyed by her application of a line from *As You Like It* to him, he continued, "Then . . . I would enquire whether mewling and pucking [*sic*] in a nurse's arms be peculiar to males; whether it be a symptom of bad talents, of a poor genius, of low birth, or the contrarie." He complimented her on her gifts as a satirist and declared that she had plainly demonstrated that she was "a lady of excellent talents, of

¹⁸⁵. The idea that the Bible should be the sole teacher and guide of the Christian is one of the basic principles of the church which Thomas and Alexander Campbell later founded. They thought that a recognition of this truth would bring all warring sects to unite in one great Protestant church.

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copious information, and . . . of exalted sensibilities"; and he ended his letter with a paragraph containing these generous words:

I assure you that I highly respect you as a lady of distinguished talents; especially since your poems have fallen into my hands. I revere you for your pious strain, and lament that accidentally you and I have met on the opposite ranks of a newspaper controversy, as I am well convinced that our sentiments would be more congenial on a thousand topics.

The correspondence between Bonus Homo and Sarah Hastings is only a fraction of the whole controversy: "A Friend of Truth," "Bonus Puer," "John Buckskin, Jr.," "R," and "Zekiel Homespun" all took a hand, and the discussion continued for weeks. More than once Campbell challenged his adversaries to meet him in debate, an activity in which he excelled, and for which he was later to become very famous. As no one accepted his challenge, his biographer contends, with some plausibility that when the controversy ended, "Bonus Homo remained the undisputed master of the field."¹⁸⁶

On March 12, 1811, Alexander Campbell married Margaret Brown, whose father, John Brown, a carpenter and millwright by occupation, owned a farm, a gristmill, and a sawmill on Buffalo Creek, near West Liberty; and "on the following day, according to the custom of the time, went up with his bride to Washington to receive the congratulations of his friends at his father's house."¹⁸⁷ This visit Sally reported in a letter headed "Washington, March," which was addressed to her half-sister, Elizabeth Clark, but was really written to her family, her pastor, and her friends in Lancaster County. This is the last of her letters of which we have any record:

DEAR ELIZA:

Amidst a scene of bustle and confusion I enjoyed the happiness of receiving your friendly letter, and have seized the first moment of tranquility to express my thankfulness to all my friends for the gratifying interest they take in my welfare and happiness, and to you in particular for kindly informing me that such an interest exists—Do not, my beloved M^r Kerr, infer from the desponding style of my letters that any real cause of unhappiness, nor even unhappiness itself, either present or in prospect (other than that impenetrable cloud

¹⁸⁶ Richardson, *op. cit.*, I, 307.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 363.

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which has through life overshadowed my days) has been the occasion of awaking your anxiety for the welfare of an object who cannot be altogether unhappy while she possesses your esteem. Recollect my dear friends that tho' volatile in the extreme in conversation, I never could sit down to write without experiencing a serious impression on my own mind, which makes my performances either serious or dull. Add to this the solemn reflection that when I write to D—— I recognize the friends I most dearly love and from whom the hand of inexorable destiny has separated me forever. My dearest brother is all kindness and indulgence. My slightest wish is gratified if made known to him, his honor and influence are employed for the promotion of mine—I am supported in affluence and respected as the mistress of his house and the sister of his affection, while his sweet children not only doat on me but idolize me. Abroad and at home from every grade and every character I am treated with respectful attention. My health is not worse than formerly and in many respects I think it improved, particularly in strength and activity.

Now you may perceive that notwithstanding the language of my letters, there exists no rational course for unhappiness, nor would the thing ever exist were it not for my unbelieving heart.

It is Sunday. I must leave off to dress for church—let this hint excuse my dirty paper. I had to ransack the Court House to find any and only got the Lawyers leavings. Mr. Reed sets out tomorrow morning.¹⁸⁸

Last week Court was held. Last week the goddess of eloquence honored Washington with her peculiar patronage and received the grateful homage of a number of her favorite votaries. Among the rest that of the celebrated and truly ingenious Mr. Ross whose powerful oratory was ably combatted by his still more eloquent rival the amiable and interesting Mr. Jennings

The man possesses every power to please,
With artless eloquence and graceful ease;
The Soul through all her windings he pursues,
Illumes each head and every heart subdues.

Ross is considered the ablest lawyer at the Western Bar, Jennings perhaps the most eloquent man. Mountain I think succeeds by the influence of his principles and Campbell by the intricate mazes of chicanery—there are a hundred other satellites moving around these conspicuous luminaries but I am tired of pleading without a fee.

¹⁸⁸. A copy of the letter made for Margaret Lewis by Ezra P. Young, contains this note: "Mr. Reed carried this letter to Lancaster as the outside address shows." This copy is now in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey. Samuel C. Young has another copy, made by his father.

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I think D—— must be a tolerably dull place now so many having left it. I really think Mr. Kerr has been injudicious in advising so many to marry. Will you not be solitary my dear Eliza or can you find in the discharge of the many duties now devolved upon you the compensation for the society of your most pleasing companions? I fear for your health; I fear a little for your happiness—and also I fear that whatever your situation I never, never shall see you more.

Mr. Brown has just given us a lecture on the indispensable duty of retirement for meditation. This is a duty I dare not fulfill, as my meditations have a tendency to unqualify me for more active duties. In short Eliza I have to join in the thoughtless bustle of life in order to buoy up those spirits which are now my only support.

Pray tell Mr. Kerr and Lady that I participate in the hope they experience on the acquisition of a son. How is little Mary?¹⁸⁹ I would write to Mr. K. if I had leisure. Do not suppose that my want of leisure is owing to my being engaged in work. No, no. I have not more work to attend to in common than is perfectly consistent with every laudable amusement. Sarah, Hetty and Susan do the hardest part of it and assist me in all but I am incessantly engaged with company. Our house and office is the most public resort in Washington and you know the sprightly Mrs. H. is not an object calculated to make it less so.¹⁹⁰

Well after all Mr. Dickson¹⁹¹ has settled his affairs abruptly I expect the loss I have sustained through his indolence is considerable, at least to me. I pity him [but] not so much but that I can spare a little compassion for myself—

Now dull Democracy adieu
No more I clog my Muse with you

I hope Uncle William is recovered.¹⁹² I think he will not live long. Nature forbids it. Nevertheless I hate to hear of the death of my friends. I cannot willingly consign anyone to the jurisdiction of

189. From the tombstones in Donegal Churchyard we learn that the son mentioned above was "John, Son of William and Mary Kerr." He was born on January 12, 1811, and he died on November 16, 1813. Another son, Claudius B., lived only from November 1, 1820, to January 24, 1821. A daughter, probably "little Mary," became the wife of Herman Aldricks, Esq., of Harrisburg, and another daughter, Martha, married a physician named Orth, in Harrisburg. A son, James W. Kerr, became an eminent physician (Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 and 132).

190. Samuel C. Young has a note in the handwriting of his father, Ezra P. Young, which contains this statement about Sarah Hastings and Robert Anderson: "She had charge of his household after his first wife died, while he was sheriff, and also while he was in the Legislature in 1811 and 1812. I have a number of very interesting letters of those dates."

191. William Dickson, the printer of the *Poems and Family Tour*.

192. A note by Ezra P. Young says that this was Colonel William P. Clark, the brother of Brice Clark.

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the worms. As to their going to heaven, it is so uncertain a thing that I would rather they should be subject to the infirmities of life as long as I am obliged to endure them, and I am ashamed to confess that I am in no ways anxious that they should speedily come to a conclusion.

Here ends the part of the letter addressed to Eliza; it is followed by a note to the Rev. Samuel Porter, the husband of her half-sister, Jane Clark:

DEAR MR. PORTER—

I have just room to inform you that I heard a few days ago from your venerable father, he and all of your family were well. Mrs. Agnew of Deniston town was here. All were well. Clark retained the corn in his nose for a space of eight days, when it disappeared in the night without leaving any trace of its passage. He is well and doing well. After lingering a whole week with a severe cold I again recovered my usual health and my train of beaux has as usual attended. I have during last week added a few to their number—I wish your lady possessed some of my attractions—she is certainly too quiet. I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Homo—She is a big unpolished very homely country girl. Bonus¹⁹³ looks ashamed of her, but she is rich, and a gilded dowdy, my dear Mr P——— has always charms in the eyes of an Irishman¹⁹⁴ Farewell—I am tired of writing and must go down to the business of Tea——You know that I love you all.

S. HASTINGS¹⁹⁵

I have already called attention to the fact that W. U. Hensel, either because he was prejudiced against Sally or because he wanted to be “funny,” frequently made disparaging statements about her for which he had no evidence. This unfortunate practice is seen at its worst in his discussion of the two letters quoted above:

193. Hensel (*op. cit.*, p. 392) identifies Bonus Homo as “Bishop” Alexander Campbell.

194. Alexander Campbell’s biographer gives a very different description of Mrs. Campbell’s appearance from that quoted above, but he supports Sally’s statement about her opulence: “Miss Brown was tall and slender, but graceful. She had a sweet benignant countenance, very dark hair, regular features, full and expressive dark hazel eyes, and was already noted for her piety, industry and engaging manners. Her education had been the best which, in this region, was at that time accorded to females” (*op. cit.*, I, 361). “The estate which he [A. C.] had received from his father-in-law, John Brown, soon after his first marriage, had at once relieved him from the *res angusta domi* under which, in common with his father and the family he had so long and so patiently labored” (*op. cit.*, II, 657).

195. I have seen two copies of the letter, both made by Ezra P. Young; one is in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey, and other in that of Samuel C. Young. Slight differences between the two I have reconciled as well as I could.

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It may be assumed that the years 1805, '06, and '07 were spent here in Lancaster County; but in 1808 we find her back in the town of Washington. Her brother, Robert Anderson, who had gone there, had become a man of distinction and influence. He seems to have been a widower, and she an indulged member and the respected head of his household. All this and much more she writes with pride and affection to a woman friend, "dear Eliza"—but when she speaks of "D———" as the friend whom she most dearly loves and from whom the hand of inexorable destiny has separated her forever, "I suspect that there is a man in the case—of course."

ROMANTIC TO THE LAST

Confirmation is given to this suspicion of a romance by a letter of June 29, 1808, to her step-father, Brice Clark, in which she argues at length, expostulates, entreats and coaxes for a divorce. . . .

That she remained to the last coy and coquettish, her letters attest. To a Mr. Porter she expresses regret that his wife does not possess her attractions; "she is certainly too quiet." Of the attentions received by herself she writes: "My train of beaux has, as usual punctually attended. I have during the last week added a few to their number." Not long before her death she writes: "Our house and office is the most public resort in Washington."¹⁹⁶

The first error in this summary is the assumption that the two letters were written in 1808 about the time that Sally asked Brice Clark's advice about getting a divorce. This mistake is not entirely inexcusable, since the only heading on the two letters, which apparently were written on the same sheet of paper, was "Washington, March." Nevertheless, a man who assumes the responsibility of reading papers before an historical society might be expected to notice that the writer of these letters mentions Mrs. Alexander Campbell, who became a bride on March 12, 1811, and paid her first visit to Washington six days later.

After setting the date of the two letters back three years, Mr. Hensel referred to Sally's sister Eliza as "a woman friend," made "D———" a man instead of a township or a church, changed the word *friends* to *friend*, and then archly remarked "I suspect that there is a man in the case—of course." Next he inserted in heavy type the division heading, "Romantic to the Last," and then solemnly

¹⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 390-91.

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remarked that "confirmation is given to this suspicion of a romance" by Sally's letter of July 29, 1808, to Brice Clark.

With her playful and harmless note to the Rev. Samuel Porter, he took equal liberties. In order to prove that she "remained to the last coy and coquettish," he spoke of her brother-in-law as "a Mr. Porter," with whom he evidently believed that she was carrying on a flirtation, and to whom she spoke disparagingly of Mrs. Porter.

Finally, by quoting with solemn disapproval her remarks about her "train of beaux," he showed that he did not understand the humorous significance of the word *beau* as it is used in Pennsylvania, and in other parts of the country.

The next item of information about Sally Hastings that I have found appears in the following notice, which was published in the *Reporter* on May 4, 1812:

Died on Wednesday morning last [April 30] in this borough Mrs. Sally Hastings, formerly of Lancaster County, Pa. In the death of this lady a numerous train of relatives and acquaintances must bewail the loss of an amiable woman, and society be deprived of a bright genius—one of the first female Authors of the present age.

The burial place of Sarah Hastings is not known. The cause of her death is explained and some information about her children and other members of her family is given in a letter written in 1817 or 1818, by Margaret Anderson Clark to her oldest son, James Anderson, who became a Presbyterian preacher, and who at that time was living in the city of New Orleans.¹⁹⁷ The beginning and end of this letter are lost; what remains is quoted below in full:

. . . . and hoping you receive this and doubtful it may be the last you may receive from me now in my 70th year. I hope the subject may not be disagreeable to you but that you will pray God to direct you by his Holy Spirit and serve him with gratitude who has mercifully preserved you almost miraculously through many dangers and difficulties. I hope that you will remember to be thankful all your days.

We have had changes since you left us. Your sisters Rebecca, Sara and Elizabeth are all departed this life, likewise Margaret Hast-

¹⁹⁷. The details about James Anderson given above are from notes in the handwriting of Ezra P. Young, in the collection of Samuel C. Young. Mrs. Henry T. Bailey has a letter written by Ezra P. Young to Margaret Lewis, on August 10, 1917, which states that James Anderson finally settled in Kentucky. "We think," continues the letter, that "Mary Anderson, the great actress, born in Ky., was a descendant of the Rev. James."

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ings, Sally's daughter, and Elizabeth Jean Barton, Rebecca's daughter, all of consumption. Joseph Reed, your sister Margaret's first husband, and Joseph Barton, your sister Rebecca's husband of a fever. Your sister Jane's husband Rev. Samuel Porter of consumption likewise your brother Robert's first wife Elizabeth Anderson—these all died in youth and middle age, but I have great hopes that they have made a happy change, and that consoles me under my bereavements.

The rest of the family is in tolerable health at present. Rebecca's daughters, two of them, the oldest and the youngest, are here—the second lives with Robert in Washington.¹⁹⁸

Your sister Sally's son Enoch and daughter Sarah both are married and live in Washington, Penna. he learned the saddler trade and set up there. Your brother John Clark is married likewise and has a young son named James Brice¹⁹⁹ and is moved to a new house built on the hill toward the meeting house. Your brother Brice continues single and your sister Jane lives with us since her husband's death.—Your Uncle William is still here, but growing very frail—he is upwards of 80. Your father grows frail likewise. For my own part I have been weakly and in a poor state of health this several years.²⁰⁰ Your sister Margaret married a second time to a man named Wm. Coulter and they moved to Kentucky near Maysville—her son Jos. Reed lives with them and has purchased joining. She has five children to Mr. Coulter named Rebecca, Margaret, Thomas, Robt. Anderson and Saml. Clark. My Dear Son write to me and inform me of you and your family's health and let me know your wife's name, and where you got her. You know I will wish to know something of her you have taken in so near a connection as a companion for life—I am likewise desirous to know how you live and what sort of a coun-

198. From inscriptions on the tombstones in Donegal Churchyard, quoted by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 107, we learn that Margaret, the oldest daughter of Joseph and Rebekah Barton, died in 1876, "in the 81st year of her age"; Eliza Jane, the third of the family, called by her grandmother Elizabeth Jean, died in 1815, "in the 15th year of her age"; and Anna the youngest, who was born at Cross Creek, Washington County, died "in 1820 in the 19th year of her age." Samuel C. Young has a letter written to his father on November 22, 1927, by Mrs. Lewis Bennett, which states that Hetty Barton Mann, the second daughter, died in 1839, aged forty-two years.

199. James Brice Clark and his wife Catherine Bladen Clark had ten children, two of whom, Martha Bladen and Virginia Bladen, gave Mr. Hensel the material on which he based his sketch. Another daughter, Elizabeth Jane, married Thomas B. Marshall, of Ohio, and became the mother of James C. Marshall and Mrs. Leonard H. Hill. A son, John William, was the father of Elizabeth B. Clark. Mr. Marshall, Mrs. Hill, and Miss Clark have all contributed much to this study.

200. From inscriptions on the tombstones in Donegal Churchyard, quoted by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-07, we learn that William Clark died on March 5, 1818, "in the 83rd year of his age"; that Brice Clark died on November 7, 1820, "in the 81st year of his age"; and that Margaret Anderson Clark died on August 27, 1818, "in the 70th year of her age."

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try that is, what sort of neighbors you have—it would be a great satisfaction to hear from you often if letters could come by mail. I have never received but one I believe since you left me and I have wrote several and sent to you which make me fear they miscarried and you do not receive them. I am very desirous that you will give me all the information you can by letter as the distance is very great between us and you are settled and have a family. I have no hope of ever seeing you again in this life. My prayer is that we may be prepared by grace and through the merits of our redeemer to meet at the right hand of God in a happy eternity²⁰¹

A memorandum made by Margaret Lewis, now in the Collection of Mrs. H. T. Bailey, asserts that Enoch Hastings, the husband of Sarah, also died in 1812, but does not state whether his death occurred before or after that of his wife.

Robert Anderson lived in Washington for more than twenty-five years. In 1811-12 he represented Washington County in the House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania Assembly. On September 1, 1812, he wrote from Washington a long letter to his mother describing the excitement in that town when the surrender of Detroit to the British, by General William Hull, on August 16, had thrown the people living west of the Alleghanies into a fever of alarm, lest the English soldiers and their Indian allies ravage the whole frontier. When the news arrived, "the drums began immediately to beat to arms," and within three days Washington County had a thousand men who were ready to march, and who would have done so had not an express arrived, bringing the news that their aid was not needed, since "the militia were in sufficient force at Cleveland to repel any force the enemy could bring against them."²⁰²

In 1825 Robert Anderson removed to the Ohio Valley and settled in what was then called the Sewickley Bottom.

The family first lived in a log house on the river bank, but soon after occupied a new brick house built by Mr. David Shields, which is still standing near the railway a short distance below Leetsdale Station.

²⁰¹. A copy of this letter in the handwriting of Ezra P. Young, is in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

²⁰². This letter was published by Ezra P. Young in the *Washington Reporter* in 1917. I copied it from a clipping in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey, but neglected to find out the exact date on which it was printed. I have not abandoned hope that the original letters from which Mr. Young made the copies used in this study may yet be found.

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This house was his home until his death in 1836. He was evidently prosperous, for he acquired a farm of two hundred and sixty acres, part of which lay in what is now the city of Sewickley, and part of which extended back over Sewickley Heights, now one of the most highly improved and valuable residence districts in America. After his death, his widow built a brick house on the land that later became part of Sewickley.

Soon after his arrival in the Sewickley Valley Robert Anderson became an elder in both the Fairmont and Sewickleyville Presbyterian churches. During his latter years he served as justice of the peace for Ohio Township. From 1832 until his death in 1836 he represented Allegheny County in the House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania Assembly.²⁰³

Robert Anderson met a tragic death at the age of sixty, while driving a yoke of oxen attached to a wagon heavily loaded with wood, which he was taking as a gift to a poor woman in Sewickley. On a steep hill the oxen became unmanageable and upset the wagon; he, being on the lower side of the road, was caught under the load and instantly killed. He and his wife are buried in the cemetery at Sewickley.²⁰⁴

In a letter to Inez Bailey, written on October 13, 1927, Mrs. Lewis Bennett said:

I . . . have an old letter written by Esther (called Hetty) Barton in 1820, in which she mentions cousin Sarah living in the country six or seven miles from Washington. She mentions Enoch Hastings as living near Chambers's.²⁰⁵

The place mentioned in the last sentence is the beautiful millpond south of Washington, in Washington County, known as Chambers' Dam, near which both my grandfather, William Chambers Hastings, and my father, Francis Luellen Hastings, were born.

I am under the impression that Robert Chambers, who married Sarah Hastings, was a member of the family for whom the millpond

203. Information about Robert Anderson's career in the Pennsylvania Assembly was secured for me from the Journals of the House of Representatives by William Reitzel, Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Shirley Frese, a graduate student in the University of Pennsylvania, working under the direction of Professor Edward Sculley Bradley.

204. The details about Robert Anderson's life in the Sewickley Valley are from memoranda made by Ezra P. Young, in the collection of Samuel C. Young.

205. Letter in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey. Sarah and Enoch were, of course, Sally's children.

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was named, and that he and she also lived near Chambers' Dam. Sally's son Enoch married a woman of Irish descent, named Mary Golden, and they reared a large family of children, one of whom, William Chambers Hastings, was my grandfather. I remember distinctly my grandfather's telling me when I was a child that his father had served in the War of 1812 and had fought at the battle of Lundy's Lane. I remember also a musket and a dagger that Enoch Hastings, II, carried in the war, and an ornament from his cap—all familiar objects in my grandfather's home, but now, alas, no more to be found.

Another son of Enoch Hastings, II, was John, who spent his life in Washington and became a prominent hardware merchant. His store on Main Street stood on ground now occupied by the Citizens' Bank. His property and business were inherited by his son, William by name, who finally retired from business and removed to Corpus Christi, Texas, where he died several years ago. His son, William L. Hastings, lives in Port Arthur, Texas. Enoch Hastings, II, had two other sons, Samuel and Henderson, who migrated to Indiana, where they left numerous descendants.

Enoch and Mary Hastings had also three daughters: Sarah, Nancy Jane, and Mary. Of the first two I know nothing except that Sarah married a man named Nichol and died young, leaving no children, and that Nancy Jane married a man named Clutter. Mary, the third daughter and youngest child of the family, was born in 1831, the year of her father's death.²⁰⁶ She married Hiram Swart, and became the mother of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey and Margaret Lewis, who were responsible for my attempting this study.

VI. CHARACTERISTICS AS A WRITER

Although the writings of Sally Hastings do not possess sufficient merit to call for minute analysis or exhaustive study, I cannot bring this sketch to a conclusion without calling attention to some details in them which reveal her knowledge, her ability, her ideas and ideals, and her place in the American picture.

Since she herself has stated that her educational advantages were very slight, I have been interested in trying to discover to what extent

²⁰⁶ Memoranda in the handwriting of Margaret Lewis, in the collection of Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

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she was able by reading to repair the defects caused by her lack of early training.

Conspicuous evidence of independent study is to be found in the many references to the Classics that appear in her writings. She made no pretense of being able to read the Ancient Languages; therefore, her knowledge of Greek and Roman literature must have been derived from translations, or from English literature in general, and the works of the eighteenth century neo-classical writers in particular. Her interest in the ancient myths must have been very great, for she had at her command a considerable vocabulary that she had derived from them. Moreover, although she usually mentions names that are pretty generally known, and gives them conventional associations, she occasionally quotes passages or introduces characters and incidents that compel readers who have had more formal education than she to consult a Classical dictionary. Evidence to support this statement is conspicuous in the following short poem:

TO A FRIEND

"Bit with the Itch of Scribbling" Verses

My musical Friend, I perceive you incline
To gather the sprigs of Parnassus;
But the Muses, to hinder the daring design
Have refused to lend you Pegasus.
Consider, I pray since Pallas has flow,
Even Jupiter's brains are but hollow;
And Pyrenæus's fate has determined your own,
If, without her assistance you follow.²⁰⁷

The quotation in the title of this poem was apparently suggested by a passage in *The Satires of Juvenal*,

" *tenet insanabile multos scribendi cacoethes* " ²⁰⁸

Five of the classical names in the poem are familiar enough, but no character named Pyrenæus is to be found in the dictionaries. The solution of the puzzle, however, is not difficult. Pyreneus, King of Thrace, when the Muses flew away from his palace to escape his amorous advances, forgot that he himself was not equipped with wings, and attempted to follow them. As a result of his oversight,

²⁰⁷. *Poems*, p. 111.

²⁰⁸. "Satire VII," 11, 51-52.

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he leaped from the pinnacle of a tower and dashed himself to pieces on the ground below.²⁰⁹ Sally made effective use of this incident, but she confused the spelling of *Pyreneus*, the name of the unfortunate king, with that of *Pyrenæus*, an adjective derived from *Pyrene*, the name of the heroine of a Greek myth, for whom the mountains between France and Spain are named.

Other references to the Classics in Sally's book, though numerous, call for no great amount of discussion. On the title page she calls upon the "Celestial Guide to adorn her Muse with grace and love divine"; and on ensuing pages she uses the word *muse* at least twenty times. Many names from classical mythology are found in her pages, but Cynthia, Parnassus, Pegasus and Phœbus are her favorites.²¹⁰ The classical influence appears also in the use of pastoral names, Bella,²¹¹ Damon and Delia,²¹² Horatio and Lavinia,²¹³ Lucinda,²¹⁴ Lydia,²¹⁵ and Philander.²¹⁶

Sally was unquestionably a constant and devout student of the Bible. In her poem "To Critics" she confesses that her book probably contains many errors, but excuses herself by saying:

But, Gentlemen, she tells you true,
Her learning in its prime,
Is just to read her Bible through,
And write a sorry Rhyme.²¹⁷

In her short poem, "On a Bible," she describes the Book as the source of all the noblest qualities of the human mind and soul:

These are the Courts where wisdom loves to reign,
With all the shining virtues of her train;

209. Ovid *Metamorphoses*, Bk. V, 11, 274ff.

210. I have found the following classical names in the *Poems* and *A Family Tour*: Arcadian Nymphs, p. 143; Aurora, p. 80; Bacchanal, p. 200; Bacchanalian, p. 199; Bellona, p. 44; Ceres, pp. 180, 192; Cupid, pp. 5, 60; Cynthia, pp. 32, 98, 104; Demigods, p. 191; Echo, p. 104; Elysium, p. 191; Graces, pp. 146, 191; Jupiter, p. 111; Mars, p. 192; Muse, Muses, pp. 4, 10, 35, 53, 60, 66, 69, 98, 104, 111, 117, 127, 130, 131, 141, 147, 173, 186, 188, 199; Orpheus, p. 111; Pallus, p. 111; Parnassus, pp. 5, 7, 111, 141; Pegasus, pp. 5, 7, 111; Phœbus, pp. 90, 157, 184; Plato, p. 111; Pomona, pp. 88, 192; Sappho, 160; Sol, pp. 98, 155; Tartarus, p. 197; Venus, p. 60.

211. "Reflections in a Churchyard," *Poems*, p. 113.

212. "The Forfeiture," *ibid.*, p. 81.

213. "To Miss ———," *ibid.*, p. 101.

214. "To Lucinda," *ibid.*, p. 98.

215. "Invocation to Happiness," *ibid.*, p. 133.

216. "A Landscape," *ibid.*, p. 118.

217. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

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Here grace, and peace, and joy celestial shine,
And life immortal breathes in ev'ry line.
Here let our musing meditations rise,
And all our roving passions harmonize:
Let lofty science here submissive bend,
And all the tow'ring flights of fancy 'tend.
Here let the Muse new-plume her soaring wing,
And ev'ry grace her grateful tribute bring:
Let genius here her glowing flame acquire,
And chaste devotion light her purer fire;
Let contemplation spread her pinions broad,
And faith, in ev'ry line, discern a God;
Let the rapt soul exert her ev'ry pow'r,
And each expanding faculty adore.²¹⁸

Two of her poems, "Psalm I"²¹⁹ and "A Paraphrase of the First Chapter of the Book of Genesis,"²²⁰ are metrical versions of the Scriptural passages named in the titles. "Consummation"²²¹ is a description of the Day of Judgment, derived from First Corinthians, First Thessalonians, the Book of Revelation, and other Biblical sources. The "Ode on Love"²²² and "The Forfeiture"²²³ show her familiarity with the story of the fall of man, and "The Recovery"²²⁴ describes the method by which the descendants of Adam may be restored to the favor of God through the death of Christ. "A Complaint"²²⁵ comments on the somewhat surprising fact that God's mercy is offered to sinful man, but not to the fallen Archangels. References to Gabriel and Raphael,²²⁶ and to Lucifer and his fellow conspirators²²⁷ reveal her interest in the great allies and adversaries of man in the Holy War. "The True Physician,"²²⁸ which she says was "composed in sickness," calls upon Jesus, the King, the prophet, the physician, and the priest, to come into the life of the writer, to reign, teach, heal, and save.

218. *Poems*, p. 69.

219. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

220. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-44.

221. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-73.

222. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

223. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-84.

224. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

225. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

226. "Contemplation," *ibid.*, p. 27; "A Song," *ibid.*, p. 68.

227. "Consummation," *ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

228. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-38.

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Quotations are numerous in both her book and her letters, but since she quoted from memory and never corrected what she had written, her quotations are seldom entirely accurate. In the letter which she wrote to her mother just before the death of Rebekah Barton, she quoted correctly the familiar words of Jesus, "In my Father's house are many mansions,"²²⁹ and almost correctly a verse attributed to the Wise King of Israel, "His left hand is under my head, and his right doth embrace me,"²³⁰ which in the letter becomes, "His left hand is under my head and with his right hand he doth embrace me."

When she first approached the Allegheny Mountains, she had a feeling that Nature had here fixed her limits with impregnable barriers, and had said to the sons of men, "Hitherto, but no farther, shall ye come."²³¹ The original expresses the idea more simply and more effectively, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further."²³²

On a cold, snowy morning in the mountains of Westmoreland County she wrote in her journal, "'The spirit of a Man can sustain his Infirmities'; but it frequently happens that it is severely pressed by the load."²³³ The sentence that she attempted to quote reads, "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity."²³⁴ She closed the letter that she wrote to her mother on October 2, 1801, with the words, "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick," which are quoted correctly,²³⁵ and she ended *A Family Tour* with the clause, "All is Vanity," quoted from the pessimistic Preacher.²³⁶

"The Request," one of the several prayers to be found in the *Poems*, ends with a metrical version of the stirring words of Saint Paul, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"²³⁷ To satisfy the requirements of rhyme and rhythm Sally inverts the rhetorical questions and adds a word:

O Grave, where is thy victory!
O vanquish'd Death, where is thy sting!²³⁸

229. John 14:2.

230. The Song of Solomon 2:6.

231. *A Family Tour*, p. 184.

232. Job 38:11.

233. *A Family Tour*, p. 198.

234. Proverbs 18:14.

235. Proverbs 13:12.

236. Ecclesiastes 1:2.

237. First Corinthians 15:55.

238. *Poems*, p. 33.

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Near the end of *A Family Tour*²³⁹ she departs from her usual practice by referring to a specific passage of Scripture without actually quoting any part of it. After spending a night in McKeesport, she remarked that the inhabitants of that town "appear to employ their Time after the Athenean manner in the days of St. Paul."²⁴⁰

To cite every passage in Sally's writings that shows familiarity with the Scriptures would expand this part of my study to unwarranted length, for on almost every page we find references to characters and events mentioned in the Bible, or thoughts and emotions derived from the study of that book.

It is to be expected that a good Presbyterian, who read her Bible through, should be familiar with the hymns of Isaac Watts. Describing the mountains west of Shippensburg, she quoted the following stanza and named the author of it:

At whose command, the weighty rocks
Are swift as hailstones hurl'd:
Who dare engage His fiery rage,
Who shakes the solid world!
—Watts.²⁴¹

This quotation, however, is not quite accurate; the actual words of Watts are:

Thro' the wide air the weighty rocks
Are swift as hailstones hurl'd:
Who dares engage his fiery rage
That shakes the solid world!²⁴²

Again, at the end of her letter to her mother telling of the last illness of Rebekah Barton, she quoted another stanza from the great hymn writer and again named the author of the quotation:

Stoop down my thoughts that use to rise,
Converse a while with death;
See how a feeble mortal lies
And pants away his breath.
—Watts.

239. P. 205.

240. Cf. Acts 17:21.

241. *A Family Tour*, p. 184.

242. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, I, xlii. Sally's error really comes from her general familiarity with the writings of Watts, who frequently begins stanzas with the words "At his command." See Psalm LXXV, second part, long metre; Psalm CVII, fourth part, common metre; *Hymns*, III, xix; and "A Song to Creating Wisdom," Part Second, *Lyrick Poems*, Book I.

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These lines are all correctly quoted but the third, which should be:

See how a gasping mortal lies.²⁴³

As Leon Howard has suggested,²⁴⁴ Sally Hastings shows a rather surprising knowledge of English literature, for one who professes to have no learning but what she has derived from the Bible. One of her favorite writers was another clergyman, who was somewhat less austere than the great hymnologist. In Carlisle she wrote that the impertinent curiosity of the people she had met there reminded her of "the Story of the Nose related by the inimitable STERNE."²⁴⁵ Describing a cordial German minister whom she had met at Bedford, she wrote, within quotation marks, "There was a Frankness in him, that let you at once into his Soul, and showed you the goodness of his Heart."²⁴⁶ This quotation can also be traced to Sterne, who wrote, "There was a frankness in my uncle Toby, . . . which let you at once into his soul, and shewed you the goodness of his nature."²⁴⁷

Sally Hastings' knowledge of eighteenth century poetry was not confined to her familiarity with the hymns of Isaac Watts. On October 8, 1800, twenty-four hours after she had left home on her journey to the West, she recorded in her journal that the exertions of the preceding day had left her completely spiritless and so unhappy that she had not been able to enjoy "that sweet restorative of exhausted Nature, balmy Sleep,"²⁴⁸—a statement that was manifestly suggested by the first line of Edward Young's *Night Thoughts*:

Tir'd Nature's sweet Restorer, balmy Sleep.

The passage in her journal which describes the wave of homesickness that overwhelmed her when a day of hardship in the mountains was followed by a night of wakefulness in a noisy inn²⁴⁹ closes with four lines from Thomson's *The Seasons*, which have already been quoted:

243. *Hymns*, II, xxviii.

244. *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

245. *A Family Tour*, p. 181. The story is "Slawkenbergius's Tale," *Tristram Shandy*, Book IV.

246. *A Family Tour*, p. 193.

247. *Tristram Shandy*, VI, x.

248. *A Family Tour*, p. 179.

249. *A Family Tour*, pp. 200-01.

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. . . . Home is the resort
Of Love, of Joy, of Peace, of Friendship; where
Supported and supporting, polish'd Friends
And dear Relations mingle into Bliss.²⁵⁰

A comparison of the lines in *A Family Tour* with those written by Thomson gives amusing proof that Sally's imagination had no difficulty in supplying words to take the place of those that escaped her memory:

Home is the Resort
Of Love, of Joy, of Peace and Plenty, where,
Supporting and supported, polish'd Friends
And dear Relations mingle into Bliss.²⁵¹

Again, in the last entry in her journal, which is a description of her new home in Washington County, we find two stanzas of verse, one of which, rather strangely, contains part of a line borrowed from "the judicious Thomson," as she calls him:

Great Nature, in her loose array,
Derives from Art no foreign Aid;
The lofty Oak, the spreading Bay,
With "shade still deep'ning into shade."

Even this short quotation, however, is somewhat inaccurate. Thomson wrote:

But see the fading many-colour'd Woods,
Shade deepening over Shade, the Country round
Imbrown²⁵²

Describing the Rev. Colin McFarquhar, who had been preaching to the people of Donegal for thirty years, and who had outlived most of his original congregation, she wrote:

He still proclaims salvation's joyful sound,
Directs their flight to heav'n, and leads the way.²⁵³

Surely when she wrote these words, she was thinking of the well-known couplet in Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village":

He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
Allur'd to brighter worlds, and led the way.

250. *Poems*, p. 301.

251. "Autumn," ll. 65-68.

252. *Ibid.*, ll. 960-62.

253. *Poems*, p. 46.

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Of course no admirer of the eighteenth century neo-classical poets would overlook the writings of Pope. In her description of the first high mountains that she crossed—the description which she embellished with quotations from the Book of Job and from the hymns of Isaac Watts—she also borrowed from the *Odyssey*, and “improved” in an amusing manner a couplet from the eleventh book, translated for Pope by William Broome. The English translator wrote:

Heav'd on Olympus, tottering Ossa stood;
On Ossa Pelion nods with all his Wood.

These lines, recalled by the creative memory of Sally, became:

Heav'd on Olympus, tott'ring Ossa stands;
On Ossa, Pelion's nodding Forest bends.²⁵⁴

In the letter which she wrote to her brother on December 22, 1808, however, she quoted correctly from Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard* the line

The world forgetting, by the world forgot.

I have found in the writings of Sally Hastings one reference to eighteenth century drama, and possibly two. In the letter to her brother just mentioned she informed him that she had avoided intimacy with some of the ladies in town who were socially prominent, and explained her conduct by saying, “You know my sentiments of ‘High life below stairs.’” The words quoted are the title of a play published by James Townley in 1759. Again, the use of the name Altamont in “A Landscape”²⁵⁵ may indicate familiarity with Nicholas Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1703).

The only earlier English writers quoted in the works of Sally Hastings, so far as I have been able to discover, are Shakespeare and Milton.

After describing the hardships that she and her companions suffered on the day that they crossed the Laurel Hill, she said that they slept sweetly that night despite the fact that their bedclothing was wet, and that they did not wake until “jocund Day stood tiptoe on the misty Mountain-top.”²⁵⁶ The source of this quotation are two lines spoken by Romeo:

254. *A Family Tour*, p. 185.

255. *Poems*, p. 117.

256. *A Family Tour*, p. 197.

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Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops.²⁵⁷

The letter written by Sally to her mother on August 14, 1801, ends with the words:

Could I forget
What I have been I might the better bear
What I'm destined to.

She herself asserted that her quotation was from Shakespeare, but even with this information the reader has some difficulty in locating the actual words that she was trying to repeat:

Or that I could forget what I have been!
Or not remember what I must be now!²⁵⁸

In her letter of December 22, 1808, which has been so frequently mentioned, she informed her brother that a certain Mr. Murdock, instead of supplying her with coal, as he had apparently agreed to do, was borrowing from the neighbors himself. "Murdock," she added, "is certainly a most amiable man, but 'nature has mixed her materials so kindly in him' that there is scarce one predominant propensity in his composition to set the system in motion." Why this shiftless person reminded her of the noblest Roman of them all, I cannot imagine, but she was evidently quoting from Mark Anthony's description of Brutus:

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"²⁵⁹

During her controversy with Alexander Campbell she informed that pious youth that she had been a writer of established reputation when he was still "mewling and puking in his nurse's arms." This application of Shakespeare's terse description of the first age of man,

. . . . The infant
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms,²⁶⁰

proved most effective, for it spurred the young divine to demand that she state explicitly what she implied by this reference to these frailties of his infancy.

257. *Romeo and Juliet*, III, v, 9-10.

258. *King Richard the Second*, III, iii, 138-39.

259. *Julius Caesar*, V, v, 73-75.

260. *As You Like It*, II, vii, 143-44.

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Describing a "muster day" celebration in Greensburg,²⁶¹ at which the officers, all drunk, discussed politics with such warmth that they finally dropped their arguments and seized their swords, she was reminded of Milton's Devils, and of his phrase "Confusion worse confounded,"²⁶² which she quoted correctly. Finally, however, just as she was beginning to "entertain strong Apprehensions for her personal Safety," an officer gave the command "Attention!" which, to her astonishment, was instantly obeyed. "Confusion heard his Voice, and wild Uproar stood rul'd." The source of this quotation is Milton's lines:

Confusion heard his voice, and wilde uproar
Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd.²⁶³

The only quotation from an American writer that I have found is the name "Columbia's heaven-born Band," which she applied to the group of hunters in the Ligonier Valley who threatened to destroy an innkeeper's signpost because he had no spiritous liquors.²⁶⁴ The source of the quotation is the opening couplet of Joseph Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia":

Hail, Columbia, happy land!
Hail, ye heroes! heaven-born band!

The literary allusions mentioned above²⁶⁵ are by no means the only ones that Sally used. In both the *Poems* and *A Family Tour* I have found many others that neither my knowledge nor my industry has been able to identify.²⁶⁶ Her volume contains also a number of expressions which suggest reading, literary background. Some of these are the words *phænix*,²⁶⁷ *salamander*,²⁶⁸ *cit*,²⁶⁹ and *aegis*,²⁷⁰ and the phrases "India's dust,"²⁷¹ "Arabia's sweet spices," "the Macaroni in his play,"²⁷² and the "poet's bays."²⁷³

261. *A Family Tour*, pp. 201-04.

262. *Paradise Lost*, II, 995.

263. *Ibid.*, III, 710-11.

264. *A Family Tour*, p. 196.

265. In identifying quotations, I have had much valuable help from Georgia Clark, of the library staff of the University of Arkansas.

266. Unidentified quotations are to be found on pp. 5, 7, 9, 40, 67, 82, 83, 90, 101, 105, 110, 119, 177, 178, 179, 187, 197, 201, 206, 207.

267. "A Paraphrase of the First Chapter of the Book of Genesis," *Poems*, p. 139.

268. "Consummation," *ibid.*, p. 172.

269. *A Family Tour*, p. 190.

270. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

271. "Expostulation," *Poems*, p. 23.

272. "A Landscape," *ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

273. *Ibid.*, p. 121; "The Tempest," *ibid.*, p. 159.

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Her account of Creation mentions among birds the swan, the peacock, the ostrich, the pelican, the nightingale, and the phœnix. Fish she groups under one general term "finny squadrons," and with them classifies the whale. Of quadrupeds she names the lion, the mammoth, the horse, the elephant, the tiger, the panther, the leopard, the wolf, the fawn, and the "lambkin."²⁷⁴

Some knowledge of geography, history and public affairs is shown in "Derne,"²⁷⁵ which was written to celebrate the victory of General William Eaton over the Barbary Corsairs in the year 1805. Interest in the geography, characters, events, manners and customs of various lands are revealed in passages which mention the Barbary Coast and Libya,²⁷⁶ "the Turkish Monarch,"²⁷⁷ "champaign county,"²⁷⁸ breakfast in the Turkish mode,²⁷⁹ Hannibal,²⁸⁰ the Desert of Arabia,²⁸¹ and the Laws of the Medes and Persians.²⁸²

Sally unquestionably had an unusually large vocabulary for a person of her limited training and experience, but she showed no pedantic tendency to use big words for their own sake. Sometimes, however, she startles the reader by introducing him to a word that is not in his vocabulary. The word *eyrie* must have been unfamiliar to her publisher, for he printed it *cyrlic*.²⁸³ The adjective *terraqueous*,²⁸⁴ which she used to describe the sphere of the earth, is not in the working vocabulary of all of her readers, and the word *catholicon* which I discovered in her reply to Alexander Campbell, published in the *Reporter* on October 29, 1810, is quite unknown to many people who have had much more schooling than she. So is the word *epicedium* found in the title of the poem by Mrs. Mary Maxfield, to which she charitably gave space in her volume.²⁸⁵ She used no word, so far as I can discover, of which she did not know the exact meaning; and in only one instance have I found that she did not know how to pro-

274. "A Paraphrase of the First Chapter of Genesis," *Poems*, pp. 135-44.

275. *Poems*, pp. 125-30.

276. "Derne," *Poems*, p. 128.

277. "To the Incomparable Isabella," *Poems*, p. 154.

278. *A Family Tour*, p. 180.

279. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

280. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

281. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

282. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

283. "A Paraphrase of the First Chapter of the Book of Genesis," *Poems*, p. 139.

284. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

285. *Poems*, p. 54.

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nounce all of the words she employed. In "To a Friend"²⁸⁶ she makes *Parnassus* rhyme with *Pegasus*. That her spelling was far from perfect, however, we have plenty of evidence in the extracts from her writings quoted above.

Without being in any sense learned, and certainly without being pedantic, Sally Hastings' writings show that she labored industriously to improve her education, and that she acquired a style that is free from conspicuous error.

Hensel said of her verse, "It is manifest that the poetry of Alexander Pope, who has been styled 'the poet of an artificial age and of artificial life' largely helped to make her style."²⁸⁷ For the general truth of this statement proof has been given on the preceding pages. Leon Howard quotes a passage from her "Address to Solitude,"²⁸⁸ and remarks that "she wrote more as one who had been reading the *Essay on Man* than as one who had actually been alone on 'misty mountain tops.'"²⁸⁹

Her numerous references to the Classics, her quotations from English literature, and her subject matter and style in general all unite to establish her place among the English neo-classical writers of the eighteenth century. Her volume contains sixteen poems written in heroic couplets and fifteen in short couplets. Apostrophes are numerous, and personifications occur on almost every page. In "Derne" she introduces a rather elaborate Homeric simile,²⁹⁰ but in general her epithets and figures are conventional and stereotyped. For example, she describes herself as "a little warbler,²⁹¹ who woos the fickle muse."²⁹² Writers in general are "disciples of the quill."²⁹³ The neo-classical element in her works has been ably discussed in the interesting article by Professor Leon Howard, which has been frequently mentioned in earlier pages. This article shows that although Sally Hastings was original in mind and temperament, and although her experiences in the West liberated her to some extent from con-

286. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

287. *Op. cit.*, p. 373.

288. *Poems*, pp. 65-67.

289. *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

290. *Poems*, pp. 125-26.

291. "To Critics," *ibid.*, p. 7.

292. "To the Public," *Poems*, p. 5.

293. *A Family Tour*, pp. 193 and 194.

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ventional ideas and attitudes, tradition and convention nearly always manifest themselves in both her subject matter and style.²⁹⁴

In one poem, "The Tempest,"²⁹⁵ she shows that she was slightly affected by the Romantic Movement, by abandoning quatrains and couplets for blank verse, but even in this poem, as Leon Howard has noticed, she clings to conventional diction and writes a moralizing poem rather than a descriptive one.²⁹⁶ On rare occasions, however, she abandoned the diction of the "judicious Thomson" and his school. In her description of Stony Creek, for example, which is quoted earlier in this study, she consciously adopted the new romantic style and at the end of the paragraph declared that this place was the most melancholy, romantic spot she had ever seen.²⁹⁷ Her description of the confluence of the Youghiogheny²⁹⁸ and Monongahela is written with a beauty, simplicity, and truth that make Leon Howard compare her with Thoreau.²⁹⁹ Two simple statements of fact near the end of the journal make more impression on the reader than any amount of fine writing could do. One is that in the year 1800 the principal trade of Washington County was with New Orleans; the other that even then, when the country was still covered with forest, severe autumn drouths turned the largest creeks to standing shallows and stopped the work of all the water mills.³⁰⁰

The range of Sally Hastings' interests was not great. Of her sixty-two poems,³⁰¹ eighteen deal with religion in general, two were inspired by sermons, two are paraphrases of passages in the Bible, and one is about missionary work among the Indians. Three are about death in the abstract, and two about the deaths of individuals. Eighteen poems are to or about the author's friends, and two are addressed to the reader. The volume contains four descriptive poems, and four poems occasioned by special incidents in the author's experience. The capture of Derna was the occasion for a patriotic

294. *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

295. *Poems*, pp. 157-64.

296. *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

297. *A Family Tour*, p. 194.

298. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

299. *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

300. *A Family Tour*, pp. 207-08.

301. The volume contains sixty-three poems. On page 54 we find "An Epicedium, on the Death of the Virtuous and Pious, Mrs. Mary Bell. Composed by Mary Maxfield, of Fags Manor, at the Age of Eighty Years. Inserted by Request."

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poem, and the subjects dreams, tears, love, solitude, and happiness inspired one poem each.

The ideas of Sally Hastings are interesting, not because they were original or influential, but because they show what an intelligent self-educated Presbyterian, brought up in a religious American household at the end of the eighteenth century, thought and believed.

Religion was the chief subject of her meditations and the most important influence in her life. To it she looked for salvation, instruction, guidance, comfort, and peace.³⁰² She regarded it as a necessary part of wisdom,³⁰³ and the only source of true happiness.³⁰⁴ It is not, as many suppose, the solace of the old and middle-aged alone; it should be the choice also of those who still enjoy "beauty, youth, and smiling health."³⁰⁵ To find it, we must go to its original source, the Bible,³⁰⁶ which she accepted without reservation as God's inspired word.³⁰⁷

From the Bible and the sermons of her revered Presbyterian pastors she derived a belief in the Fall of Man³⁰⁸ and in the reality of sin, from which human beings must all be delivered before they can enjoy the society of their Creator and Father.³⁰⁹ She believed in immortality and in the existence of a real Heaven and a real Hell. The former she mentions on almost every page; the latter she pictures in "Consummation."³¹⁰ a long imaginative description of the Day of Judgment, of the sort frequently used by revivalists to bring sinners to a decision. In it she introduces many details from the Bible, to which she adds a few derived from her own imagination or from the sermons she has heard. Sally uses no such memorable figures of speech as Edward's celebrated spider and bent bow, and she does not conduct sinners to Hell to the accompaniment of such tripping measures as those employed by Michael Wigglesworth, but her descriptions are sufficiently vivid to remind us once more, "how mournfully," as Channing said "the human mind may misrepresent the Deity."

302. "An Invocation to Religion," *Poems*, pp. 58-59.

303. "Address to Solitude," *ibid.*, pp. 65-67.

304. "A Song," *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

305. "To Miss Jane C——," *ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

306. "On a Bible," *ibid.*, p. 69.

307. "A Paraphrase on the First Chapter of the Book of Genesis," *ibid.*, pp. 135-44.

308. "The Forfeiture," *ibid.*, pp. 81-84.

309. "Death Awful," *ibid.*, pp. 52-53; "Consummation," *ibid.*, pp. 165-73.

310. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-73.

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Believing in an actual Hell, she regarded the conduct of life as most important, and preparation for death as most necessary.³¹¹ Possessions, pleasures, fame, and even love are therefore of minor importance.³¹² She was too good a Presbyterian not to believe in election. In her poem "Aurora," after describing the dawn and the sunrise, she continues:

'Tis thus with the Spirit for Heav'n design'd;
The Daystar, on high, sheds bright beams on 'his mind;
Then his doubts and his darkness begin to depart—
And the morn of Salvation now dawns on his heart!

Tho th' embryo graces at first faintly beam,
The breath, which enkindled, will blow them to flame;
'Till, like the bright Sun on the zenith above,
They're enshrin'd in the splendors of Glory and Love.

Then fear not, yet Christians tho' drooping and weak;
The grace that sustains you will never forsake:
'Resistless its course, still increasing its rays,
'Till, in Heav'n, it glows with meridian blaze.³¹³

To one who believes, as Sally did, in salvation through grace, the tiresome good works which the Christians of our day have substituted for it would appear as futile as were the expensive and troublesome sacrifices of the Jews:

Shall I burnt off'rings bring with me,
Or calves, which tender are;
Or shall I, for my sin to thee
My infant offspring spare?

Will seas of oil, or bullocks slain,
Or goats and fatlings' blood,
Restore my wand'ring soul again;
Or please a holy God?

Such vain oblation thou wouldst slight;
Such foolish zeal despise:
Nor can th' infinite God delight
In human sacrifice.³¹⁴

311. "Expostulation," *ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

312. "Death Awful," *ibid.*, pp. 52-53; "The King of Terrors," *ibid.*, p. 72.

313. *Poems*, p. 156.

314. "A Private Prayer," *Poems*, p. 12.

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God, whom Sally mentions on almost every page, is the God who was known to Protestant America before our Modernists turned Him into a sort of combined professor of zoölogy, Rotarian, and scoutmaster. His greatness is revealed both in the universe that He has created and in the revelation of His will that He has given to man through His prophets.³¹⁵ In spite of the magnitude of His creation and the multiplicity of His activities, He still takes an interest in the affairs of His most troublesome creature, man, and even listens to his complaints and petitions.³¹⁶

Sally's poems about Jesus and her references to him have the merits of sincerity and devotion, but no particular originality. She believed in his divine nature, his miraculous birth, his resurrection, his ascension, and his power to save man from sin and restore him to the fellowship of his Heavenly Father.³¹⁷ Although her reason gave assent to the doctrine of election, she really could not resist the temptation to believe that Christ's invitation is to all men.³¹⁸ She was too intelligent not to see the inconsistency of her opinions and too honest not to confess it. Fortunately, however, she had a sense of humor, and so, in commenting on her willingness to cross the Susquehanna in a ferry-boat, she remarked that there are no two things in nature more at variance than her principles and her practice. For though she had implicit faith in the Sovereignty of God, she was never willing to resign the reins of government to him as long as she could possibly hold them herself.³¹⁹ And so, whatever may have been her views about the general personnel of the elect, she had the practical good sense to believe that salvation was offered to her and to try to accept it with a thankful heart.³²⁰

Very charming, in my opinion, was Sally's attitude toward her pastors. Poems about two of them, "On the Rev. C. M'F——r" (Colin McFarquhar),³²¹ and "To the Rev. *****" (William Kerr),³²² reveal her respect and affection for the pastor under

315. "On a Bible," *ibid.*, p. 69; "Lines Addressed to Mrs. T.," pp. 145-46; "The Tempest," pp. 157-64; "Contemplation," pp. 26-28; the last shows the influence of Addison's "Hymn."

316. "A Landscape," *ibid.*, pp. 117-24.

317. "A Private Prayer," *ibid.*, pp. 11-20; "The Invitation," pp. 47-51; "The Recovery," pp. 85-89; "Contemplative Thought," p. 155.

318. "The Invitation," *ibid.*, pp. 47-51.

319. *A Family Tour*, p. 280.

320. "Verses," *Poems*, pp. 76-78.

321. *Poems*, pp. 44-46.

322. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-51.

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whose ministration she had been brought up and also for his successor; and her description of the Rev. Thomas Marquis³²³ shows that she never forgot that preachers are human beings as well as oracles. Two poems inspired by sermons, "The Invitation," written the day before Colin McFarquhar terminated his pastorate,³²⁴ and "Verses Occasioned by a Sermon Preached by the Rev. W.K."³²⁵ show that she listened with respectful attention to the words of her spiritual fathers and treasured the lessons she derived from them in her heart. One poem, "The Indian Chief,"³²⁶ reveals the fact that she even believed the "ministerial anecdotes" with which preachers enliven their sermons, for she placed after her title this note: "A True Story. This Circumstance Took Place in the Year 1804." The story is that of a Wyandot Chief "from Sandusky's distant plains," who, in spite of "the mother's screams and wild distress," brought his infant son to a meeting of the Presbytery and left him with the preachers, of whom he made only this modest request:

Say, will you take my little Boy;
Will you his Fathers be;
And him instruct and qualify
To come and preach to me?

Sally's book contains several prayers, which reveal the subjects of her meditations, the nature of her aspirations, and the objects of her love and care. In the longest of these, "A Private Prayer," with every evidence of sincere faith, she asks God to take care of her pastors, her parents, her brothers and sisters, and her children.³²⁷

For herself, in a comprehensive petition called "The Request," she asks a heart of sympathy,

Refin'd from ev'ry gross alloy
Alive to each exalted joy;

a virtuous mind; a life of simplicity; peace, friends, innocence, books, leisure, health, and competence; freedom from all false, foolish and unkind thoughts; the power to relieve want and reward merit; congenial associates; a desire to study "Nature and Nature's Author

323. Letter of August 14, 1801, given by Mrs. Leonard U. Hill to the author. Now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

324. *Poems*, pp. 47-51.

325. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

326. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-43.

327. *Poems*, pp. 11-20.

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. . . . , the noblest science meant for Man"; a mind illuminated by philosophy; angel guards about her bed and heavenly themes to inspire her mind; gratitude to God for His goodness; humility, hope, reverence, and contentment; pure poetic fire; imagination, taste, wit, and judgment, presided over by piety and guided by wisdom; a useful life; and a home in Heaven.³²⁸

In other prayers she asks for comfort in affliction;³²⁹ for deliverance from sin and unbelief;³³⁰ for faith; for power to overcome temptation, doubt, and fear; for cleansing from sin and guilt; for divine grace and a happy religious experience, "the pledge of firm electing love";³³¹ for long catalogues of spiritual gifts;³³² for healing physical, mental, and spiritual;³³³ for a restoration of the comforts of religion lost during a fit of depression;³³⁴ for resignation and submission to God's will in the hours of physical pain;³³⁵ for the spread of the gospel and the enlargement of Christ's Kingdom, until His glory is known "o'er all the spacious earth abroad."³³⁶

These are the private thoughts, the daily meditations of the woman whom Hensel described as a literary grass widow, coy and coquettish to the last.

Her ideas about love and marriage were quite conventional. The unhappiness of her own married life is rarely even suggested in her works, and then only vaguely in passages like the following:

Love, like the fragrant rose of May,
Perfumes our vernal morn;
Oft, like the rose, its sweets decay
And leave a rankling thorn.

No lasting joys from friendship rise
To satisfy below
Their source, the balm of life supplies;
And bit'rest weeds of woe.³³⁷

328. *Poems*, pp. 31-33.

329. "A Petition," *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

330. "A Song," *ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

331. "A Fragment," *ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

332. "A Private Prayer," *ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

333. "The True Physician," *ibid.*, pp. 35-39.

334. "A Complaint," *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

335. "Ejaculation," *ibid.*, p. 75.

336. "A Private Prayer," *ibid.*, pp. 17 and 20.

337. "Expostulation," *ibid.*, p. 24.

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As a rule, however, she shows no tendency to melancholy, and she never reveals disillusionment or bitterness. When asked by an unnamed young lady how to tell a generous young man from a designing one, she admitted that knaves, fops, and fools exist, and that

Sometimes a Fool doth look sedate,
A Coxcomb look demure:
A knowing look and shallow pate
Do sometimes meet, 'tis sure.

Nevertheless, she believed that an intelligent and prudent woman can recognize a good man when she sees him:

But gen'rally, I think, you'll find
The face and heart agree:
The eyes the window of the mind,
Thro' which the soul we see.
The modest blush, a heart declares
Of innocence the seat:
The soft'ned smile, the manly air,
And love and honor meet.
No man of sense a flat'rer is;
No wise man e'er is vain;
No good man contumelious;
No pious man profane.
There yet remains a certain rule,
Which may Lavinia save:
No wise man acts the Ape or Fool;
No honest man the Knave.³³⁸

Sally's interest in politics and current events was not great. Consequently, the reader is somewhat surprised when he comes upon the long poem which celebrated the exploit of General Eaton. In this poem we find a metrical paragraph of twenty-one lines lamenting the death and extolling the virtues of Washington; and two paragraphs, containing a total of thirty-five lines, written in praise of "Jefferson the wise." These are followed by a passage predicting the future greatness of America.³³⁹

In "A Landscape" she again expressed her admiration for Jefferson, who wisely guards the rights of a people, "Happy at home, respected from abroad." She advised her readers to avoid party

338. "To Miss ——," "The Answer," and "The Reply," *ibid.*, pp. 101-02.

339. "Derne," *ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

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strife which would certainly deliver them into the power of their enemies. She reminded them that during the Revolution, when all hearts were united, America was invincible. United, her people can still despise all kingly power if they choose public servants who are good and wise; but divided into factions and governed by those who serve for private gain, they will fall an easy prey to envious foes who are watching to betray them.³⁴⁰

Her ideas about life in general were evidently derived chiefly from the Bible and from English literature, and therefore were not at all startling or perhaps even impressive. She believed that the truest happiness is to be found in the simple life.³⁴¹ To her the universe, in which she beheld systems rolling on systems "and worlds on worlds, in beaut'ous order bright," revealed a divine Creator.³⁴² To her the real temple of Happiness is not the gilded ivory palace or the obscure cell, but the home.³⁴³ Death is pitiless, grim, and cruel.³⁴⁴ Her generalizations, in short, are trite and commonplace. On the other hand, when confronted by specific problems, she usually found a solution for them that revealed independence and common sense. For example, when asked by a friend to interpret a dream, she wrote:

And what are Dreams? Chimeras vain
Which float thro' fancy's vagrant brain:
Those airy phantoms, of the night,
At dawning reason take their flight.

Dreams clearly prove the soul can act,
Distinct from matter; or, abstract;
Thro' all the realms of space can rove;
Can feel, enjoy, fear, hope, and love.

But heav'n's Decrees are closely seal'd,
Or only in his Word reveal'd:
Peruse those sacred volumes o'er;
Nor need you any vision more.

There, would you learn his Will divine,
'Tis clearly taught in ev'ry line:
All things beyond what these disclose,
No man can guess; no angel knows.³⁴⁵

340. *Poems*, pp. 120-21.

341. "A Morning Song," *ibid.*, pp. 106-08.

342. "Address to Solitude," *ibid.*, pp. 65-67.

343. "Invocation to Happiness," *ibid.*, pp. 133-34.

344. "The King of Terrors," *ibid.*, p. 72.

345. "Extempore on Being Requested to Expound a Dream," *ibid.*, p. 92.

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Though not severe or censorious in her attitude toward young people, Sally had high standards of propriety, which she expressed vigorously whenever she felt it to be her duty to give advice. When, for example, she admonished sweet Delia to draw her tucker close,³⁴⁶ she gained, for once at least, the approval of Mr. Hensel and gave him an opportunity to speak disapprovingly of the peek-a-boo shirt-waists of his own day.³⁴⁷

In her letter to Eliza Clark, written in 1811, Sally remarked, "Tho' volatile in the extreme in conversation, I never could sit down to write without experiencing a serious impression on my mind, which renders my performance either serious or dull."³⁴⁸ This sentence, of course, is not to be taken as a literal statement of fact; but it contains some truth, for Sally Hastings' poems are more serious than her journal, and her journal more serious than her letters.

Humor is, of course, not entirely absent even from her verse. "To the Public," the first poem in her book, describes with mild humor the difficulties she has experienced in managing her "winged Pegasus." "To a Friend, 'Bit with the Itch of Scribbling' Verses" is an attempt at satirical humor, which ends thus:

Your music, so charming, melodious and sweet,
My senses o'erpower, 'till my eyelashes meet;
Had Orpheus (my Friend) but performed as you do,
When seeking his Bride in the kingdom of Pluto,
The Spectres infernal, with hideous roaring,
Forgetting to dance, would have fallen a snoring.³⁴⁹

"Apology to the Accomplished B——— for Whom I Had Humorously Promised to Make a Wig"³⁵⁰ is also an attempt at humor, but a rather feeble one. "Extempore, on Going to the House of Mrs. C——— When She Was Absent,"³⁵¹ is light, but not humorous; all the other poems in the book are serious.

The reader of Sally Hastings' poems will not find in them any

Jewels five-words-long
That on the stretched forefinger of all time
Sparkle forever.

346. "To the Accomplished Miss ——," *ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

347. *Op. cit.*, p. 377.

348. Copies of this letter, made by Ezra P. Young, are in the collection of Samuel C. Young and Mrs. Henry T. Bailey.

349. *Poems*, p. 111.

350. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

351. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

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The best lines that I have found occur in her description of General Eaton's capture of Derna:

Methinks I see him haul the pond'rous Gun,
Up Ocean's barrier, by the Midnight moon.³⁵²

Other passages as good as this occur rarely if at all, but passages which express in clear vigorous English the noblest of human emotions and aspirations appear on many pages; and with these, since we are dealing with a minor poet, we must be content. The journal and the letters, on the other hand, contain descriptions of the mountains that are very impressive and memorable, and portraits of people that are lively and amusing. Therefore, without making any extraordinary claims for the merits of her works, I bring my study to an end, believing firmly that she has a modest but secure place among those American writers who have left us a record of the days when the Conestoga wagons toiled across the Laurel Hill and the Chestnut Ridge, bearing the pioneers to their new homes in the West.

352. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Sam Davis, Patriot

BY ADELAIDE C. ROWELL, FORMER LIBRARIAN, CHATTANOOGA
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AM DAVIS was born October 6, 1842, on a farm near the little town of Smyrna, Tennessee, which lies twenty miles down the highway from Nashville. This is a rich agricultural region, with broad fields and gently rolling land around Smyrna, and in the distance the knolls become foothills, and the hills mountains, a part of the Cumberland Range. The home-place, a comfortable, spacious country house, stands upon one of these knolls overlooking the fertile acres of the Davis farm, and at the foot of the hill flows Stone's River, a lovely stream that is now remembered for the bloody battle that was fought along its banks.

Sam's father and mother were of Virginia ancestry. His father, C. L. Davis, was a large, forceful man, known for miles around as "Old Straight" because of his great honesty. He was a good neighbor, a just master to his slaves, and a father who instilled a reverence for honor and obedience in his children. Sam's mother was small, gentle and refined, twenty-three years younger than her husband, and between her and Sam, her oldest child, there was a strong bond of love and understanding.

Here amid such pleasant surroundings Sam passed his boyhood days, just as any other boy in like circumstances would have done in the years preceding the War Between the States. He attended the Rutherford County schools, going back and forth in all kinds of weather over rough country roads; and he learned early to ride a horse and shoot a rifle with unerring aim. A country-bred boy, he could find his way anywhere by the woodsman's instinct of direction; and there were a dozen or more signs in earth and sky that told him what to expect of the weather.

In 1860 war was in the air and the rift between the North and South was broadening rapidly. The Nation was flooded with oratory,

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and Sam had an opportunity to listen to both sides of the argument at meetings in Nashville and Murfreesboro, which brought together great crowds of troubled, excited people of varying opinions and convictions. There was no diversity of opinion in the Davis household, however. "Old Straight" was convinced that Secession was the only solution of the national problem, and Sam's faith in his father's judgment was strong and confident.

Sam was just eighteen when he left home to enter the Western Military Institute, then a department of the University of Nashville, under the management of Bushrod Johnson and Kirby Smith, both of whom were soon to become Confederate generals. There he measured up quickly as an apt student, a good potential soldier, and a favorite among his fellow-students. School days ended abruptly a few months later when soon after the fall of Fort Sumter, Tennessee cast in her lot with the Confederacy. It was the deathblow to the Western Military Institute, for headmasters and students all left school in greatest haste to become soldiers in the armies of the South.

In April, 1861, Sam Davis enlisted with the Rutherford Rifles, a company of the 1st Tennessee Infantry under the command of Colonel George Maney. After a summer in camp spent in training and discipline, the regiment was ordered to join General Robert E. Lee in the mountains of West Virginia. In this campaign the untried recruits of the 1st Tennessee Infantry suffered all the hardships of war, and before the year was out the undisciplined boys became seasoned soldiers, equal to any emergency. They tramped over icy mountains in bitter cold weather, and in the battles of Cheat Mountain and Big Sewell Mountain they showed their mettle as fighting men. Late in December the regiment was ordered to report to General Stonewall Jackson in Winchester, Virginia, and during the month of January, 1862, they marched under him upon Bath and Romney, again in severe cold weather.

Meanwhile, the Southern armies in Tennessee were meeting with disasters. Fort Donelson and Fort Henry had both fallen, and middle Tennessee was occupied by the Union armies. The 1st Tennessee Infantry was called home to help drive out the enemy, and Shiloh, Perryville, and Murfreesboro found this regiment in the forefront of each battle. It was at Perryville that Sam Davis was wounded in action.

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Following the death of General Albert Sidney Johnston at Shiloh, General Braxton Bragg was appointed commander of the Army of Tennessee, and while in camp at Murfreesboro, he had organized a company of scouts who were ordered to obtain information concerning the plans and fortifications of the enemy. Known as Coleman's Scouts, their commander was Captain H. B. Shaw, who posed as an ignorant itinerant doctor, and seemed to pass in and out of the enemy's lines at will, gathering valuable information, and sending it back to headquarters by his scouts. Only men well tried in loyalty, courage and quick thinking were selected for this dangerous line of duty, and Sam Davis was chosen because of his "coolness and daring and power of endurance." Wearing their Confederate uniforms, these intrepid young men were never out of danger from the moment they left army headquarters until they returned with the information entrusted to them, or were killed or captured in their daring adventure.

Late in October, 1863, Sam Davis and five other scouts left headquarters at Chattanooga with orders not to return until they had found out the strength of Federal fortifications in the Nashville area. Davis was fully cognizant of the danger of this particular undertaking, but his accurate knowledge of every road and by-road in upper middle Tennessee added assurance to his keen-witted daring. By the nineteenth of November the first part of the mission had been accomplished. Captain Shaw had committed to Sam's care valuable papers for General Bragg, among them plans of the fortifications at Nashville and Pulaski, and these were hidden in his boots and his saddle seat. He set out for Decatur, Alabama, and after several exciting escapes, he reached the Tennessee River. Once across the river and the rest of the way would be in comparative safety, but the country thereabout was swarming with Kansas "Jayhawkers." A band of these captured Davis and took him to the jail in Pulaski.

General G. M. Dodge, U. S. A., had moved his 16th Army Corps into Pulaski early in the fall, and as commanding general to him were brought the papers found on Sam Davis. General Dodge saw at once the accuracy of the captured plans, and suspecting that the source of information was an officer among the Federal Engineers, he ordered Davis brought to him, and tried to persuade him to tell where he had

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procured the papers. This is General Dodge's account of that meeting:

He was a fine, soldierly looking young man, dressed in a faded Federal overcoat, an army soft hat, and top boots. He had a fresh, open face, which was inclined to brightness; in all things he showed himself a true soldier; it was known by all the command that I desired to save him. His captors knew that he was a member of Coleman's Scouts, and I knew what was found upon him, and desired to locate Coleman and ascertain, if possible, who was furnishing information so accurate to General Bragg. Davis met me modestly. I tried to impress on him the danger he was in, and as only a messenger, I held out to him the hope of lenient treatment if he would answer truthfully my questions. I informed him that he would be tried as a spy and the evidence would surely convict him, and I made the direct appeal to him to give me the information I knew he had. He very quietly but firmly refused to do it. I pleaded with him with all the power I possessed to give me some chance to save his life. I discovered that he was a most admirable young fellow, with highest character and strictest integrity. He replied, "I know, General, I will have to die; but I will not tell where I got the information, and there is no power on earth that can make me tell. You are doing your duty as a soldier, and if I have to die, I shall be doing my duty to God and my country."

There was nothing General Dodge could do but convene a military commission to try Davis on two charges: 1. Being a spy. 2. Being a carrier of communications from within the U. S. Army to persons in arms against the U. S. Government. Sam denied being a spy, but he pleaded guilty to the second count. On November twenty-sixth, the commission adjudged him guilty of both charges, with the penalty death by hanging the next day, November 27, 1863.

All through his capture, trial and death, Sam Davis conducted himself with a courage and dignity that won the admiration of his captors. Again and again General Dodge sent word to him promising freedom and safe conduct to the Confederate lines if he would tell the source of his information, but Sam never wavered in his determination to carry the secret with him to the gallows.

On the morning of November twenty-seventh, promptly at ten o'clock, Sam Davis, his arms bound behind him, mounted the wagon waiting for him in the jail yard, seated himself on his coffin, and as he

SAM DAVIS, PATRIOT

rode away, nodded good-bye to the prisoners who were watching him from the jail windows. On the coffin with Sam rode Chaplain Young, a Federal clergyman, who had been a sympathetic friend during the past few days. Ahead of them marched the band playing the funeral dirge, surrounded by Federal troops, the wagon with its tragic load moved slowly through the town and on up the hill to where the gallows stood outlined against the November sky.

In the memorable scene that followed the only witnesses were Federal soldiers, and the testimony and tributes to the courage of Sam Davis in his final hour all come from them. One of them who was close enough to hear Sam's last words, said of him: "In all my four years of service in the Union Army I never witnessed such bravery as portrayed by him at the time of his killing."

Through the eyes of Northern soldiers we see Davis step from the wagon and walk with firm, soldierly tread to the bench at the foot of the gallows. There he sat and talked to Chaplain Young, sending last messages to his mother; and to Captain Armstrong, who was in charge of the execution. Of the latter he asked news of the war, and when told of Southern reverses, remarked regretfully: "The boys will have to fight the rest of the battles without me." The captain was distressed at the painful duty he was forced to perform. "I am sorry to have to do this, Sam," he said, and the boy answered in friendly sympathy, "You are only doing your duty, Captain. Thank you for all your kindness."

At the last moment before the execution, General Dodge sent Captain Chickasaw of his Scouts in a final effort to save the boy's life. "Give me the names of the men who furnished you those plans," urged Chickasaw, "and you will be granted an escort to Bragg's outpost, and given your liberty."

A Federal officer standing near has described that moment:

The boy looked about him. Life was young and promising. Overhead hung the noose; around him were soldiers in line; at his feet was a box prepared for his body, now pulsing with young and vigorous life; in front were the steps that would lead him to disgraceful death, and that death it was in his power to so easily avoid. For just an instant he hesitated, and then put it aside forever.

And those who heard his answer at that time never forgot the words:

SAM DAVIS, PATRIOT

"I will die a thousand times before I will betray a friend!"

Here is one more picture as given by a Federal soldier even younger than Sam:

And then Davis walked quietly up the steps (of the scaffold) and stood on the trap. The sergeant approached to tie his feet and blindfold him. Davis seemed to speak. The sergeant paused. Davis lifted his face and gazed long and steadily at the hills and fields and sky. Then it was that I saw the noble profile, the black eyes, the close-pressed lips, the white, white face of a young man only a little older than myself who might have been earlier a playmate had I lived in Tennessee—and then my heart gave way.

And this last tribute of an eye witness:

And thus ended a tragedy wherein a smooth-faced boy, without counsel, in the midst of enemies, with courage of highest type, deliberately chose death to life secured by means he thought dishonorable.

Sam Davis' body now rests in the family burial ground beside the remains of his mother and father at the homeplace near Smyrna. In the enclosure is a marble shaft placed there by his father, and the inscription reads:

In memory of Samuel Davis Member of the 1st Tennessee Regiment of Volunteers Born October 6, 1842, died November 27, 1863, Aged 21 years, 1 month, and 21 days He Laid Down His Life for His Country. A Truer Soldier, a Purer Patriot, a Braver Man Never Lived. He Suffered Death on the Gibbet Rather than Betray His Friends and Country.

The Davis home is now a memorial maintained by the State of Tennessee. In the capitol grounds at Nashville, a statue has been placed in memory of Sam Davis, made possible by contributions from people all over the United States. Another statue stands on the hill in Pulaski where Sam Davis was executed.

Windecker-Gross and Allied Families

BY ESTHER GROSS WINDECKER, PAINESVILLE, OHIO

EDITED BY WALTER S. FINLEY



THE Windeckers were long established at Mannheim on the Rhine, Germany, before they left the country during the Huguenot persecution, when they went to Holland, from which country John Windecker came to America. Among the emigrants that settled in the central part of New York State, in the vicinity of Watertown, was John Windecker, the progenitor of the family in this country, who came in 1710. John Windecker was probably related to Hartman Windecker, who played a prominent part in the history of that part of New York. He was among the German Palatinates who settled on the tract of land, now German-town, owned by Robert Livingston. Four villages sprung into existence on this manor, and they were Hunterstown, Queensbury, Annsberg, and Haysburgh. Livingston had settled these emigrants for the purpose of having them manufacture naval stores for the British Navy, but the venture proved unsuccessful, whereupon many of the colonists removed to the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys in New York, while others continued further south to Pennsylvania. While the enterprise was in existence, however, Hartman Windecker was "master" of the town of Annsberg, and also was captain of the Palatinates, who volunteered for the British expedition against Quebec, in 1711. He was among those who removed to the Schoharie Valley and formed the settlement, Hartman's Dorp, named in his honor. Not being able to get title to the land on which they had settled, most of the settlers, under Hartman Windecker's leadership, went down into Pennsylvania in 1723, to the Susquehanna River and then to the valleys of the Swatara and Tulpehocken creeks, now in Berks County. In spite of the majority of the settlers removing to Pennsylvania, it is likely that one of the Windecker family remained in New York, and resettled in the Mohawk Valley at Stone Arabia or German Flats, and became the ancestor of Jacob Windecker, of whom further.

WINDECKER-GROSS AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(E. B. O'Callaghan: "The Documentary History of the State of New York," quarto edition, Vol. III, pp. 343-44. F. B. Hough: "Gazetteer of the State of New York," p. 238. W. T. Blair: "The Michael Shoemaker Book," pp. 227-28. J. R. Simms: "History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York," pp. 41, 48, 75, 76. Rupp: "Thirty Thousand Names," pp. 446-47.)

Windeck (Windecker) Arms—Per pale, 1st, azure two stars in pale or; 2d, or, a lion gules.

Crest—A lion issuant gules, between two wings conjoined azure.

Mantling—Or and azure.

(Arms in possession of the family. Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

I. *Jacob Windecker*, probably a descendant of the above Windecker family, was born about 1758, died September 24, 1831, aged seventy-three, and was buried, with his wife, in the West Lowville Cemetery, Lowville, Lewis County, New York. One of the first records we have of him is a deed of land in Lowville to him by one Nicholas Low, of New York City, dated December 18, 1821, and recorded January 23, 1828. An interesting document found was Jacob Windecker's will, which follows:

Will of Jacob Windecker, dated December 23, 1822, and Probated April 15, 1835.

I, Jacob Windecker of the town of Harrisburg, in the county of Lewis and state of New York, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following, *viz.*, I give and bequeath to my sons John Windecker and Jacob Windecker, Junr. and their heirs, forever, the following pieces or parcels of land, *viz.*, one hundred and sixteen acres lying and being in the northeast sub-division of Lot No. 42 in Harrisburg aforesaid, and also sixteen acres adjoining on the East side of said lot and being in the town of Lowville, and also sixty-eight acres which I own in the southern sub-division of Lot No. 41, in Harrisburg aforesaid, to be equally divided according to its true valuation. I give and bequeath to my daughter Polly Starling five dollars, and to my daughter Elsa Kingsly the like sum of five dollars, and to my daughter Katharine Windecker, one Cow, and one heifer, one great spinning wheel, one small spinning wheel, one good chest, four sheep, one good bed and bedding, six chairs, and one table.

All the rest and residue of my estate, goods and chattels I give and bequeath to my dear and beloved wife Mary Windecker to have and to hold as long as she remains my widow. In the event of my said wife marrying again after my decease then the property above willed to be equally divided among my children John & Jacob, Katharine &

WINDECKER-GROSS AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Rebecah, and I nominate, constitute and appoint my wife Mary Windecker sole executrix of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all other and former wills by me at any time heretofore made. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the twenty-third day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred and twenty-two.

JACOB WINDECKER his mark (L. S.)

Signed sealed and published and delivered by said testator Jacob Windecker as and for his last will and testament in the presence of us who have subscribed our names as witnesses thereto in the presence of the testator.

THOMAS BUTTS, JR.

WILLIAM PARKER

WILLIAM KISNER.

Be it remembered that on this 15 day of April 1835 the within written instrument was duly proved according to law as and for the will of the real estate of Jacob Windecker deceased, in the Surrogate of the County of Lewis.

Witness my hand and seal of office.

ANDREW W. DOIG, Surrogate.

It may be seen from the above will that Jacob Windecker lived, at one time, at Harrisburg, New York.

Jacob Windecker married Margaret or Mary Rhone. It is possible that he married twice, as his widow, Mary, was eleven years younger than he. If so, Mary's surname is not known. After her husband's death Mary, widow, was living with her son Jacob at Harrisburg, according to the census records of 1855. Children, as mentioned in their father's will: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Jacob, born in Herkimer County, New York, February 10, 1805, died September 28, 1874; moved to Harrisburg, Lewis County, New York, about 1821; married Catherine, surname not known, born in 1804, died January 20, 1886; children: i. William H., born in Lewis County, New York, died in 1903; married Dorothy A. Goutremont, born in Montgomery County, New York, in 1820, died in 1901. ii. Sylvester, born in Lewis County, in 1830. iii. John, born in Lewis County, in 1833. iv. Cornelius, born in Lewis County, in 1838. 3. Polly, married Mr. Staring. 4. Elsa, married Mr. Kingsly. 5. Katharine. 6. Rebecca.

("Census of 1835, 1855, of Harrisburg, Lewis County, New York." "Records of Lowville, New York," Book K, p. 283. Office

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of Surrogate, Lewis County, New York, Village of Lowville, Book B, p. 120. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. *John Windecker*, son of Jacob Windecker, was born in Herkimer County, New York, about 1800, and died August 15, 1883. He was reared as a farmer. When he reached his majority, he left Herkimer and settled in Lewis County. The location he chose was in what is now the town of Harrisburg. At that time it was a wilderness, and from it he cleared a farm and made a home. He and his wife were concerned in several land transactions in the years 1833, 1838 and 1846. In the last transaction, he dealt with his brother as follows:

John Windecker and Caroline his wife of the town of Lowville to Jacob Windecker Jr., of the town of Harrisburgh, part of lot #41, 30 acres, "being the portion divided to me in 1833." Ackd. 12 May, 1846.

From the census taken in Lowville, Lewis County, New York, in the year of 1850, it appears that his occupation was that of a tavern keeper. He and his family were listed as follows:

John Windecker,	48,	tavern keeper, born in New York.
Caroline	"	47
Conrad	"	22
Simeon	"	18
Caroline	"	7
Sidney	"	6
Sylvester	"	6
Sedate	"	6
Elizabeth Allen	30	
Margaret Petrie	8	

About this time John Windecker went to Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, where he settled on a farm at Byron, in Fond du Lac County. In religion he was a Universalist, and in politics a Whig, and later a Republican.

John Windecker married Caroline Ralston, who was born in Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York. She was a woman of strong character and was a great helpmate when the family moved westward. Children: 1. William R., born in Harrisburg, March 7, 1822. 2. Marietta, married Isaac Bostwick. 3. Sandusky, married in Lowville, New York, April 7, 1846, Jane Ramsey. 4. Conrad. 5.

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Simeon, of whom further. 6. Caroline. 7. Sidney (triplet), born in Lowville, June 9, 1844, living in 1915; resided in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; served as a member of Company H, 5th Wisconsin Volunteers, and was mustered out with the rank of sergeant. 8. Sylvester (triplet), born in Lowville, June 9, 1844, died April 16, 1915; resided in Byron, Wisconsin. He was the first of the triplets to die. 9. Sedate (triplet), born in Lowville, June 9, 1844; married George M. Pier; they lived at Wausau, Wisconsin. In Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, a newspaper dated June 13, 1907, had an article on the triplets' celebration of their sixty-third birthday. It stated that "the Windecker Triplets, are said to be the oldest living triplets in the world."

("Census of 1850, Lowville, Lewis County, New York." "Records of Lowville, New York," Book No. 5, p. 36; Book No. 6, p. 444; Book No. 7, p. 203; Book No. 21 for 1833; Book O, p. 215; Book P, p. 276; Book T, p. 403. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. Simeon Windecker, son of John and Caroline (Ralston) Windecker, was born about 1832. He settled in Wellington, Lorain County, Ohio, where he resided for many years. There he was a leading citizen and for years engaged in the mercantile business under the firm name of the Windecker-Laundon Company. During the Civil War he served as a captain in the 103d Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and later was brevetted a colonel. He performed gallant service, seeing action in eighteen hard fought battles and numerous smaller battles and skirmishes. He enlisted in August, 1862, and served throughout the Civil War, and was on General Schofield's staff, with General Sherman in the Atlanta campaign as chief of the Ambulance Corps, was transferred to the staff of General Cox and turned back with Cox to fight Hood around Nashville.

Simeon Windecker married Helen Jeannette Adams. (Adams IX.) Through this marriage Clifton Nichols Windecker was descended from early distinguished New England ancestors. Child: 1. Clifton Nichols, of whom further.

(Records in possession of the family.)

IV. Clifton Nichols Windecker, son of Simeon and Helen Jeannette (Adams) Windecker, was born October 19, 1869, in Welling-



Steel Engraving by M. J. Carr

Clifton W. Windecker

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ton, Lorain County, Ohio, and died at his home on Mentor Avenue, Painesville, Ohio, June 1, 1938.

He received his early education in the public schools of Wellington and upon graduation from Wellington High School in 1887, entered Oberlin College, at Oberlin, Ohio, where for two years he continued his studies. He then matriculated at Columbia University, in New York City, where he was graduated from the School of Mining and Engineering in 1892. After his graduation, for about two years he was assistant professor of mathematics at Columbia University, and then for a time he did engineering work in connection with the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City. Returning to Ohio, Mr. Windecker became associated with the Johnson Company at Lorain, and after two years' connection with that company he went to Cleveland, Ohio, where for the following three years he held an important position with the Brown Hoisting & Conveying Machine Company. His engineering ability was beginning to attract the attention of men high in various industries and he received offers to assume posts of greater responsibilities.

It was in May, 1899, that Mr. Windecker's long association with the alkali industry began, at which time he was chosen to be the engineer in charge of making plans for the construction of a plant for the Columbia Chemical Company at Barberton, Ohio. He remained as engineer in charge of the construction of that plant and, upon its completion, was appointed its assistant superintendent, remaining with the company as assistant superintendent for eleven years.

On February 1, 1910, Mr. Windecker began the work which was to become such an important factor in the future prosperity of Lake County, resulting in the founding at Fairport of the great Diamond Alkali Company. He was asked by C. L. Flaccus and T. R. Evans to find the best site for a chemical manufacturing plant in this general locality. Following out these instructions he inspected and studied plots of land from Alpena, Michigan, to Buffalo, New York. After considering every possibility Mr. Windecker chose the mouth of Grand River, at Fairport, Lake County, Ohio, as the most desirable site in the hundreds of miles he had investigated. In the fall of 1910, Mr. Windecker, with M. M. Funder aiding him as his first assistant, conducted the work preliminary to laying out the plans for the first

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buildings, salt wells, railroad connections and other essentials for the manufacturing concern. The progress of the Diamond Alkali Company has since become a most important part of the industrial history of northern Ohio. The facilities of the company at the site chosen by Mr. Windecker have constantly grown until they now occupy more than one hundred acres of land. This growth, from its very beginning, was closely supervised by Mr. Windecker. Starting with him and one assistant, the plant gradually increased in size to become the largest industrial concern in Lake County, Ohio, giving employment at times to as many as two thousand persons. Clifton Nichols Windecker for many years had been vice-president in charge of manufacturing of the Diamond Alkali Company, being recognized as the titular head of the Fairport plant. Through his ability and leadership he was instrumental in developing this plant from a very small beginning into a great organization. He held many other important offices in various business enterprises. He served as president of the Thunder Bay Quarries Company, at Alpena, Michigan; vice-president of the Standard Portland Cement Company; president of the Lake County Gas Company, which supplies gas for several northern Ohio counties; and as a director of the First National Bank of Painesville.

In June, 1936, after a period of more than twenty-six years of devoted and very pleasant service to the Diamond Alkali Company, Mr. Windecker resigned his office of vice-president in charge of manufacturing, at which time he partially retired from active business. But to him his life's work was never actually "work," and he often referred to his earlier hard and tedious labors, as well as to his most important work in later years, as "fun." Therefore, he never actually retired from business activities, and after his resignation from the Diamond Alkali Company, he maintained an office in Cleveland, where he did considerable industrial research.

At the time of his retirement from the Diamond Alkali Company, Mr. Windecker was highly praised by those with whom he had been associated who called particular attention to the interest he had always displayed in the welfare of the employees of the firm. He always had time for a word with any worker, and his attitude of understanding and helpfulness was greatly appreciated by those who had gone to him when needing help and advice.

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Mr. Windecker was an attendant and liberal supporter of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Painesville, and served that church for two terms as a trustee. During his college days, he became a member of Beta Theta Pi fraternity and was well known and greatly admired by his fraternity brothers throughout the entire United States. He was also an active member of the Columbia University Club, of New York City. He took great pride and interest in his fine farm on Blackmore Road, three miles east of Painesville. This farm, with more than seventeen hundred feet of beautiful lake front, was a particular hobby of Mr. Windecker's and, while his residence was on Mentor Avenue in Painesville, many of his happiest hours, especially during his later years, were spent in activities concerned with his farm. He was always fond of healthy, outdoor life and of travel, and with Mrs. Windecker greatly enjoyed their various trips to Europe and to the South during the winters. He was a good tennis player and played regularly until near the close of his life. Although, all during his more active years, he was a very busy man, putting in long hours at his work, he did find time to devote to outside interests, and as before enumerated, held important offices in other successful business enterprises. His long years of intense activity made it difficult for him to relax and as before stated, he continued active until the close of his very useful life.

The sudden and unexpected death of Clifton Nichols Windecker was an occasion of profound sorrow and regret throughout the entire community and wherever he was known. He was a gentleman in the highest and loftiest meaning of that term. To his family and to those who knew him best, his chief qualities appeared as a benevolent heart, which displayed itself through channels calculated to produce the greatest good to his fellowmen, and an honesty of purpose which made his life so far-reaching in its effects upon humanity in general. These traits of Mr. Windecker's character are more fittingly put forth in a letter received by the Rev. W. B. Robinson, pastor of Mr. Windecker's church, from a member of the Windecker family and read by the Rev. Mr. Robinson at the funeral services. This letter said in part:

His greatest aims in life were to mete out justice to all, to reward those who strove honestly to accomplish things, to give freely to those

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in distress and need, kindly guidance and substantial aid. His greatest gladness in life was to enjoy the happiness of others and to share and lighten their grief.

Above all, to those of us who remain, he has left the unforgettable memories of his kindness and unselfish deeds. To those of us who loved him dearly, the lasting memories of his utterly unselfish devotion will never fade.

The Rev. W. W. Dietrich, pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Warren, Ohio, who was formerly pastor of Mr. Windecker's church in Painesville, and who also officiated at the impressive funeral services, said in part:

Individuals such as Mr. Windecker present the truths of life. They are equipped mentally and physically for their work. Mr. Windecker was capable of carrying the heavy burden he bore and his generosity was felt by the church, industry, community and his family.

Thus we sum up the life story of one of nature's noblemen, and it is, indeed, a privilege to strive to keep alive the memory and the highly meritorious deeds of such a man as Clifton Nichols Windecker.

Clifton Nichols Windecker married, June 6, 1899, Esther Gross. (Gross—American Line—IX.) Children: 1. Robert Erwin, married Louise Aldrich; children: i. Sylvia. ii. Dorle (Dorle being the German name meaning Dorothy). 2. Irene Jeannette; attended Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio, then entered Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, from which she graduated; married Jose M. Alonso, world famous tennis expert, former captain of the Spanish Davis Cup Team, which came to the United States as Spain's representative in the World Amateur Tennis championship matches; they reside in San Francisco, California; child: i. Jeannette. 3. Charles Edward, married Mae Noling; child: i. John Charles.

(Family records.)

(La Grose [Gross] Line)

La Grose (Gross) Arms—Sable, on a fesse between three mullets pierced argent, as many crosses-crosslet gules.

Crest—On a ducal coronet a talbot passant proper, collared and lined or.

Motto—*Teneo tenere majores.* (I hold what my ancestors held.)

(Arms in possession of the family.)

Gross, as a surname, with its variants, Gros, Grose, Grosse, and Groce, is derived from the nickname, meaning "great or big," as to



Esther Gross Kindecker

WINDECKER-GROSS AND ALLIED FAMILIES

stature, from the French *gros*. The name appears on early English records, the earliest instance being on the Hundred Rolls of County Oxford, in 1273, where it is recorded as Almaricus Grossus, and John le Gros. It appears also on the Hundred Rolls of County Bedford in the same year as Jordan le Gros.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

(The Family in England)

I. Sir William Le Gros, first of this line to be of record, is first mentioned in 1312, when he is named in the will of Sir Simon de Forneals de Pelham, Knt. He married Elianor, whose surname is not known. They were the parents of a son Walter, of whom further.

(Records of the Gross Family, compiled by Gustave Anjou for R. J. Gross.)

II. Walter Gross, as the name was spelled, son of William and Elianor le Gros, was the father of: 1. Robert. 2. Hugo, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Hugo Gross, son of Walter Gross, married Alecia, whose parentage is not known. Children: 1. William. 2. Thomas. 3. John. 4. Oliver (1), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Oliver (1) Gross, son of Hugo and Alecia Gross, married and had Oliver (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Oliver (2) Gross, son of Oliver (1) Gross, possessed several manors. He was among the retinue of the Earl of Suffolk at the battle of Agincourt in 1415. He married and was the father of: 1. William (1), of whom further. 2. Jean, died April 14, 1456; married Peronette de Roye.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. William (1) Gross, son of Oliver (2) Gross, was born at Gand, June 8, 1423. He married, in 1445, Helene d'Udekem. Children: 1. Jean, married Juwette, daughter of Gerard de Corswarem.

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2. William (2), of whom further.
3. Helene, married Mr. Waroux.
4. Eustace, born in 1453, died in 1473.
5. Humbert.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. William (2) Gross, son of William (1) and Helene (d'Udekem) Gross, was born about 1451. He emigrated to England from France in 1485. He had letters of denization as "Guillaume le Gross, de la Noue," and as being in England two years. They were dated May 3, 1487.

William (2) Gross married Marie Duges, widow of Auguste Brizard. Children: 1. John (1), of whom further. 2. Marie, married François Dufrou. 3. François, born August 13, 1487; posthumous child.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. John (1) Gross, son of William (2) and Marie (Duges-Brizard) Gross, was born May 4, 1484, in Noue, France, and died in England in 1515. He came with his parents to England in 1485, and evidently came into possession of the estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, which had been in the family for generations, as his children had these lands from their parents, "of Norfolk and Lichard, Cornwall."

John (1) Gross married, in 1510, Margaret Hudson, daughter of Thomas Hudson, of Lichard Cornwall. Children: 1. John (2), of whom further. 2. William, born September 6, 1512; married Margaret, surname not known, who was buried at Kelsagh, Suffolk, January 22, 1565. 3. Thomas, born in 1513.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. John (2) Gross, son of John (1) and Margaret (Hudson) Gross, was born in 1511 and was buried at Kelsagh, Suffolk, August 30, 1586. He married, September 14, 1539, at Kelsagh, Margery Candle. Children: 1. Thomas. 2. George, baptized July 3, 1540; married, September 11, 1581, Brigett Storke; (second) Alice Downing, daughter of Richard Downing. 3. John, buried November 21, 1554. 4. Cathryne, baptized April 1, 1545. 5. Mary, baptized June 16, 1547. 6. Phyllyse, baptized February 20, 1548, buried May 20, 1549. 7. John (again), baptized November 24, 1549; married

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Dionis Felton, daughter of John Felton, of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk. 8. Abra (ham), baptized April 5, 1551, died and was buried November 22, 1593. 9. Margery, baptized June 25, 1554. 10. William, of whom further. 11. Nycolas, baptized December 6, 1556, was buried December 16, 1557. 12. Samuell, baptized April 4, 1563. 13. Raynold, baptized August 25, 1565.

(*Ibid.*)

X. *William Gross*, son of John (2) and Margery (Candle) Gross, was baptized in Kelsagh, Suffolk, July 6, 1555. He married Mary, whose surname is not known, and who was buried October 28, 1587. Children: 1. William, baptized October 25, 1579. 2. Zacharie, baptized April 16, 1581. 3. Marie, baptized March 24, 1582. 4. John, baptized March 21, 1584; buried April 16, 1586. 5. Isaac, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. *Isaac Gross*, the progenitor of this line in America, was born November 19, 1585, in Kelsagh, County Suffolk, England, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1649. Accompanied by his wife and children, Isaac Gross came to Boston, from Cornwall, England, before 1635. With him, or soon afterward, came his brother, Edmund Gross, a seafaring man. All the colonial families of Gross are descended from these two brothers.

By occupation Isaac Gross was a brewer, but when he was admitted to the First Church in Boston, Massachusetts, on April 17, 1636, he was recorded as "an husbandman." In 1636 he was granted land in "a great allotment of land at Muddy River" (now Brookline, Massachusetts). On April 17, 1637, Isaac Gross, with others, was appointed to look after the gates and fences. He became involved with the Wheelwright secession by joining the Antinomians. Because of this John Wheelwright, Isaac Gross, and others were disarmed on November 20, 1637. He was dismissed from the First Church to that of Exeter, January 6, 1638. He removed there and became a leading figure in that community. However, he returned later to Boston, where he owned a large amount of real estate. In the "Book of Possessions," he was recorded as having "one house bounded with

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William Pierce on the south and the east, Edward Bendall west, and the cove on the north"; also "a house and garden about $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre"; and also "a house and garden." In the records he was styled "Mr.," which indicates that he was a prominent man in the community and its society. The Boston town records give the following for December 14, 1635: "Isaac Grosse allotment of 50 acres, being 80 rodd in length to the southwest and northeast."

One of the largest estates of his time was disposed of in his will, dated May 29, 1649, and probated June 5, 1649, of which an abstract is:

29th day, 3 mon. 1649, Isaak Grosse of Boston, Brewer. Being sicke, etc.

To wife, the house I now live in, with the onset and one hundred pounds starling. £12 in money, the other in goods.

Unto Edmund Grosse £200.

Unto Clement Grosse £100.

Unto Matthew Grosse £100.

Unto Mr. John Cotton, teacher of the Church of Boston £10.

To Philemon Pormort of Wells £10.

To Will^m Mardayle of Wells £5.

To George Bayles of Boston £5.

To my grandchild Isaak Grosse £20.

To my grandchildren, Hannah and Susanna Grosse each £5.

To my grandchild Tho. Grosse £10.

To the child which my son Clement's wife goeth withall, if born alive £5.

To my wife besides the above mentioned my servant an Indyan, named Lewes.

My son, Edmund, executor.

Witness hereunto

THO. MARSHALL

The Testator, I. GROSSE.

ISAAC WAKER.

Isaac Gross married, in England, Ann, whose surname is not known. She married (second), August 15, 1658, Samuel Sheere or Shears. Some records say Isaac Gross married, August 4, 1612, Mary Howard, daughter of Clement Howard. Children: 1. Edmund, born May 16, 1613, in England, died in May, 1655; married (first) Katherine, surname not known; (second) Ann, surname not known. 2. Mary, born February 20, 1614. 3. Matthew, born May 3, 1615,

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in England, died in 1694, in Boston, Massachusetts; married (first), October 5, 1652, Mary Trott, daughter of John Trott; (second) Ellener, surname not known. 4. Clement, of whom further.

(S. P. Bradshaw. "The Descendants of Ezra Carter Gross and His Line of Descent from Isaac Gross" [typed MSS.], pp. 1-3, 5. "Massachusetts Bay Colony Records," Vol. I, p. 211. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. VII, p. 228. "History of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. II, pp. 279-81. Records of the Gross Family compiled by Gustave Anjou for R. J. Gross.)

II. Clement Gross, son of Isaac Gross, was born in England, February 18, 1616, and was still living in Boston, October 10, 1683. He accompanied his father to New England previous to 1635. Like him, Clement Gross followed the occupation of brewer. In 1658 he was a licensed inn-holder, and the license was renewed every year following, up to, and including, 1678. Such a license was given only to a responsible and respected citizen of the community. On February 5, 1669, he made a bond, with James Oliver and Richard Callicott as securities, to act as administrator of the estate of his son Clement Gross, Jr. The witnesses were Thomas Weld and Grace Bendall.

In the year 1677, Clement Gross declared to the court that through the influence of his wife and friends, he was drawn into signing an instrument, which he did not understand, and which left him nothing to pay his debts. The court took the matter under consideration and on May 23, 1677, it is recorded that:

Wee, whose names are underwritten, being feoffees in trust for y^e children within mentioned in this deed, upon the motion of the honoured Generall Court, now assembled y^e 23 May, 1677, doe hereby renounce our trust and any right to the within mentioned premises for the said children, and ourselves, as we are concerned therein, not doubting but the gen^rall Court will settle our estate upon the children aequall with y^e of Clement Gross, his other children, and see that they will be brought up during y^r nonage, Boston 23 May 1676.

Witness

THOMAS GROSS
JOHN WILLIAMS

RICHARD CALLICOTT
SAMUEL NORDEN.

On October 15, 1679, the court, in answer to his petition, granted him liberty to sell his own lands.

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Clement Gross married (first), before 1649, Mary, whose surname is not known; (second) Ann, surname not known, who died between 1671 and 1676. Children of first marriage: 1. Simon, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born January 30, 1653; died September 1, 1656. 3. Edmund, born March 9, 1655-56, died young. 4. Elizabeth (again), born March 5, 1658-59. 5. William, born March 3, 1665-66. 6. Clement. 7. Isaac. Children of second marriage: 8. Edmund (again), born September 26 or 27, 1669, in Boston, died March 13, 1728, at Hingham, Massachusetts; married Martha, whose surname is not known. 9. Ann, born March 18, 1671; married, November 12, 1696, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, Walter Gutridge.

(S. P. Bradshaw. "The Descendants of Ezra Carter Gross and His Line of Descent from Isaac Gross" [typed MSS.], pp. 5, 9, 10, 13. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. IX, p. 311; Vol. X, pp. 219, 220. "Massachusetts Bay Colony Records," Vol. V, pp. 150, 247. "History of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 280. Records of the Gross Family compiled by Gustave Anjou for R. J. Gross.)

III. Simon Gross, son of Clement and Mary Gross, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, about 1650, and died at Hingham, Massachusetts, April 26, 1696. He is generally supposed to have been the son of Clement, but some believe that he was the son of Edmund, brother of Clement. However, it is certain that Simon was the grandson of Isaac Gross.

As early as 1675, Simon Gross moved to Hingham, where he was a cordwainer, though sometimes styled "boatman." He resided on South Street in Hingham. From there he served in King Philip's War in 1675-76. His widow was appointed to administer his estate, amounting to £196 5s. 3d.

Simon Gross married, October 23, 1675, Mary Bond, born December 16, 1657, daughter of John and Hester (Blakely) Bond. Children, all born at Hingham, Massachusetts: 1. Simon, born August 11, 1676. 2. Thomas, born February 4, 1677-78; married (first), December 29, 1705, Elizabeth Hincks, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, died June 7, 1708; married (second), October 13, 1709, Experience Freeman. 3. John, born April 3, 1681. 4. Josiah, born August

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2, 1683; married, March 13, 1717, Susannah Howard. 5. Micah, of whom further. 6. Alice, born April 26, 1689; married, intentions published August 21, 1714, John Crowell. 7. Abigail, born June 28, 1692; married, intentions published August 18, 1716, Nathaniel Smith. 8. Isaac, was drowned May 30, 1742; married, September 9, 1725, Dorothy Cobb. 9. A child.

(S. P. Bradshaw. "The Descendants of Ezra Carter Gross and His Line of Descent from Isaac Gross" [typed MSS.], pp. 13, 15, 16, 17. "History of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 280. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. II, p. 254. S. Rich: "Truro—Cape Cod," Second Edition, p. 529. G. M. Bodge: "Soldiers in King Philip's War," p. 449. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. Micah Gross, son of Simon and Mary (Bond) Gross, was born February 20, 1685, at Hingham, Massachusetts, and died October 8, 1753, at Truro, Massachusetts, aged sixty-eight. He moved from Hingham to Truro between 1709 and 1713, with his wife, Mary, and son, Simon. There he was admitted to the church on May 1, 1726, and on the same day Hannah, his second wife, owned the covenant, but wasn't admitted to the church until April 21, 1728. Micah Gross was referred to as "a mariner." In Truro he was moderator at a meeting of the land proprietors.

His will, which was dated May 27, 1753, and proved December 4, 1753, mentioned his wife, Hannah, and children Simon, Ebenezer, Israel, Mary Stevens, Josiah (Jonah), Benjamin, Hannah, and John. His son, John, was "to learn the mariner's art." To grandson Micah, son of Josiah Gross, was given a silver-headed cane.

Micah Gross married (first) Mary, whose surname is not known, died at Truro, July 16, 1724, in her thirty-fifth year. He married (second), August 20, 1725, Hannah Freeman, born May 3, 1704, at Eastham, Massachusetts, died January 13, 1758, at Truro, aged fifty-four. Children of first marriage: 1. Simon, of whom further. 2. Ebenezer, born August 17, 1713, baptized at Truro, December 6, 1713; married, February 12, 1736, Abigail Treat. 3. Israel, born April 28, 1718, baptized June 1, 1718, at Truro, died October 19, 1788; married (first), in 1740, Elizabeth Rich; (second), December 2, 1762, Lydia Paine. 4. Mary, born June 9, 1720, baptized July

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24, 1720; married, June 11, 1741, Richard Stevens, Jr. Children of second marriage: 5. Micah, born February 26, 1726-27, baptized the same day at Truro; was lost at sea. 6. Jonah, born December 14, 1728, baptized at Truro, December 22, 1728; married, December 21, 1749, Dorcas Dyer. 7. Joseph, born April 26, 1731, baptized May 9, 1731; was lost at sea. 8. Benjamin, born September 6, 1733, baptized September 9, 1733, died at sea in 1759; married, March 17, 1757, Ruth Dyer. 9. Hannah, born in February, 1735-36, baptized February 15, 1735-36, died in infancy. 10. Hannah (again), born March 17, 1740-41, baptized April 5, 1741; married, March 20, 1760, John Ridley. 11. John, born February 6, 1744, baptized April 1, 1744, died January 12, 1823, aged seventy-nine; married (first) Elizabeth, whose surname is not known; (second) Mrs. Susanna (Lombard) Snow, who died October 22, 1828.

(S. P. Bradshaw: "The Descendants of Ezra Carter Gross and His Line of Descent from Isaac Gross" [typed MSS.], pp. 15, 18-20. "History of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 280. "The Mayflower Descendant," Vol. IX, p. 55. S. Rich: "Truro—Cape Cod," p. 530. F. Freeman: "The History of Cape Cod," Vol. II, p. 682. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

V. Captain Simon Gross, son of Micah and Mary Gross, was born May 2, 1709, at Hingham, Massachusetts, and died February 23, 1796, at Lebanon, Connecticut, at the age of eighty-seven. He was brought by his parents from Hingham to Truro. He owned the covenant April 25, 1731, and his first wife, Elizabeth, was admitted to full communion June 3, 1733. His second wife, Phebe, was admitted to full communion at Truro, October 27, 1752. When the family had removed, between 1751 and 1753, to Lebanon, Connecticut, she was dismissed to the church there on October 30, 1757. He continued to live in Lebanon, where he died and was buried in the Lebanon Burying Grounds. His grave was the first one in Lebanon to be marked as that of "a Revolutionary Soldier." The inscription on his tombstone reads:

In Memory of
CAPT. SIMON GROSSE
who died Feby. 23, 1796
in y^e 87th year of his age.

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Death is a debt
To nature due
which I have paid
and so must you.

He served as a lieutenant on the Continental frigate "Confederacy" when she was dismasted and probably was with her when she was captured. The frigate, of thirty-six guns, was built on the Thames below Norwich, and launched in 1778. On October 20, 1779, she sailed from Philadelphia for France, having on board as passengers the French Minister Gerard, and the newly appointed American Minister to Spain the Hon. John Jay. On the seventh of November, the vessel encountered a great storm and lost all her masts and sails, and was obliged to make her way to Martinique, reaching that port December eighteenth. On being refitted the "Confederacy" put to sea again, but met a British seventy-four and was captured in March or April, 1781. She was taken to Charleston, South Carolina, which was then in the enemy's possession.

Captain Simon Gross married (first), July 24, 1729, Elizabeth Treat, born January 8, 1711-12, daughter of Samuel Treat, of Truro, Massachusetts. He married (second), February 14, 1749, Mrs. Phebe (Knowles) Collins. (Knowles V.) Children of first marriage: 1. Simon, baptized April 25, 1731; married, September 18, 1755, Lydia Hinckley. 2. Samuel, baptized September 2, 1733, died in infancy. 3. Elizabeth, born in 1735. Children of second marriage: 4. Samuel (again), born May 2, 1751, baptized May 19, 1751, died February 7, 1825; married Hannah Owen. 5. John, born July 18, 1753, at Lebanon, Connecticut. 6. Micah, born March 1, 1755, at Lebanon, died August 19, 1775. 7. Jonah, born January 13, 1757, at Lebanon; married, June 22, 1780, Sarah Ladd. 8. Thomas, of whom further. 9. Israel, born October 4, 1760. 10. Phebe, born August 8, 1762. 11. Elizabeth, born March 16, 1764; married Aaron Bunce.

(S. P. Bradshaw: "The Descendants of Ezra Carter Gross and His Line of Descent from Isaac Gross" [typed MSS.], pp. 21-25. S. Rich: "Truro—Cape Cod," p. 530. "Records of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution," p. 601. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

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VI. Rev. Thomas Gross, son of Captain Simon and Phebe (Knowles-Collins) Gross, was born November 12, 1758, at Lebanon, Connecticut, and died March 18, 1843, at Batavia, New York. He saw service in the Revolution, as a young man, in the 12th Regiment, under Colonel Mason. His record appears on a pay abstract for a guard kept in Lebanon. Another record of service shows he was enlisted as follows:

Thomas Gross, in company enlisted as an independent company (Record of Council of Safety August 16, 1776.)

Travel Role of Capt. Walter Hyde's Co. in Col. Erastus Woolcot's Reg. of Militia, from Lebanon to New York, travel 150 miles. Camp near Kings Bridge, September 21, 1776.

JOSEPH LEECH CLARK
JOHN VAUGHN Lieut.

Thomas Gross studied divinity and graduated from Dartmouth College, at Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1784, with a Master of Arts degree. On June 7, 1786, he was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church at Hartford, Vermont. He preached the election sermon before the Legislature of Vermont, in Woodstock, October 18, 1807. He was a member of the Board of Censors until February, 1808. After this he removed to Batavia, New York, where he died. He was an able preacher and well known throughout the State. The "Keeseville Herald," dated April 28, 1829, said of Rev. Thomas Gross that he was "a man of genius and a scholar."

Rev. Thomas Gross married (first), May 4, 1786, Judith Carter, died June 28, 1790, daughter of Dr. Ezra and Ruth (Eastman) Carter, of Concord, New Hampshire. He married (second), September 3, 1791, Rhoda (Marsh) Pitkin, of an old and distinguished New England family. (Marsh VII.) Rev. Thomas Gross married (third), June 22, 1807, Rebecca Pitkin, who died August 14, 1820. He married (fourth), December 16, 1825, Phebe Dow, who died December 8, 1826; married (fifth), August 14, 1827, Cynthia Porter. Children of first marriage: 1. Ezra Carter, born July 11, 1787, at Hartford, Vermont, died April 9, 1829, at Albany, New York; married, February 2, 1815, Phebe Barnes Fisher. 2. Thomas, born March 5, 1789; was for several years associated with Mr. Wells in the mercantile business in Hartford. Children of second marriage: 3.



Rev. Thomas Gross and Wife



Dr. Pitkin Gross

Rebecca (Corey) Pitkin

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Pitkin, of whom further. 4. Horace, born March 25, 1794, died unmarried in 1819. Children of third marriage: 5. Caroline, born March 26, 1808. 6. Cicero, born March 19, 1810. 7. George, born March 22, 1812. 8. Eliza, born March 24, 1815. 9. Susan, born October 20, 1819, died in 1820.

(S. P. Bradshaw: "The Descendants of Ezra Carter Gross and His Line of Descent from Isaac Gross" [typed MSS.], pp. 22, 26, 27. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XV, p. 224; Vol. XVII, p. 39. W. H. Tucker: "History of Hartford, Vermont," pp. 359, 360. Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing: "Revolutionary Rolls and Lists, 1775-1783," pp. 149, 182; compiled by the Connecticut Historical Society. Family records.)

VII. Dr. Pitkin Gross, son of Rev. Thomas and Rhoda (Marsh-Pitkin) Gross, was born September 2, 1792, at Hartford, Vermont, and died at Brighton, Northumberland County, Ontario, Canada, September 20, 1873, "aged eighty-two years." At the early age of nineteen he was graduated as a Doctor of Medicine from Dartmouth College in 1811. The War of 1812 gave him that coolness and success as a surgeon, which was of so much use to him in later life. He served as one of the regimental surgeons to the army in New York. At the close of the war, he settled in Palmyra, New York, where he practiced his profession until 1817. In the following year he went to Canada, settling at the head of the Bay of Quinta, at the Carrying Place, which at that time was one of the most important places between Kingston and Toronto. In 1819 he went to Toronto, then called "Muddy York," to take an examination in medicine. On January 18, 1822, he was appointed surgeon to the 2d Regiment, Prince Edward Militia.

He had to travel by horseback through rough country and wilderness. He, with two others, out of some eighteen candidates, passed the examination given by the Canadian boards. All the time he practiced he had to travel in unsettled country, along ways that were impassable for a horse. For all the dangers and difficulties he had to pass through he never met with a serious accident. Dr. Gross was often spoken of, by the older inhabitants, with the most marked respect, and as being a kind and skillful physician. His visits, whether for sickness or social calls, were always well appreciated.

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After residing at the Carrying Place for twenty-five years he moved to Brighton, Canada, where he lived the remainder of his life. He continued in active practice until 1868, when he had a stroke, which forced him to retire in 1870. He was an active member of the Presbyterian Church until the end of his days.

Dr. Pitkin Gross married, in 1815, Rebecca Corey. (Corey—American Line—VII.) Children: 1. Robert E., born March 10, 1817. 2. Amanda Corey, born January 21, 1820. 3. Horace, born October 8, 1821. 4. Samuel P., born July 25, 1823. 5. John G., born August 3, 1825. 6. Benjamin Sayre, of whom further. 7. Sarah, born September 7, 1829. 8. Thomas, born August 10, 1831. 9. Caroline R., born April 21, 1833. 10. W. H., born December 21, 1835. 11. James M., born August 15, 1837. 12. Emily, born April 14, 1839. 13. Albert, born March 10, 1841.

(Records in possession of the family.)

VIII. Benjamin Sayre Gross, son of Dr. Pitkin and Rebecca (Corey) Gross, was born at Brighton, Canada, August 31, 1827, and died August 12, 1894, at Detroit, Michigan. He was of Jackson, Michigan, and later of Detroit, Michigan, having moved there about 1875. Shortly after coming to Detroit, Benjamin Sayre Gross joined the old Lafayette Street Methodist Episcopal Church and soon became very outstanding in church work in that city. He was also prominent there as a business man, but his pastor said that Mr. Gross was always willing to neglect his business affairs when his time and efforts were necessary for work connected with his church. He later identified himself with the Fort Street Methodist Episcopal Church, in which, for years, he was a very efficient class leader. When the Preston Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, Benjamin Sayre Gross was a member of the building committee and was a trustee of that church from its founding. His pastor also said that Mr. Gross, aided by the coöperation and complete sympathy of his wife, always kept an open house at his beautiful home to the Methodist ministers, and in that home was found a fine hospitality rarely equalled. At the time of Benjamin Sayre Gross' death, it was written of him that a fitting motto for him would be:



Benjamin Sayre Gross



Irene Augusta (Quigley) Gross

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“For Christ and the Church.”

Benjamin Sayre Gross married, in October, 1855, at Tiffin, Ohio, Irene Augusta Quigley. (Quigley III.) Children: 1. Edward Merwin, born May 26, 1856, died in Sydney, Australia, December 16, 1921. 2. Clinton, born in 1858 and died in 1874. 3. Esther, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Esther Gross, daughter of Benjamin Sayre and Irene Augusta (Quigley) Gross, was born in Jackson, Michigan, February 8, 1872. She attended Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, and is now a trustee of that university, of which her grandfather, John Polk Quigley, was one of the founders.

She married Clifton Nichols Windecker. (Windecker IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Quigley Line)

Quigley, as a surname, with its variant Quickley, is of Celtic origin. In derivation it is baptismal from Irish *O'Coighligh* or *O'Cuighligh*, meaning grandson or descendant of Coigleach or Cuigleach. Harrison gives Quickley as being of English derivation from locality, meaning the dweller at the quick-tree or the quick-grass lea or meadow.

(Bardsley: “Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.” Harrison: “Surnames of the United Kingdom.”)

I. Joseph Murphy Quigley, the first of this line to be of definite record, was born in 1777-78, in Pennsylvania, and died in Amherst, Lorain County, Ohio, April 30, 1873, aged ninety-five years and six months. In the year 1810, he came to Black River, in Lorain County, Ohio, from York, Pennsylvania. He arrived the same time as Jacob Shupe, Henry and George Kelso. In 1822 he purchased land from Shupe and erected a log house where the stone house of his son George W. Quigley stands. One account says that he came from Washington County, Pennsylvania, but according to the following administration bond for the estate of John Quigley, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, was their previous abode. An abstract of the bond is as follows:

Know all men by these presents that we,
Caleb Ormsby, as principal and Josiah Harris and Joseph Quigley
as surety, of the County of Lorain in the State of Ohio, are held and

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firmly bound unto the State of Ohio, in the penalty of 100 dollars to the payment of which sum, well and truly to be made to the said State of Ohio, we do bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, jointly and severally, by these presents, Sealed with our seals and dated 27th of September in the year of 1828. The conditions of the above obligation is such That if the above Caleb Ormsby, Administrator of all and singular, the goods, chattels, rights and credits, which were John Quigley's late of Mercer County, Pennsylvania, deceased, shall well and faithfully perform all and singular, the duties required of them by law, as administrator, as aforesaid, then the above bond shall be void, otherwise to be, and remain in full force and virtue, in law.

Signed and Sealed in
the presence of
EDSON BONNEY
R (?) OPEWELL CROKER.

CALEB ORMSBY
JOSIAH HARRIS
JOSEPH QUIGLEY

It is probable that the John Quigley mentioned in the above bond was the father of Joseph Quigley.

In his will, dated July 6, 1854, probated May 18, 1872, Joseph Quigley made bequests to his wife, to son George W., two-thirds of his property, to sons James and John, to daughters Esther Quigley, Emily, wife of George Glover, to Annie W. McLoud. The dates of his family are from the Quigley monument in the Cleveland Cemetery at Amherst, Ohio.

Joseph Murphy Quigley married, about 1800, Mary Polk, born in 1777 and died December 7, 1860, aged eighty-three years. Children: 1. William D., died September 29, 1802, aged one month. 2. Esther, born December 4, 1803, died February 13, 1895; was the first school teacher in Amherst. 3. James, born September 15, 1804, died December 11, 1874; was a doctor practicing in Vermilion; married, May 3, 1841, Deborah Johnson. 4. Catherine, died August 15, 1810, aged one year and three months. 5. John, of whom further. 6. Mary Ann, died January 27, 1825, aged fourteen. 7. Joseph Beatty, born July 14, 1813, died November 18, 1884, went to Iowa. 8. Samuel, died October 26, 1824, aged nine years. 9. Emily, born April 15, 1819, died February 9, 1881; married George Glover. 10. George W., born August 27, 1821, died February 19, 1907; married Annie McLoud. 11. Henrietta, died July 21, 1833, aged nine years

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and twenty-one days. 12. Washington, was a wealthy and leading citizen of Amherst.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Dr. John Polk Quigley, son of Joseph Murphy and Mary (Polk) Quigley, was born March 21, 1810, and died December 11, 1884, at Princeton, Minnesota. He was long prominent in the affairs of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was one of the founders of Ohio Wesleyan University.

Dr. John Polk Quigley married, October 11, 1833, Irene Augusta Merwin. (Merwin VI.) Children: 1. John Powers, born April 10, 1835, baptized November 15, 1835, at Vermilion. 2. Irene Augusta, of whom further. 3. William Merwin, born June 16, 1841, baptized at Milton. 4. Melville Bond, born January 15, 1845, at Mount Vernon.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Irene Augusta Quigley, daughter of Dr. John Polk and Irene Augusta (Merwin) Quigley, was born June 6, 1837, baptized August 30, 1837, at Perkins, Ohio, and died April 18, 1907. She married Benjamin Sayre Gross. (Gross—American Line—VIII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Merwin Line)

I. Miles (1) Merwin, emigrant ancestor of this line in America, was born in North Wales, in 1603 and died in 1697, at Milford, Connecticut. He came to New England in 1630, on the ship "Mary and John." Here he settled in Milford, Connecticut, where he became owner of large tracts of land on the shore of Long Island Sound. One of these tracts is now known as Pond Point or Merwin's Point. He was a tanner by trade, as is shown by the first entry of the Merwin name in the town history. This was on January 10, 1654, when he received a grant from the "Town of Milford to Tanner Miles Merwin, of a lot unto Ensign Bryans Ware house, by the harbor's side, for to build and improve his trade thereon." In February of 1657 he was granted by the General Court six acres of land. The inventory of his estate was dated May 12, 1697.

On August 28, 1889, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town of Milford, a memorial was dedicated to

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honor the founders of the town. The form of the memorial was a stone bridge over the river, near the spot where the first mill was erected. The tower was built by private gifts and stones were engraved with the names of the founders. On stone Number 19 appears:

MILES MERWIN
obit. 1697
Sara His Wife.

Miles (1) Merwin married (first) Elizabeth (Baldwin) Canfield, who died July 10, 1664. He married (second) Sarah (Platt) Beach, died April 24, 1670, daughter of Deacon Richard Platt, and widow of Thomas Beach. He married (third) Sarah Scofield, who died March 5, 1698, widow of Daniel Scofield. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born in 1650. 2. Abigail, born in 1652. 3. Thomas, born in 1654, was of Norfolk. 4. Samuel, baptized August 21, 1656; married, in 1682, Sarah Wooden. 5. Miles (2), of whom further. 6. Daniel, born June 30, 1661. Children of second marriage: 7. Martha (twin), born January 23, 1665-66. 8. Maria (twin), born January 23, 1665-66. 9. Hannah, born November 15, 1667. 10. Deborah (twin), born April 24, 1670. 11. Daniel (twin), born April 24, 1670.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Miles (2) Merwin, son of Miles (1) and Elizabeth (Canfield-Baldwin) Merwin, was born December 14, 1658. He married, September 20, 1681, Hannah (Wilmot) Miles, widow of Samuel Miles. Children: 1. Ann, born in 1682. 2. Elizabeth, born January 10, 1683; married, November 8, 1705, Joseph Treat, son of Governor Robert Treat. 3. Miles. 4. Daniel, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Daniel Merwin, son of Miles (2) and Hannah (Wilmot-Miles) Merwin, was born in 1691 and died May 15, 1758. He moved to Durham, Connecticut, in 1721, where he became prominent in the town's affairs, and was called the Honorable Daniel Merwin. He purchased one hundred acres of land for £200 in the northwestern part of the town, as well as one hundred acres more in Haddam and

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Middletown for £500, part of which is now covered by Middlefield Reservoir. This land had never been occupied by any white man, and was part of a grant, made in 1689, from the General Court to Aaron Cook. This original deed of that date now is in possession of the family and is labeled "Deed of land in Cogonshake," from the Indian name "Coginchang" as it was called originally.

Daniel Merwin married, November 30, 1710, Sarah Botsford. (Botsford III.) Children: 1. Ann, born November 20, 1712. 2. Daniel, born September 15, 1714. 3. Ann (again), born March 24, 1716. 4. Sarah, born June 10, 1718. 5. Miles, born November 29, 1719. 6. Miles (again), of whom further. 7. Elizabeth, born February 14, 1722-23.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Lieutenant Miles Merwin, son of Daniel and Sarah (Botsford) Merwin, was born at Milford, Connecticut, March 29, 1720-1721, and died at Durham, Connecticut, December 12, 1786. He saw much service during the Revolutionary War, being in a troop of horse that responded to all alarms. In October, 1757, he was "established" by the Colonial Assembly as cornet of a troop of horse of the 10th Regiment of Militia, afterwards the Connecticut State Troops. Cornet was the lowest commissioned officer in the cavalry service. In 1764 he was promoted to lieutenant in the same troop. This regiment continued its organization during the Revolutionary War and was frequently in service. It was in the battle at Danbury, and reënforced Washington on the Hudson. In 1780, Lieutenant Merwin was in Colonel James Wardsworth's regiment of militia on duty at West Point.

One of Lieutenant Merwin's descendants, H. G. Newton, Esq., of New Haven, now has the sword which is well established to have been carried by him during the Revolutionary War.

Upon his tombstone appears the following epitaph:

In Memory of Lt. Miles Merwin, who having served his generation according to the will of God, through a useful life, finished his course on earth Dec. 12, 1786, in the 66th yr. of his age.

Lieutenant Miles Merwin married, June 30, 1743, Mary Talcott. (Talcott—American Line—IV.) Children: 1. Miles, born May

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1, 1744; married, November 4, 1767, Mary Parmelee. 2. Daniel, born May 30, 1746; married, December 14, 1769, Rebecca Seward; went with his brother, David, to Durham, New York, about 1788. 3. Job, born February 16, 1749. 4. Noah, born November 9, 1752. 5. Rhoda, born August 19, 1757. 6. Sarah, born June 7, 1760. 7. David, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *David Merwin*, son of Lieutenant Miles and Mary (Talcott) Merwin, was born February 10, 1763, and died at Penfield, Lorain County, Ohio, July 27, 1828. He went to Durham, New York, about 1788, with his brother, Daniel.

David Merwin married, February 11, 1789, at Chatham, Connecticut, Anner Bidwell, born June 10, 1770, died July 1, 1843, in Lorain County, Ohio. Children: 1. Sophronia, born December 11, 1791, died at Oberlin, December 17, 1861, aged seventy. 2. Nancy, born January 10, 1793, died September 20, 1829; married David Cowles. 3. Ruth, born November 12, 1796, died April 21, 1866; married J. Blanchard. 4. Benjamin E., born January 19, 1799, died August 25, 1859. 5. David, born September 18, 1801; married Eliza, surname not known, who died February 3, 1828, aged twenty-four. 6. George Everline, born January 22, 1806, died at Sacramento, California, October 22, 1868, aged sixty-two. 7. Caroline, born November 1, 1808. 8. Irene Augusta, of whom further. 9. Eliza, born February 3, 1828.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. *Irene Augusta Merwin*, daughter of David and Anner (Bidwell) Merwin, was born March 22, 1812, at Durham, Greene County, New York, and died December 18, 1884. She married Dr. John Polk Quigley. (Quigley II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Talcott Line)

(The Family in England)

I. *John (1) Talcott*, a descendant of the Warwickshire branch of the family, was living in Colchester, County Essex, England, previous to 1558.

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John (1) Talcott married (first) a Miss Wells. He married (second) Marie Pullen, the mother of Thomas, who became the head of the English branch of the family. Children of first marriage: 1. Robert. 2. John (2), of whom further. 3. A daughter. Children of second marriage: 4. Thomas. 5. John (again). There were also four daughters.

(Publications of the Harleian Society: "Visitations of Essex," p. 497. S. V. Talcott: "Talcott Pedigree in England and America," p. 7, *et seq.* Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. John (2) Talcott, son of John (1) and his first wife, was born before 1558, baptized October 4, 1562, and died in Braintree, County Essex, England, in 1604. He married Anne Skinner, daughter of William Skinner, who survived him and married (second) "Moyses Wall." Children: 1. John (3), of whom further. 2. Rachel, died in 1623, unmarried. 3. Anne. 4. Mary. 5. Grace. 6. Sarah.

(S. V. Talcott: "Talcott Pedigree in England and America," p. 14. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Family in America)

I. John (3) Talcott, son of John (2) and Anne (Skinner) Talcott, was born at Braintree, County Essex, England, about 1600, and died at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1660. He came, with his wife and young son, to Boston, Massachusetts, with the Rev. Thomas Hooker's company which sailed from England June 22, 1632, and arrived September 16, 1632. The list of names was taken from an old book of records of emigrants now in Westminster Hall, London. John Talcott was admitted a freeman by the General Court at Boston, Massachusetts, November 6, 1632, and was a representative to the General Court together with Messrs. Goodwin and Spencer for Newtown, May 14, 1634. At a general meeting of the town of Newtown, held February 4, 1634, he and Messrs. Haynes, Bradstreet and four others were chosen selectmen of Newtown to do the whole business of the town. He was one of the largest real estate owners of the town and in 1634 was listed as one "of those only who were considered townsmen." He is listed in the register book of Newtown for October 5, 1635, as owner of the following estates: "West End," which was

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his dwelling, "Oldfields," "The Neck," "OxMarsh," "Large Marsh," "Great Marsh," and "Windmill Marsh." John Talcott sold his possessions in Newtown to Nicholas Danforth, May 1, 1636, and left Newtown in June. With the Rev. Thomas Hooker and his followers he went on foot through the wilderness to the Connecticut River, where they founded the town of Hartford, Connecticut. John Talcott served as a representative to the General Court from Hartford for many years, and was styled "the Worshipful Mr. John Talcott." He was one of a committee appointed May 1, 1637, to take into consideration the propriety of a war with the Pequot Indians, and upon whose recommendation war was declared. He was one of the chief magistrates of the Colony until his death, which occurred at his mansion, Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut. His will was dated August 12, 1659, and probated January 4, 1660. In it he named his wife Dorothy, son John, and grandson "John Talcott when he be 21."

John (3) Talcott married Dorothy Mott, daughter of John Mott, and granddaughter of Mark Mott. Children: 1. John (4), of whom further. 2. Captain Samuel, born in 1635, in Newtown (now Cambridge), Massachusetts; married (first), November 7, 1661, Hannah Holyoke, daughter of Captain Elizure Holyoke; married (second), August 6, 1679, Mary, surname not known, died 1710-1711, aged seventy-three. 3. Mary, married, June 28, 1649, Rev. John Russell, of Wethersfield.

(W. H. Gocher: "Wadsworth or the Charter Oak," pp. 63, 64. "Historical Register of the Ancestors and Members of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Virginia," p. 526. Collection of the Connecticut Historical Society: "Talcott Papers," Vol. IV, p. 369; Vol. V, pp. 124, 202. C. W. Manwaring: "Early Connecticut Probate Records," p. 620. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Lieutenant-Colonel John (4) Talcott, son of John (3) and Dorothy (Mott) Talcott, was born in Braintree, County Essex, England, about 1632 and died at Hartford, Connecticut, July 23, 1688. He was treasurer of the Colony of Connecticut, and his name appears on the charter which King Charles II gave to the Colony in 1662. When it was received he, with Samuel Willys and John Allyn, were appointed by the General Court to see that no harm

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was done to it. During King Philip's War he served as a major and lieutenant-colonel. He died about two months after Edmund Andros joined the government of the Colony to that of Massachusetts. He died intestate and his property, which inventoried at £2,232 3s. 6d., was claimed by his oldest surviving son, Joseph Talcott, Governor of Connecticut from 1724 to 1741.

Lieutenant-Colonel John (4) Talcott married (first), October 29, 1650, Helena Wakeman, died June 21, 1674, daughter of John Wakeman, of New Haven. He married (second), November 9, 1676, Mary Cook, daughter of Rev. John Cook, of New Haven. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born November 24, 1651, died in infancy. 2. John (again), born December 14, 1653, died in 1683. 3. Elizabeth, born February 21, 1656; married Joseph Wadsworth. 4. Samuel, born August 21, 1658. 5. Mary, born April 26, 1661; married, as his second wife, Richard Edwards. 6. Dorothy, born February 20, 1667; married, December 31, 1691, Thomas Stoughton. 7. Joseph, born November 16, 1669; married Abigail Clark, of Milford. 8. Helena, born June 17, 1674; married Cyprian Nichols, of Hartford. Children of second marriage: 9. Ruth, born September 12, 1677; married John Read. 10. Sarah, born November 16, 1679, died December 6, 1679. 11. Rachel, born February 23, 1681; married, March 21, 1700, Gershom Bulkley, of Fairfield. 12. Jonathan, born February 15, 1683-84, died before 1688. 13. Hezekiah, of whom further.

(S. V. Talcott: "Talcott Pedigree in England and America," pp. 32, 53. N. Goodman: "Genealogical Notes," p. 312. "Collection of the Connecticut Historical Society," Vol. IX. W. H. Gocher: "Wadsworth or the Charter Oak," p. 64. "American Genealogist," Vol. XII, No. 3, p. 179. J. H. Trumbull: "Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, May, 1678," pp. 229, 238, 401, 438. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. Hezekiah Talcott, son of Lieutenant-Colonel John (4) and Mary (Cook) Talcott, was born at Hartford, Connecticut, February 24, 1685-86, and died at Durham, Connecticut, February 13, 1764. He married, in 1711, Jemima Parsons. (Parsons III.) Children: 1. John, born November 12, 1712, died November 16, 1765; married, in 1737, Sarah Parsons, of Hadley, Massachusetts. 2. Jemima,

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born November 20, 1719. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Ann, born September 6, 1725, died March 18, 1795; married, December 24, 1747, Israel Camp. 5. Rachel, born September 30, 1728; married Jobe Camp. 6. Rhoda, baptized February 6, 1731-32, died July 29, 1771; married Jesse Cook. 7. Eunice, baptized February 1, 1735-36, died August 2, 1804; married (second) Elnathan Camp.

(*Ibid.*, p. 55. W. C. Fowler: "History of Durham, Connecticut," pp. 16, 20, 21, 252, 256, 258, 260, 341. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. Mary Talcott, daughter of Hezekiah and Jemima (Parsons) Talcott, was born February 16, 1722-23, baptized February 17 the same year, and died January 18, 1793. She married Lieutenant Miles Merwin. (Merwin IV.)

(W. C. Fowler: "History of Durham, Connecticut," p. 258. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Parsons Line)

Parsons, as a surname, with its variant Parsonson, is of nickname origin, meaning "the parson's son." It forms a small but distinct class of surnames. The earliest it appears is in 1273 when Clemens *fil.* Persone of County Norfolk is listed in the Hundred Rolls.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Joseph Parsons, the first of this line to be of record, died in Massachusetts, October 9, 1683. He was one of the earliest settlers of Springfield, Massachusetts, where the first record of him dates back to July 15, 1636. Between this year and the year of his marriage, a period of ten years, nothing is known of him. In 1646 he was appointed highway overseer and four years later overseer of fences. He was elected a selectman in 1652. At some time he moved to Northampton, where he became a leading citizen, and after living there twenty-four years he returned to Springfield. During King Philip's War he served as cornet in a troop of horse from Hampshire County, under the command of Major John Pynchon and Lieutenant Philip Smith.

Joseph Parsons married, November 26, 1646, in Hartford, Connecticut, Mary Bliss, daughter of widow Margaret Bliss. Children:

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1. Joseph, born in 1647; married Elizabeth Strong. 2. Benjamin, died in 1649. 3. John, born in 1649, died young. 4. John (again), born August 14, 1650; married Sarah Clark, daughter of Lieutenant William Clark. 5. Samuel, of whom further. 6. Jonathan, born June 6, 1657; married Mary Clark. 7. David, born April 30, 1659, died young. 8. Mary, born June 27, 1661; married (first) Joseph Ashley; (second) Joseph Williston. 9. Ebenezer, born in May, 1665, died in 1675. 10. Hannah, born September 3, 1666; married John Cotton. 11. Esther, born December 24, 1672; married Rev. Joseph Smith.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Lieutenant Samuel Parsons, son of Joseph and Mary (Bliss) Parsons, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, January 23, 1652, and died at Durham, Connecticut, November 12, 1734. In 1709 a noted party left Northampton and went to Durham under the leadership of Nathaniel Chauncy. Among them was Samuel Parsons with his family.

Lieutenant Samuel Parsons married (first), in 1677, Elizabeth Cook, daughter of Captain Aaron Cook. She died September 2, 1690. He married (second), in 1691, Rhoda Taylor; (third), December 15, 1711, Mary Wheeler. Children of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born November 24, 1678. 2. Samuel (again), born July 6, 1680. 3. Elizabeth, born in April, 1684; married, December 25, 1706, Thomas Lyman. Children of second marriage: 4. Jemima, of whom further. 5. Timothy, born January 23, 1695; married, November 30, 1719, Mary Robinson. 6. Rhoda, born February 4, 1696. 7. Hannah, born July 18, 1699. 8. Ensign Simeon, born September 16, 1701; married (first), October 12, 1731, Mehitable Clapp; (second), November 30, 1772, widow Abigail Bates. 9. Phineas, born May 31, 1704, died in 1724. 10. Ithamar, born June 9, 1707, died in 1786; married Sarah, whose surname is not known. 11. Aaron, born September 3, 1711; married, February 6, 1732, Abigail Sanford.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Jemima Parsons, daughter of Lieutenant Samuel and Rhoda (Taylor) Parsons, was born November 24, 1691, and died February

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2, 1757. She married Hezekiah Talcott. (Talcott—American Line—III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Botsford Line)

I. Henry Botsford, first of our line of interest to be of record, was born in 1606 and died in 1686. He settled in Milford, Connecticut. During the expedition against the Dutch in 1654, he served as a corporal.

Henry Botsford married Elizabeth, whose surname is not known. Children. 1. Elnathan, of whom further. 2. Ruth, married, before 1686, John Baldwin. 3. Eliza, married, in 1665, Daniel Baldwin. 4. Hannah, married, in 1670-71, Nathaniel Baldwin.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. Elnathan Botsford, son of Henry and Elizabeth Botsford, was born August 14, 1641. He married (first), December 12, 1664, Elizabeth Fletcher, daughter of John Fletcher. He married (second) Hannah Baldwin. Child of first marriage: 1. Elizabeth, born in 1665. Children of second marriage: 2. Esther, born in 1668. 3. Samuel, born in 1670; married Hannah, whose surname is not known. 4. Mary, born in 1672. 5. Joanna (twin), born in 1674, died in 1691. 6. Hannah (twin), born in 1674; married, December 3, 1699, John Prindle. 7. Henry. 8. Joseph. 9. Timothy. 10. John. 11. Sarah, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Sarah Botsford, daughter of Elnathan and Hannah (Baldwin) Botsford, married Daniel Merwin. (Merwin III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Corey Line)

Correy (Corey) Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three griffins' heads erased or, as many estoiles of the field.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi griffin proper wings semée of trefoils sable. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Corey, as a surname, with its variants, Core, Cory, Corry and Corrie, is of locality origin. The name may have been derived from a Roman fort called "Cori," located at Annandale, Dumfriesshire,

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Scotland. It may also be derived from the Gaelic *corrie*, or *correi*, meaning a bowl-shaped hollow on a hillside, in which game usually lies.

("The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. XXXI, p. 225.)

(The Family in England)

I. John (1) Corrie, the first of this line to be of record, was possibly the son of Robert Corrie. John Corrie was of Corrie, County Devon, England. He married a daughter and co-heir of Skemick of Trewinte in Cornwall. Children: 1. Richard. 2. Thomas, married Elizabeth Barnerde of Scornston. 3. Stephen, of whom further.

(Records of the Corey Family compiled by Gustave Anjou for R. J. Gross.)

II. Stephen Corrie or Corye, son of John (1) Corrie, married a daughter of John Yeo, of Atworthie, County Devon. Children: 1. Hugh, of whom further. 2. Richard. 3. John, died young. 4. Andrew, married Jane Penfound, daughter of John Penfound, of Penfound. 5. John, of Redcliffe, Bristol, died in 1602.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Hugh Corrie, son of Stephen Corrie or Corye, was of Corrie, County Devon. He married Maria Penfound, daughter of John Penfound, of Penfound. Children: 1. Stephen. 2. Penfound. 3. John (2), of whom further. 4. Honor, married Charles Priest, of Hartland. 5. Marye. 6. Dorothy. 7. Susan.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. John (2) Corrie, son of Hugh and Maria (Penfound) Corrie, was of Corrie, County Devon. He emigrated to Ireland in 1623, appearing in Westmeath, Termonfighan.

John (2) Corrie married Pasco Fortescue, daughter of Roger Fortescue. Child: 1. John (3), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. John (3) Corey, as the name was spelled, emigrant ancestor, son of John (2) and Pasco (Fortescue) Corrie, died before March 7, 1686, when his estate was inventoried, at Hashamomack, Connecticut Colony. He is first mentioned as a whale commissioner, March

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7, 1644, at Southold, Long Island, New York, where, on the following day he received a grant of land. John Corey was of the Quaker faith, and because of this was thought undesirable as a neighbor, which probably accounts for his owning several different lots and having changes of address in Southold. He resided here on October 8, 1649, as shown by a deed recorded on that date and witnessed by his wife Ann. At New Haven, Connecticut, in 1659, John Corey refused to take the oath of allegiance, but did so in May of 1660, and is of record as "Goodman Corey," a freeman of Connecticut, in 1662. A Mr. Salmon gave him land "for his neighborhood," and he lived there until the death of Mr. Salmon, whereupon he returned to Hashamomock, where he died. In his will he mentioned sons John, Jacob, Abraham, Isaac; and daughters Sarah, Hannah and Abigail.

John (3) Corey married (first), about 1638, Ann or Hannah, whose surname is not of record. He married (second) Margaret, surname also not of record. Children, order not known: 1. John (4), of whom further. 2. Abraham, died September 10, 1702; married Margaret Christophers. 3. Isaac, died March 8, 1702; married, in 1682, Sarah Ludlam, or Lynde. 4. Jacob, died February 15, 1705-1706; married, in 1672, Ann, possibly Tuthill. 5. Sarah, married Nathaniel Williams. 6. Hannah or Johannah, married Richard Brush. 7. Abigail, married, in 1672, John Sammis.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing: "Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1636-1665," p. 338. "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. XXXI, p. 225. Harriet L. Dickinson: "Chronicles of the Cory Family of Southampton and Southold." Howell: "History of Southold." Records of the Corey Family compiled by Gustave Anjou for R. J. Gross.)

II. John (4) Corey, son of John (3) Corey, was born about 1639 and his estate was inventoried January 25, 1685-86. As early as 1659 he removed to Huntington, Long Island, New York, where he bought a home lot on July 7, 1663, and was granted land in 1668, 1681 and 1682, at one time owning nine or ten farms. John Corey achieved prominence in his community, being the holder of many civil offices, such as recorder, town clerk, arbitrator and others. Like his father, he was of the Quaker faith.

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John (4) Corey married, December 15, 1667, Mary Cornish, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Stone) Cornish. She married (second) John Sammis, and also survived him, as she was living April 9, 1696. Children: 1. Mary, born October 20, 1668; married Samuel Smith. 2. Abigail, born November 13, 1670. 3. Elizabeth, born January 9, 1672. 4. John (5), of whom further. 5. Martha, born February 17, 1677. 6. Elnathan, born June 1, 1679. 7. Thomas, was of Stamford, Connecticut, in 1720. 8. Abraham, born October 28, 1683.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing Harriet L. Dickinson: "Chronicles of the Cory Family of Southampton and Southold." "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. XXXI, p. 227.)

III. John (5) Corey, son of John (4) and Mary (Cornish) Corey, was born at Huntington, Long Island, New York, February 3, 1674, and died at Elizabeth, New Jersey, in December, 1722-23. As late as 1696 he was of Huntington, but in 1700 he was one of the Memorialists of Elizabeth, New Jersey. His will was dated March 8, 1720-21, at Elizabeth, and was proved December 17, 1722-23. Bequests were made to wife Priscilla, daughters Mary, Elizabeth, Hannah; sons John, Joseph and Benjamin, disposing of the home farm of fifty acres, and other real and personal property. His wife was appointed sole executrix and witnesses were Mary Strayhearn, William Strayhearn and Anthony Littell.

John (5) Corey married Priscilla Day, daughter of George Day. She died in 1722-23. Her will was dated March 6, 1722-23, proved December 17, 1723, and she made bequests to children, Anna (probably Hannah), under eighteen, Elnathan and Mary Hampton. She appointed as executors sons-in-law Andrew Hampton, Jr., and Joseph Marsh, Jr. Witnesses were William and Mary Strayhearn and Anthony Littell. Children, order uncertain: 1. Mary, married Andrew Hampton. 2. Elizabeth. 3. John (6), of whom further. 4. Hannah or Anna, born after 1704. 5. Joseph. 6. Benjamin. 7. Elnathan.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing Harriet L. Dickinson: "Chronicles of the Cory Family of Southampton and Southold." "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,"

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Vol. XXXI, p. 228. Hatfield: "History of Elizabethtown, New Jersey," p. 254. "New Jersey Colonial Documents, Wills, 1670 to 1730," Vol. XIII, p. 111.)

IV. John (6) Corey, son of John (5) and Priscilla (Day) Corey, was born in 1703 and died in 1768. He was one of the founders of Westfield, New Jersey.

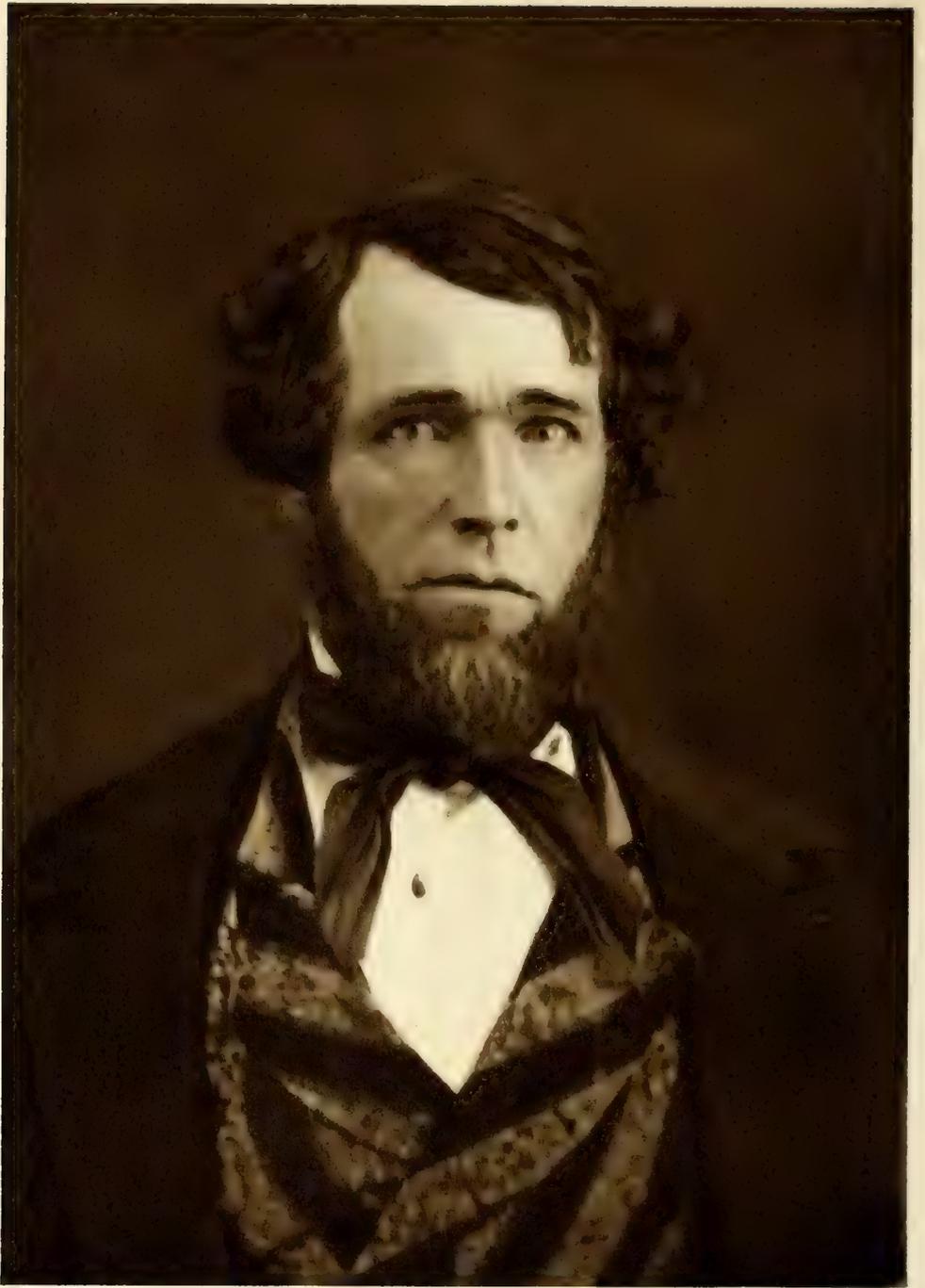
John (6) Corey married, about 1738, Martha Denman, daughter of John Denman, born about 1708-09. Children, order unknown: 1. John. 2. Jacob. 3. Abner, born 6 mo. 3, 1748, died 12 mo. 10, 1786; married, 9 mo. 11, 1770, Naomi Freeman. 4. David, of whom further. 5. Hannah. 6. Phebe. 7. Sarah. 8. Rachel.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing Harriet L. Dickinson: "Chronicles of the Cory Family of Southampton and Southold.")

V. Dr. David Corey, son of John (6) and Martha (Denman) Corey, was born in Westfield, New Jersey, July 31, 1750, and died in Ballston Spa, New York, March 18, 1809. According to family tradition the Corey homestead in Westfield is believed to have been built by John (4) Corey between 1735 and 1740. During the Revolutionary War, in 1779, American soldiers were quartered there. Dr. David Corey and his wife supplemented the meagre rations of the soldiers with food and delicacies from their own table. In the following year, in June, 1780, Westfield was sacked by the British, but due to the fact the Corey house had an underground passage starting with a trap door in the kitchen leading into the cellar, and then a tunnel whose exit was near the barn, the American soldiers then quartered in the house were able to escape.

David Corey served in the Revolution and saw much action as shown by his record:

Served as Private, Captain Josiah Hall's Company, Eastern Battalion, Morris County New Jersey Militia; Private, Captain Stephen Munson's Company, Eastern Battalion, Morris County New Jersey Militia; on rolls as substitute, October, 1777; Private, Captain Isaac Halsey's Company (from Parsippany), Colonel Silvanus Seely's Eastern Battalion, Morris County New Jersey Militia, May 1778; Private, Captain Stephen Baldwin's Company, Colonel Seely's Eastern Battalion, Morris County New Jersey Militia, June 7 to 14, 1780;



Dr. David Corey



House owned and occupied by Dr. David Corey at Westfield, N.J.

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was at battle of Connecticut Farms, New Jersey, June 7, 1780; received certificate 1098, amounting to £2.3., for the depreciation of his Continental pay in the Morris County New Jersey Militia, during the Revolutionary War.

Dr. David Corey married, at Westfield, New Jersey, July 12, 1769, Jemima Ross, daughter of John and Sarah Ross, who was born April 16, 1752, and died May 19, 1825, at Ballston Spa, New York. Children: 1. Eliakim, of whom further. 2. Phebe, born December 17, 1773, died in 1813; married Lewis Higby. 3. Betty, born August 17, 1777, died in 1840; married Zerah Beach. 4. Patty, born April 2, 1780, died in 1841; married, in 1798, Stephen Alling. 5. Jemima Ross, born December 31, 1782, died in 1866; married, in 1818, Elihu Spear. 6. Abner (twin), died in 1789. 7. David (twin), died in 1840; married (first) Charlotte Tiffany; (second) Judith Tiffany.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Eliakim Corey, son of David and Jemima (Ross) Corey, was born in Westfield, New Jersey, March 5, 1772, and died March 5, 1851. By trade he was a shipping merchant, and about 1795 removed to Ballston Spa, New York.

Eliakim Corey married, October 12, 1791, at Westfield, New Jersey, Sarah Sayre. (Sayre VI.) Children: 1. Rachel, born September 4, 1792, at Westfield, New Jersey. 2. Polly Sayre, born at Westfield, January 10, 1794. 3. Jemima Ross, born at Ballston Spa, New York, December 13, 1796. 4. Rebecca, of whom further. 5. Amanda, born March 19, 1800, at Ballston Spa. 6. Eliza Clark, born at Ballston Spa, October 4, 1801. 7. Abner, born at Ballston Spa, June 24, 1803. 8. Benjamin Sayre, born in Prince Edward County, Canada, August 13, 1805.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing Harriet L. Dickinson: "Chronicles of the Cory Family of Southampton and Southold." Banta: "Sayre Family," p. 248.)

VII. Rebecca Corey, daughter of Eliakim and Sarah (Sayre) Corey, was born at Ballston Spa, New York, January 2, 1798, and died June 24, 1884.

She married Dr. Pitkin Gross. (Gross—American Line—VII.)

(*Ibid.*)

WINDECKER-GROSS AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Sayre Line)

Arms—Gules, a chevron ermine between three sea gulls argent.

Crest—A cubit arm erect proper, holding a dragon's head erased argent.

Motto—*Saie and doe.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Sayre, as a surname, with its variants Sayer and Sayers, is given two derivations. The first is official, that is from the officer of the Crown, who assayed precious metals. The second derivation assigned is that it was an Anglo-Norman personal name, such as Saher de Quincy, the famous Earl of Winchester. Sayer and Sayere in the Hundred Rolls, without the prefix *le*, seem to give the latter derivation the preference. According to Burke in his "Landed Gentry," the Sayers of Essex were existing in the time of Edward II (1307-27).

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. Thomas Sayre, the first of this line to be of record in America, was born in 1590, in Bedfordshire, England, and died in Southampton, Long Island, in 1670. He was one of the eight original "undertakers" who came to Southampton in May or June of 1640. There he built a home in 1648, and the land and homestead allotted to him at that date are still in possession of the family. In 1667 he gave five acres of land to each of his four sons. In 1668 he signed the call for the town meeting to arrange for the reception of Governor Lovelace. On October 23, 1650, it was ordered by the General Court that "Thomas Sayre shall duly traine with the company of town soldiers at their appointed days, excepting his personalle pursuing of Indians in a hostile way or to go forth against the common enemy." By trade he was a tanner, and followed also the occupation of a farmer.

Thomas Sayre married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children, order uncertain: 1. Francis, died in 1698; married Sarah Wheeler. 2. Daniel, of whom further. 3. Joseph, married Martha, whose surname is not known. 4. Job, born in 1612; married (first) Sarah, surname not known; (second) Hannah R. Howell. 5. Damaris, married, before 1647, David Atwater. 6. Mary, married, before 1669, Benjamin Price. 7. Hannah, under age in 1669. 8. A daughter, supposed to have married Edmund Howell.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

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II. Daniel Sayre, son of Thomas Sayre, was born probably in Bedfordshire, England, and died in 1708 on Long Island. By trade he was a weaver, and he lived in Bridgehampton. His name appears in the list of inhabitants in 1657, and in the Whaling Squadron, Fifth Ward, in 1657-67. In the year 1666, John Cooper made over to him eight acres in the first neck, north of Thomas Halsey's. He was living next to his brother, Francis, in 1660. On September 22, 1663, he was granted his last portion of land in the last division. In 1683, he was assessed on three polls at £207 3s. 4d. He sold seven acres in lot No. 11 to his son Daniel on November 23, 1695. His will, dated August 21, 1707, was probated April 13, 1708.

Daniel Sayre married (first) Hannah Foster, daughter of Christopher and Frances Foster. He married (second) Sarah, whose surname is not known. Children, order uncertain: 1. Joseph, married Priscilla, whose surname is not known. 2. Daniel, born in 1666; married Sarah, surname not known, born in 1667, died in 1733. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. David. 5. Ephraim, married Sarah Barns. 6. Nathan, married Mary, surname not known. 7. Hannah, married Captain Josiah Topping.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Samuel Sayre, son of Daniel Sayre, died before August 21, 1707, on which date his father mentioned in his will "the children of my deceased son Samuel." He removed to Elizabeth, New Jersey, where in 1696-97 he subscribed 6s. toward the support of Rev. John Harriman.

Samuel Sayre married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Samuel, married a Miss Lyon. 2. Daniel, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Daniel Sayre, son of Samuel Sayre, was a blacksmith of Elizabeth, New Jersey. His will, dated February 2, 1760, mentioned his wife, daughter Sarah, wife of John Owen, and her daughter Mary.

Daniel Sayre married Rebecca Bond. (Bond IV.) Children: 1. Sarah, married John Owen. 2. Rebecca. 3. Hannah. 4. David, born May 30, 1736; married Hannah Frazier. 5. Benjamin, of whom further. 6. Jedediah. 7. John.

(*Ibid.*)

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V. Benjamin Sayre, son of Daniel and Rebecca (Bond) Sayre, was born February 3, 1743, and died August 10, 1810, at Milton, Saratoga County, New York. He received, by his father's will, thirty acres of land next to Benjamin Connet's land and extending to the land of Abraham Frazier, deceased. He served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War from Essex County, New Jersey, serving six months of each year for nearly the entire period of the war. His record, as filed in the Office of the Adjutant-General, State of New Jersey, is as follows:

BENJAMIN SAYRES, served as Private, Essex County New Jersey Militia; received certificate 629, amounting to £6:12:6, for the depreciation of his Continental pay in the Essex County New Jersey Militia, during the Revolutionary War.

He filed, May 16, 1789, an inventory of his goods lost or destroyed by the British on June 26, 1777.

After the war he removed to Milton, Saratoga County, New York, where he bought land on December 23, 1797. Later, on August 31, 1808, he purchased land in Junius, Seneca County, New York, which he bequeathed to his son Jedediah. His will, dated April 6, 1810, is recorded at Saratoga Springs.

Benjamin Sayre married (first) Rachel, surname not known, who died July 27, 1767, in her twenty-fourth year, and was buried in the churchyard at Westfield, New Jersey. He married (second), June 19, 1768, Sarah (Littel) Frazee, born July 17, 1736, daughter of Benjamin and Susan (Tucker) Littel, and widow of Samuel Frazee. She died in June, 1832, at Lyons, near Rochester, New York. Children, order uncertain: 1. Daniel, baptized July 20, 1769; married Susan, whose surname is not known. 2. Jedediah, baptized July 20, 1769; married Phebe Bobbitt. 3. Elizabeth, married Mr. Clark. 4. Moses, born May 3, 1769; married Phebe Warner. 5. Rachel, baptized January 27, 1772. 6. Benjamin, baptized April 24, 1774. 7. Sarah, of whom further. 8. Mary, baptized May 17, 1778; married (first) Nathaniel Potter; (second) Rev. Francis Pomeroy.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Sarah Sayre, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah (Littel-Frazee) Sayre, was born May 18, 1774, and died May 13, 1861, in her

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eighty-eighth year. She married Eliakim Corey. (Corey—American Line—VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Bond Line)

Bond, as a surname, with its variant Bonde, has two origins assigned to it. The first is baptismal, meaning the son of Bond. The second is occupational, meaning the bond, a householder, a husbandman. There are many examples of this name appearing in the early records from the Hundred Rolls in 1273 down to the present time.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Robert Bond, the first of this line to be of record, died in April, 1677, in New Jersey. As early as 1643 he was a resident of Southampton, Long Island, where he had arrived from Lynn, Massachusetts. The next year, in October of 1644, he was appointed, with Mr. Moore, by the General Court of Connecticut to demand of each family of Long Island the amount they would give for the maintenance of scholars at Cambridge College. He was in East Hampton in 1648 and was one of the first magistrates of that town, and was repeatedly representative of that town at the General Court. John Ogden and Captain John Scott, having differences about the town of Montauk, chose Robert Bond to settle them in 1662. His intimacy with Ogden and others caused him to remove with the company which went to New Jersey in 1664-65, settling at Elizabethtown (now Newark). He was a member of Governor Carteret's Council in 1668 and assistant to the justices. Governor Winthrop highly recommended him. In 1672 and 1675 he was elected representative and justice of the peace. Administration to his estate was granted to his son, Steven, in April, 1677.

Robert Bond married (first) Hannah Ogden, sister of John Ogden, who in turn married Jane Bond, a sister of Robert. Robert Bond married (second), about 1672, Mary (Caulkins) Roberts, widow of Hugh Roberts and daughter of Hugh Caulkins. Children of first marriage: 1. Steven, married Bethia Lawrence, who died in 1694. 2. Joseph, of whom further. Child of second marriage: 3. Benjamin, born about 1672.

(Records in possession of the family, citing Hatfield: "History of Elizabethtown," p. 69. "New Jersey Archives," Vol. XXI, p. 44. Gardner's Collection G. 9 MSS. in Newark Library.)

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II. Joseph Bond, son of Robert and Hannah (Ogden) Bond, was born on Long Island between 1640 and 1645. He removed with his father to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1665-66. He was one of the associates there in later years. In the division of land in 1699-1700, he drew two one hundred-acre lots, numbers fifteen and sixteen. He located somewhat north of the village of Union and eastward of Headleytown, in the present Union County.

Joseph Bond married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Robert, married Anna, surname not known. 2. Benjamin, of whom further. 3. Joseph, died in 1760. 4. Samuel, married a Miss Lyon, who died in 1777. 5. Abigail, married Joseph Osborn.

(Records in possession of the family, citing Jacob Price: "Bond and Price Families," in New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey. Gardner's Collection MSS. G. G., pp. 148, 149.)

III. Benjamin Bond, son of Joseph Bond, was born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1680, and died in 1760. He settled between Newark and Elizabeth on a farm which was occupied by his descendants until 1869. He was a lawyer by profession. In 1755 he was a freeholder, and was named a defendant in the celebrated suit of John, Earl of Stair, and the proprietors *versus* Benjamin Bond and others, claiming title under the original associates of Elizabethtown.

In his will, dated May 26, 1759, and proved June 10, 1760, Benjamin Bond named his wife Susanna, children Robert, Rebecca, wife of Daniel Sayre, Benjamin, grandsons Benjamin and Jacob Bond and John Sayre. He also left legacies to Charles Allen, Phebe Sturges and Hannah Edwards. Executors were his son Robert, John Ogden and Amos Day.

Benjamin Bond married Susanna, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. Benjamin, married Elizabeth Winans. 2. Robert, born in 1715, died in 1760; married Mary Bond. 3. Sarah, born in 1717; married, in 1747, Moses Stanberry, of North Carolina. 4. Rebecca, of whom further.

(Records in possession of the family, citing Gardner's Collection MSS. G. 9, p. 155. Banta: "Sayre Genealogy," "Cory Genealogy," p. 84. "New Jersey Archives, Wills, 1751-60," Vol. III, p. 35.)

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IV. *Rebecca Bond*, daughter of Benjamin and Susanna Bond, was born in 1719. She married (first) Daniel Sayre. (Sayre IV.) She married (second), April 18, 1761, Stephen Hinds.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Marsh Line)

Arms—Gules, a horse's head couped between three crosses botonée fitchée argent.
(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Marsh, as a surname, is of locality origin, meaning "at the marsh," or residence thereby. It comes from the Low Latin *mariscus*, and the Middle English *mersche*, meaning the swamp or bog. The name appears on very early records in various forms. On of the Hundred Rolls of 1273, for County Oxford, it appears as Isabel ate Mershe, and John in le Merse; for County Suffolk, as Ricardus de Marisco; and in County Wilts as Brian de Marisco. On the Poll Tax of 1379 for the West Riding of Yorkshire, Katerina del Mersch, *huswyfe*, *webster*, is of record.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *John (1) Marsh*, the first of this line to be of record, was born in England, about 1589, and died there in 1627, as his will was dated April 15, 1627 and proved May 29, 1627. He was a clothier of Braintree, County Essex, England. In his will he disposed of his property as shown in the following abstract:

John Marsh, of Branetree, Essex, clothier, 15 April 1627, proved 29 May 1627.

To the poor of this parish three pounds.

To Samuel Collyn, minister, etc., fifty shillings.

To William Waslin my late servant and kinsman, forty shillings a year for life.

To my servant Jeremy Mannyng ten shillings.

To Richard, Mary and Thomasine Outing, one of the sons and two daughters of Richard Outing my brother in law, twenty shillings apiece.

To Grace, my wife, all such lands, houses and buildings which herein I do give to Joseph Marsh my son until he comes to his age of 21 years, for the bringing up of my children.

To sons Joseph and John, land.

To Samuel, money for the purchase of land to be used by wife Grace until Samuel is of age.

Residue of property to wife and children equally.

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Wife to be executrix.

Witnesses: Adrian Mott, William Barnard, John Maryon, Richard Outing and James Sparhawke.

John (1) Marsh married, about 1613, Grace Baldwin, born about 1592 and died in 1667, aged about seventy-five years. Her will, dated January 29, 1657, proved May 22, 1667, disposed of her property as follows:

Grace Marsh of Branetree, Essex, widow, 29 January 1657, proved 22 May 1667.

To son Joseph all that my copyhold message or tenement in Ingateston, Essex, with all the houses, etc., and all the lands belonging, containing fifty acres, more or less, provided he pay the several legacies mentioned in the will. Money bequests to son-in-law Nathaniel Tyers and wife Grace, my daughter, to children of my son John Marsh now in New England. To daughter Lidia, wife of William Martin, my brother William Baldwin to be cared for by my son Joseph. To grandchild Grace daughter of my son John, to John, to Samuel, son of my son John, to Grace my daughter, to John Sharp, grandchild, various household items. To Mr. Algarnon minister of Branetree twenty shillings. He to preach at my funeral. To the poor of Branetree forty shillings. Son Joseph to be executor.

Witnesses: Adrian Mott, John Maryon, Edward Tabor.

Children of John (1) and Grace (Baldwin) Marsh: 1. Sarah, born about 1614, died before 1657; married Mr. Sharp. 2. Joseph, born about 1616, will dated May 22, 1676. 3. John (2), of whom further. 4. Mary, born about 1620, died probably before 1657; married John Shorey. 5. Grace, born about 1622, died March 15, 1696; married Nathaniel Tyers. 6. Samuel, born about 1624, died probably before 1657. 7. Lydia, born about 1626; married William Martin. Their daughter Grace went to New England and married Nathaniel Phelps.

(D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy Giving Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," p. 14.)

II. John (2) Marsh, son of John (1) and Grace (Baldwin) Marsh, was born in England in 1618 and died at Windsor, Connecticut, September 28, 1688, aged seventy years. His will was probated at Northampton, Massachusetts, March 3, 1687-88, and in it he called himself "of Hadley in the county of Hampshire, in New Eng-

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land." He gave sums of money to his children and to son Samuel his property in Hadley. His will and the inventory of his estate indicate that he had disposed of most of his property before his death.

John Marsh came to New England in 1635, at the age of seventeen, settling first at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in the following year was among the hundred settlers led by Rev. Thomas Hooker, who made the two weeks' journey through the wilderness to found the settlement of Hartford, Connecticut. On the fine monument erected at Hartford in memory of the pioneers who founded the city, John Marsh's name appears, and is also on the earliest map of Hartford, 1640, showing the names and home lots of the first settlers. As he was a minor at the time of the emigration, he probably did not receive the home lot, consisting of thirty-six acres, until he reached his majority in 1639. Later he received seventy-six and seven-eighths acres more in the distribution to "original proprietors" of common lands in the west end, and still later he received seventy-two acres allotted to him at East Hartford. From 1636 to 1660 John Marsh lived at Hartford, Connecticut, and then removed to Hadley, Massachusetts, where he resided from 1660 to 1688.

In 1649, John Marsh is of record as serving on a Hartford jury, and in 1657 as a chimney viewer. On July 11, 1656, he signed as a "withdrawer from the 1st Church at Hartford," which was probably in preparation for his removal to Hadley, Massachusetts, some forty miles up the river. The names of John Webster and John Marsh appear on the first town plot of Hadley, and on October 8, 1660, John Marsh was present at the first town meeting. He had some connection with Northampton, Massachusetts, as he was one of the original members of the church there at its organization on June 18, 1661. On a list, in 1891, of over four thousand two hundred and fifty members of the Northampton Church throughout the years his name appears second. At Hadley, John Marsh drew lot number thirty-four and had his lands recorded June 19, 1674, as John Marsh, Senior.

John (2) Marsh married (first), about 1640, at Hartford, Connecticut, Ann or Anne Webster. (Webster—American Line—II.) In connection with this marriage the following verses were written about their romance:

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1635 John Marsh, 17 Anne, a rosy girl of 14
From England's sea-girt land
Through God's high guiding hand
 The Exmen sailed
They laughed at Ocean's roar
They sought a broader shore
And here forever more
They freedom hailed

John Marsh sailed out with them
Those dauntless Essex men
Bold hearts and strong
From home he dared to start
From England chose to part
A secret filled his heart
And drew him on.

1640 John 22 Anne, about 19
By Hartford's river flow
You see them moving slow
 At even tide
A start! with half surprise!
A smile of listening skies
A droop of tell tale eyes
 A "yes" replied

Did Hooker bid them stand
Great "light of western land"
And tie the knot?
Or Webster, knit them one,
Then call him "John, my son"
Some how the deed was done
 And how, forgot.

John (2) Marsh married (second), October 7, 1664, Hepzibah (Ford) Lyman, daughter of Thomas Ford, of Windsor, Connecticut, and widow of Richard Lyman. (Lyman—American Line—II.) Children of first marriage: 1. John (3), of whom further. 2. Samuel, born about 1645, died September 7, 1728; married, May 6, 1667, Mary Allison. 3. Joseph, baptized January 24, 1647. 4. Isaac, baptized July 15, 1649, died young. 5. Jonathan, born in September, 1649; married, July 12, 1676, Dorcas Dickinson, widow of Azariah Dickinson. 6. Daniel, born about 1653; married, November 5, 1676, Hannah (Lewis) Crow. 7. Hannah, born in 1655; married, Janu-

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ary 28, 1675, Joseph Loomis. 8. Grace, born probably in 1657; married, January 26, 1673, Timothy Baker. Child of second marriage: 9. Lydia, born October 9, 1667; married, December 8, 1692, David Loomis. 10. Grace Martin, an adopted daughter of John Marsh. She was the child of his sister Lydia (Marsh) Martin. Family tradition states that "she had a false lover in England who married another. She came to Boston and was in danger of being sold for her passage." In this case it is probable that her uncle rescued and adopted her, as she is called his daughter in a later document.

(D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy Giving Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," pp. 1-11, 13, 14, 20, 228, 305, 334. L. M. Boltwood: "Genealogies of Hadley Families," pp. 92, 93, 152. N. Webster: "Family of John Webster," p. 3. J. H. Trumbull: "The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut," Vol. I, pp. 250, 251. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. John (3) Marsh, son of John (2) and Ann or Anne (Webster) Marsh, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, about 1643 and died in 1727. In his will, dated July, 1727, and probated August 1, 1727, he left sums of money to his daughters and land to his sons.

John Marsh moved to Hadley, Massachusetts, with his parents, but after his marriage returned to the old Marsh homestead. In 1669 we was a freeman, and in 1677, 1681-87, he was selectman of Hartford, as well as in the years 1688, 1694 and 1701, during the Charter Oak trouble. In 1700 he was one of a committee appointed to build a bridge over the Hockanum River in East Hartford.

John (3) Marsh married (first), November 28, 1666, Sarah Lyman. (Lyman—American Line—III.) She was his stepsister, as Hepzibah (Ford) Lyman was the widow who married John (3) Marsh's father. John (3) Marsh married (second), January 1, 1707-08, Susanna Butler, who died December 24, 1714. Children of first marriage: 1. Captain John, born in 1668; married (first), December 12, 1695, Mabel Pratt; (second), January 6, 1698, Elizabeth Pitkin. 2. Nathaniel (twin), baptized March 5, 1671; married, about 1704, Elizabeth Spencer. 3. Joseph (1) (twin), of whom further. 4. Sarah, baptized February 17, 1673; married John Merrill. 5. Elizabeth, baptized June 27, 1675. 6. Hannah, baptized

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December 3, 1677, died young. 7. Ebenezer, baptized February 23, 1679, died young. 8. Hannah (again), baptized April 10, 1681; married Deacon Olmstead. 9. Lydia, baptized January 13, 1684. 10. Hepsibah, baptized June 6, 1686; married, November 29, 1711, Jonathan Wadsworth. 11. Jonathan, baptized August 7, 1688; married (first), about 1714, Elizabeth Wadsworth; (second), about 1723, Elizabeth Loomis. Child of second marriage: 12. Susanna, born February 5, 1710-11.

(D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy Giving Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," pp. 20-22, 25, 28, 91, 115, 116, 189. J. H. Trumbull: "The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 251. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. Captain Joseph (1) Marsh, son of John (3) and Sarah (Lyman) Marsh, was born at Hartford, Connecticut, baptized March 5, 1671, and became the head of the Lebanon, Connecticut, family and its branches in Vermont and New York.

In 1697 Joseph Marsh became a proprietor at Lebanon, and was a selectman from 1701 to 1730. His military career is as follows: sergeant in 1710, lieutenant in 1718, and captain in 1730. He represented the town in the General Court in the years 1712, 1716, 1723, 1727 and 1731.

Captain Joseph (1) Marsh married (first), in Hartford, Connecticut, 1696, Hannah, whose surname is not known. He married (second), December 14, 1725, Sarah, widow of George Webster. Children of first marriage: 1. Elizabeth, baptized July 30, 1697. 2. Joseph (2), of whom further. 3. Hannah, born November 9, 1704; married, February 24, 1732, Peleg Sprague. 4. Pelatiah, born December 8, 1707; married, May 10, 1731, Mary Moore. 5. Jonathan, born September 23, 1713; married (first), in 1733, Alice Newcomb; (second), December 4, 1752, Keziah Phelps, a widow.

(D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy Giving Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," pp. 115, 116. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

V. Ensign Joseph (2) Marsh, son of Captain Joseph (1) and Hannah Marsh, was born at Hartford, Connecticut, December 5, 1699, baptized in the Second Church of Hartford, December 10,

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1699, and died at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1753. The rank of ensign in the Colonial Army was equal to second lieutenant in the present day. His widow and four sons moved to Hartford, Vermont, in 1722. Three sons of Joseph's brother, Jonathan, accompanied them, and they all worked together in making new settlements. One-fourth of the first proprietors of Randolph, Vermont, bore the name of Marsh. When the Revolutionary War started they all sold out and removed farther down the White River, stopping at Woodstock, Hartland, Hartford, and eventually Bethel.

Ensign Joseph (2) Marsh married, September 25, 1723, Mercy Bill. (Bill V.) Children: 1. Mercy, born in 1725; married, April 8, 1747, Israel Loomis. 2. Joseph (3), of whom further. 3. Anna, born in 1729, died October 8, 1802; married, December 28, 1752, Pelatiah Marsh. 4. Abel, born at Lebanon in 1735; married, December 26, 1754, Dorothy Udall. 5. Elisha, born in 1738; married Miss Terry. 6. Eliphalet.

(D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy Giving Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," pp. 117, 118, 130, 161. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVII, p. 39. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VI. Lieutenant-Governor Joseph (3) Marsh, son of Ensign Joseph (2) and Mercy (Bill) Marsh, was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, January 12, 1726-27, and died February 9, 1811.

It is said that Joseph Marsh went to school for only a single month, but his memory was so tenacious that he assimilated all that he read and soon became a powerful factor in the politics of his day. In 1772 he went to Hartford in New Connecticut (now Vermont), and took up a large tract of land bounded north by the White River, and on the south by the Otta Quechee. Here he built a very large house, which was referred to by early writers as the "Baronial Mansion."

In 1776, Joseph Marsh was twice chosen a delegate for the county of Cumberland to the Provincial Congress of New York, but he favored an independent State government and under it was elected the first State Governor. That same year he was commissioned colonel of the Northern or Upper Regiment of Cumberland County,

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which territory covered the present counties of Windham, Windsor, Rutland and Bennington. In 1777 Joseph Marsh was a member of the convention that declared New Connecticut an independent State, changed its name to Vermont and pledged itself to resist by force of arms the fleets and armies of Great Britain. He was also a member of the convention that adopted the State Constitution on the third and fourth of July, 1777.

When General Schuyler called for men in 1777, Colonel Joseph Marsh, with his eldest son, as one of his quota of men, marched to and took part in the battles of Bennington, White Hall, Fort Ann, Fort Edward and Sandy Hill. A price of £40 was put on his head by the British. Colonel Marsh represented Hartford in the first General Assembly under the State Constitution and that same year, 1778, was elected Lieutenant-Governor, being reelected in 1787, 1788 and 1789. For twelve years he served as chief judge of Windsor County. He was offered a township for his unpaid services, but this he refused to accept.

Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Marsh was a devout Christian, giving liberal support to the religious and benevolent affairs of his time, and left a perpetual fund for the support of the church in Hartford. Physically he was a tall man and well proportioned, being of great strength. At the age of eighty, he could lift weights that his sons could not. He was a fine horseman. In his wearing apparel he was eccentric as he wore small-clothes and triangular hat until his death. He was "never irritable but could be stern and had a close, logical mind." At eighty he is said to have shown no sign of mental or physical weakness, but upon the death of his wife he mourned himself to death, would talk of nothing else for a long time, and would accept no diversions.

Lieutenant-Governor Joseph (3) Marsh married, January 10, 1750, Dorothy Mason. (Mason V.) D. W. Marsh quotes Chancellor Walworth as saying of Mrs. Dorothy Marsh, "hers is the finest genealogy in the United States. She was very beautiful and entertained in the best society of Vermont and New England with elegance." Children: 1. Lydia, born November 5, 1750; married, June 18, 1768, Josiah Rockwell. 2. Dorothy, born April 23, 1752; married Eliphalet Bill. 3. Rhoda, of whom further. 4. Joseph,

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born January 1, 1757; married Serepta Wells. 5. Mary, born February 8, 1759; married Elijah Mason. 6. Daniel, born January 2, 1761, died December 11, 1829; married Marion Harper. 7. Roswell, born March 25, 1763, at Lebanon, Connecticut, died June 30, 1784; unmarried. 8. Charles, born July 10, 1765, baptized July 21, 1765; married (first), in 1789, Nancy Collins; (second), June 3, 1798, Susan (Perkins) Arnold, a widow. 9. Roger, born at Lebanon, Connecticut, August 17, 1767, baptized August 23, 1767; married Mary Chapman. 10. Parthena, born at Lebanon, November 3, 1769; married Rev. E. Brainard. 11. William, born at Lebanon, October 1, 1772, living in 1860, without issue; married Sarah Marshall. 12. Elizabeth, born at Hartford, Vermont, April 18, 1776; married Robert Ham.

(D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy Giving Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," pp. 116, 131-33, 135, 136, 139, 145, 147, 154, 155, 159, 160. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVII, pp. 17, 39-41. "Vital Records of Norwich, Connecticut," Part I, p. 123. J. E. Goodrich: "The State of Vermont Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to 1783," pp. 28, 30, *et seq.* Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VII. Rhoda Marsh, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Joseph (3) and Dorothy (Mason) Marsh, was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, July 25, 1754, and died at Hartford, Vermont, August 7, 1805.

She married (first), in 1770, Thomas White Pitkin, born September 25, 1747, and who was drowned in 1785, by the breaking of the dam at his mill on the Otta Quechee River. She married (second) Rev. Thomas Gross. (Gross—American Line—VI.)

(D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy Giving Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," pp. 135, 139-41. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Mason Line)

Arms—Argent, a lion rampant with two heads azure, guttée de sang.

(Burke: "Encyclopædia of Heraldry.")

Mason, as a surname, has two derivations. The first is of occupational origin, meaning a stonemason or a woodmason, coming from the Middle English *mason* and the Old French *maçon*. The second

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derivation is of baptismal origin, "the son of Matthew," coming from the Old French *Mayheu*, which was shortened to *Maye* and *May* and eventually became *Mayson*. The name appears as early as 1273 on the Hundred Rolls of County Hunts as *Gotte le Mazoun*; of County Bucks as *Nicholas le Macum*; on the Writs of Parliament in 1307 as *Adam le Mazon*; and on the Poll Tax for the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1379 as *Willelmus Mason*, *mason*. An example of the baptismal derivation appears on the Hundred Rolls for County Salop in 1273 as *Roger fil. Maye*.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Major John Mason, the first of our line to be of record, was born in England, about 1600, died at Norwich, Connecticut, January 30, 1672, in his seventy-second year, and was buried there. Before coming to New England he was a lieutenant in the English Army in the wars of the Netherlands, with his friend and companion-in-arms, Lord Thomas Fairfax, who was in General Sir Horace de Vere's command at the siege of Bois-le-Duc from April to July, 1630. In 1645 Sir Thomas Fairfax, then commander-in-chief, wrote to Major Mason in America, urging him to return to England to accept a major-general's commission, but Major Mason's interest was then in "laying the foundations of a new Colony."

Major John Mason came to New England in 1630 and settled at Dorchester, which town he represented in the General Court. He was stationed there in December, 1632, in an official capacity under the commission of the Governor of Massachusetts. In October, 1635, he went with Rev. John Warham, Henry Wolcott, Esq., and others, to be the first settlers of Windsor, Connecticut. Major Mason commanded the successful expedition against the Pequot Indians near New London, with a party of ninety men. The event is commemorated by a boulder monument on Mystic Hill, upon the pedestal of which is a lifesize statue of Major Mason drawing his sword as he heard the war whoop of "Owanux, Owanux," given by the Indians in the fort.

Major John Mason held many posts of honor and responsibility, including magistrate and major at Windsor for twelve years; commandant of the fort and commissioner of the United Colonies at Say-

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brook for twelve years; Deputy Governor and assistant at Norwich, twelve years; and commander-in-chief of the forces of the Colony of Connecticut for thirty-five years, until his death. He was one of the patentees named in the Colonial Charter of 1662, which was once hidden in the "Charter Oak," at Hartford. At the request of the General Court of Connecticut, Major John Mason prepared an account of the Pequot War, which was published in 1677.

Thomas Minor, of Stonington, Connecticut, wrote in his diary, March 26, 1655, "the major had a letter read in a town meeting of which he desired an akor of land and an Iland." The latter is still known as Mason's Island, lying off the coast near Stonington, Connecticut.

Major John Mason married (first) a lady whose name is not known, who died before March 10, 1638. He married (second), in July, 1639, Anne Peck, of Hartford, Connecticut. Child of first marriage: 1. Judith or Isabel, born in Windsor, Connecticut; married, in 1658, John Bissell, Jr., of Windsor. Children of second marriage, first three born in Windsor, last four born at Saybrook, Connecticut: 2. Priscilla, born in October, 1641, died about 1714; married, in October, 1664, Rev. James Fitch. 3. Major Samuel, born in July, 1644, died March 30, 1705, at Saybrook; married (first), in June, 1670, Judith Smith; (second), July 4, 1694, Elizabeth Peck. 4. Captain John, born in August, 1646, died September 18, 1676, after being mortally wounded in the Great Swamp fight; he married Abigail Fitch. 5. Rachel, born in October, 1648, died at New London, April 4, 1679; married, June 12, 1678, Charles Hill. 6. Anne, born in June, 1650; married, November 8, 1672, Captain John Brown. 7. Daniel (1), of whom further. 8. Elizabeth, born in August, 1654, died October 8, 1684; married, January 1, 1676, Major John Fitch.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XV, pp. 117-19. H. R. Stiles: "The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," Vol. II, pp. 473, 474. R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 460. T. W. Mason: "Family Record in Our Line of Descent from Major John Mason of Norwich, Connecticut," pp. 11-19. "The Diary of Thomas Minor," pp. 13, 130. "Vital Records of Norwich, Connecticut, 1659-1848," Part I, p. 20. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

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II. Captain Daniel (1) Mason, son of Major John and Anne (Peck) Mason, was born at Saybrook, Connecticut, in April, 1652, and died at Stonington, Connecticut, January 28, 1737. His estate, which he inherited from his father, consisted of what is now called Mason's Island, in Mystic Bay, Connecticut, and a large tract of upland and meadow.

Captain Daniel Mason was commissioned quartermaster of the New London County Troop of Dragoons, October 17, 1673, and later was promoted to the rank of captain. In 1679, in Norwich, Connecticut, he was instructor, for a short time, at the newly established "School on the Plain," but after his second marriage, he returned to Stonington, Connecticut. He served as deputy to the General Court, and was influential in the affairs of the Colony. In the diary of Thomas Minor, of Stonington, Connecticut, under date of November 14, 1673, is this entry: "Daniell mason mare broke her Legg," and under date of May 13, 1678, "Daniell masons wife was buried." During King Philip's War, he sent his wife and children to her friends at Roxbury, Massachusetts. In the Mason burying ground at Mystic there is a stone marking his grave, with the following epitaph:

Here lyeth the body of
LT. DANIEL MASON
who died Jan ye 28 1736-7
in ye 85th year

Captain Daniel (1) Mason married (first), in 1673, Margaret Denison. (Denison IV.) He married (second), or possibly (third), October 10, 1679, Rebecca Hobart. (Hobart—American Line—II, Child 15.) Children of first marriage: 1. Daniel (2), of whom further. 2. Hezekiah, born May 3, 1677, died December 15, 1726; married (first), June 7, 1699, Anne Bingham, who died August 2, 1724. He married (second), November 15, 1725, Sarah Robinson. Children of Daniel and Rebecca (Hobart) Mason: 3. Peter, born November 9, 1680; married, July 8, 1703, Mary Hobart. 4. Rebecca, born February 10, 1682; married, February 6, 1707, Elisha Chesebrough, Esq. 5. Margaret, born December 21, 1683. 6. Samuel, born February 11, 1686; married (first), April 15, 1712, Elizabeth Fitch; (second), February 22, 1720, Rebecca Lippincott. 7. Abi-

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gail, born February 3, 1689. 8. Priscilla, born September 17, 1691; married, May 25, 1710, Theophilus Baldwin. 9. Nehemiah, born November 24, 1693, died May 13, 1768; married, January 9, 1722, Zerviah Stanton.

(“History of the Town of Hingham,” Vol. II, pp. 335, 336. “Diary of Thomas Minor,” pp. 120, 148. “Vital Records of Roxbury, Massachusetts.” “New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. XV, pp. 119, 217, 218. R. A. Wheeler: “History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut,” pp. 461-63. Family records.)

III. Daniel (2) Mason, son of Captain Daniel (1) and Margaret (Denison) Mason, was born at Stonington, Connecticut, November 26, 1674, and died at Lebanon, Connecticut, May 7, 1705. After his marriage he removed to Lebanon.

Daniel (2) Mason married, April 19, 1704, Dorothy Hobart. (Hobart—American Line—IV.) She was of an old distinguished family through her maternal line. She married (second), October 1, 1707, Hon. Hezekiah Brainard, of Haddam. Child: 1. Jeremiah, of whom further.

(“New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. XV, pp. 119, 217. R. A. Wheeler: “History of Stonington, Connecticut,” pp. 462, 463.)

IV. Jeremiah Mason, son of Daniel (2) and Dorothy (Hobart) Mason, was born at Stonington, March 4, 1705, and died at Franklin, Connecticut, in 1779. He and his wife settled at Norwich (now Franklin), Connecticut.

Jeremiah Mason married, May 24, 1727, Mary Clark. (Clark III.) Children, born at Norwich, Connecticut: 1. Daniel, born in July, 1728, died November 13, 1730. 2. Jeremiah, born February 1, 1730; married Elizabeth Fitch. 3. Dorothy, of whom further. 4. Daniel (again), born April 10, 1735, died March 11, 1752. 5. Mary, born December 22, 1736; married, April 15, 1756, Nathaniel Huntington. 6. Anne, born March 3, 1739; married William Whiting. 7. David, born November 2, 1742; married Susanna, surname not known. 8. Elizabeth, born August 27, 1744; married Theodore Sedgwick.

(“Vital Records of Norwich, Connecticut,” Vol. I, p. 123. “New England Historical and Genealogical Records,” Vol. XV, p. 224.)

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V. *Dorothy Mason*, daughter of Jeremiah and Mary (Clark) Mason, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, April 9, 1732.

She married Lieutenant-Governor Joseph (3) Marsh. (Marsh VI.)

(“New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. XVII, p. 39.)

(The Clark Line)

Arms—Or, a bend engrailed azure.

(Burke: “General Armory.”)

Clark, as a surname, with its variants Clerk, Clerke, Clarke, is of official origin, meaning the clerk, or the clergyman, a clerk in holy orders. In Middle English *clerk* meant priest. The surname is now almost universally used as Clark and Clarke. The name occurs in early records, appearing in 1273, in the Hundred Rolls for County Lincoln as Boniface Clericus, Thomas le Clerk. It appears in 1379 in the Poll Tax for the West Riding of Yorkshire as Robertus Clarke.

(Bardsley: “Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.”)

I. *William Clark*, the first of this line to be of record, died at Haddam, Connecticut, July 22, 1681. He was first of record at Hartford in 1639. In 1662, he with twenty-seven others bought land at “Thirty Mile Island” (now Haddam) from the Indians, who received in payment thirty coats. William Clark’s share was in back of the town meadows on Walkley Hill. He saw service in the war with King Philip. In his will, which showed that he was a man of wealth, he left an estate appraised at £418 18s. More than half of this was made up of land around Haddam. He made bequests to son Thomas, who received the largest portion, to son William, to son Joseph, to son John, to daughter Fennoe, to daughter Welles, to daughter Spencer, to daughters Hannah and Mary. He also made provision that his grandson Daniel Hubbard should be taught how to read and write. His will was witnessed by Rev. Nicholas Noyes, who later figured in the witchcraft trials at Salem.

William Clark married, but there is no record of the name of his wife as yet discovered. Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. William. 3. John, born before 1655, was of Middletown, Connecticut, 1675-80; married Elizabeth White, daughter of Nathaniel White, of Middletown. 4. Joseph. 5. A daughter, married Mr.

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Fennoe. 6. A daughter, married Mr. Welles. 7. Hannah, married Mr. Spencer. 8. Mary, died December 24, 1675; married Daniel Hubbard.

(Records in possession of family, citing Mainwaring: "Early Probate Records of Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 290. "History of New London County, Connecticut," Vol. II, p. 528. "Middletown Upper Houses," p. 524.)

II. Thomas Clark, son of William Clark, died before 1746, the year his estate was distributed. In the distribution the following heirs are mentioned: Jonathan Clark, his son; Jeremiah Mason, in behalf of his wife; Captain John Fisk, in behalf of his wife; children of Elijah Stannard; David Clark, his son; Israel Clark, his son; Stephen Cone, in behalf of his wife. It appears that there was another son Thomas who is not mentioned in the distribution, having died before then.

Thomas Clark married Elizabeth Bailey. (Bailey II.) Children: 1. Thomas, died before 1746. 2. Jonathan. 3. David. 4. Israel. 5. A daughter, married Captain John Fisk. 6. A daughter, married Elijah Stannard. 7. Mary, of whom further. 8. Susanna, married Stephen Cone, born November 11, 1706, son of Stephen and Mary (Hungerford) Cone.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. Mary Clark, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Bailey) Clark, was born about 1703-04 and died April 11, 1799. She married Jeremiah Mason. (Mason IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Bailey Line)

Arms—Ermine, three bars wavy sable.

Crest—A demi-lady holding on her dexter hand a tower, in her sinister hand a laurel branch vert. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Bailey, as a surname, with its variants Baillie, Bailly, Baily, Bayley, Baylie, Bayly, Baylis, Bayliss, Bayles, Bayless, is of official origin. It is derived from the office of bailiff. The surname appears on early records as follows: in I Edward III, for County Somerset, as Roger le Baillif; in 1273 on the Hundred Rolls for County Lincoln, as Alvered Ballivus; in 1273 on the Hundred Rolls for County Oxford, as

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Henry Baily. There are many other instances of the name on early records showing its widespread use.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. John Bailey, the first of this line to be of record, died between June 17, 1696, the date of his will, and August 29, 1696, when the inventory of his estate was taken. In 1648 he was a viewer of chimneys and ladders at Hartford, Connecticut. Eight years later, in March, 1656, he held the office of constable. He was recorded as a freeman in May, 1657. John Bailey moved, in 1662, to Haddam, being one of the original twenty-eight purchasers of that town. There he resided at Higganum, which was in the northern part of Haddam. He left an estate valued at £186 10s. 6d., which he distributed as follows: to sons John, Benjamin and Nathaniel land at Higganum; and bequests to daughter Elizabeth Clark, son Thomas Clark, and to daughters Lydia, Susanna and Mary.

John Bailey married Elizabeth Smith, daughter of Thomas Smith, of Haddam, who died November 2, 1674. Thomas Smith mentioned in his will wife of John Bailey, of Haddam, and her children; John Bailey; Elizabeth Clark; Benjamin Bailey; heirs of Susanna Hubbard; and Nathaniel Bailey. Children of John and Elizabeth (Smith) Bailey: 1. John, married Elizabeth Bate, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Beckwith) Bate. 2. Lydia. 3. Elizabeth, of whom further. 4. Benjamin, born November 11, 1665. 5. Susanna, married Mr. Hubbard. 6. Nathaniel. 7. Mary, married David (?) Conwell.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing: "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXI, p. 60.)

II. Elizabeth Bailey, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Smith) Bailey, married Thomas Clark. (Clark II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Hobart Line)

Arms—Sable, an estoile of eight points or, between two flanches ermine.

Crest—A bull passant per pale sable and gules bezantée, in the nostrils a ring or.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Hobart is an early variant of Hubert, and Hubbard is another. St. Hubert, the patron of hunters, made the name popular as a christen name. Hubertus de Vall and Hubertus Monetarius are in a Pipe

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Roll of 5 Henry II and Hubert le Priur in a Close Roll, fifty-fourth of Henry III, 1269 A. D. Asbert Houbard is in Kirby's Quest, Somersetsshire, 1327, and William and Isabella Hoberd in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, 1379.

The connection of the American family with the English line herewith has not at yet been definitely established, but since Edmund Hobart was undoubtedly of the same family, the English history which follows is of interest.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in England)

I. John Hobart, ancestor of this line, was mentioned in deeds as the owner of lands at De la Tye, County Norfolk, in 1389.

(Collins: "A Peerage of England," Vol. IV, p. 302.)

II. Godfrey Hobart, son of John Hobart, was of De la Tye in 1407.

(*Ibid.*)

III. John Hobart, son of Godfrey Hobart, was mentioned in 1438.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Thomas Hobart, of the Tye, son of John Hobart, died in 1458. He married Eleanor, daughter and heir of Robert at Church. They were the parents of William, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. William Hobart, son of Thomas and Eleanor (at Church) Hobart, was living in 1478. He was the father of Thomas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Thomas Hobart, son of William Hobart, died before April 8, 1517. He resided at Layham, County Suffolk. He was the ancestor of the several branches of the Hobarts. The Suffolk branch became extinct in 1676, while the branch that settled in Massachusetts in 1633 still survives.

Thomas Hobart was the father of two sons: 1. William, married Anne Tilney, daughter of Sir Philip Tilney. From this mar-

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riage descended the Hobarts of Monks Eleigh, County Suffolk, afterwards of Lindsey. 2. James, died in February, 1517; was attorney-general to King Henry VII; a Knight of the Sword; was of Hales Hall, County Norfolk; married Margaret Naunton. He was the ancestor of the present Earl of Buckinghamshire.

(Burke: "Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage," p. 424. Collins: "A Peerage of England," Vol. IV, p. 362.)

(The Family in America)

I. Edmund Hobart, a descendant of Thomas Hobart, of Layham, was born in Hingham Parish, County Norfolk, England, about 1574, and died at Hingham, Massachusetts, March 8, 1646. He embarked with his family near the end of March, 1633, and landed at Charlestown, Massachusetts, about the middle of May, 1633. He became a member of the Congregational Church in Charlestown, August 19, 1633; took the freeman's oath March 4, 1634, and soon after was appointed constable by the General Court. In September, 1635, he removed with a company to Bear Cove, about twelve miles south of Boston, and called their new settlement Hingham, after the town from which most of them had come. He drew house-lot No. 17 on Town (North) Street, while two of his sons drew Nos. 18 and 19. He lived opposite Hobart's Bridge, North Street.

For the year beginning September 19, 1637, Edmund Hobart was of the Grand Jury, and was appointed by the General Court, September 6, 1638, "a Commissioner to try small causes," an office equivalent to the present justice of the peace, and his appointment was renewed May 22, 1639, and June 2, 1641. He was chosen the representative of Hingham in 1639-40, 1641 and 1642.

Edmund Hobart married (first), about 1597, Margaret Dewey, who died in England. He married (second), at Charlestown, October 10, 1634, Sarah Lyford, widow of Rev. John Lyford. She died June 23, 1649. Children, all of first marriage, born in Hingham, England: 1. Nazareth, born about 1600, died at Hingham, Massachusetts, September 23, 1658; married John Beal. 2. Edmund (twin), born in 1604, died February 16, 1685-86; married Elizabeth, surname not known, died in 1675. 3. Peter (twin), of whom further. 4. Thomas, born in 1606, died in Hingham, Massachusetts, August 18, 1689; married Anne Plomer. 5. Rebecca, married

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Ralph Smith. 6. Sarah. 7. Joshua, born in 1614, died July 28, 1682; was a captain; married, in 1638, Ellen Ibrook, daughter of Richard Ibrook.

(Hobart: "William Hobart, His Ancestors and Descendants."
Lincoln: "History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 334; Vol. III, p. 132.)

II. Rev. Peter Hobart, son of Edmund and Margaret (Dewey) Hobart, was born in Hingham, England, in 1604, baptized there, October 13, 1604, and died at Hingham, Massachusetts, January 20, 1679. In boyhood he attended first a grammar school, next the free school at Lynn, and from this he entered Magdalen College of the University of Cambridge, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1625, and Master of Arts in 1629. In 1626 he taught a grammar school. In 1627 he was ordained a minister by the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Joseph Hall. He preached nine years as pastor of Haverhill, County Suffolk, England, until 1635, when he and his family arrived at Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 8, 1635. In September of that year he settled at Hingham, where he received several grants of land. There he was pastor of the Congregational Church for forty-four years.

Rev. Peter Hobart married (first) a lady whose name is not known, and who died in 1636. He married (second) Rebecca Ibrook, died September 9, 1693, daughter of Richard Ibrook, of Hingham, Massachusetts. Children, first four born in England, of first marriage: 1. Joshua, born in 1628, graduated from Harvard College in 1650; minister in Southold, Long Island. 2. Jeremiah, of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born in 1632; married John Ripley. 4. Josiah, born in 1634, died in East Hampton, Long Island, in 1711; a merchant of Hingham. 5. Ichabod, born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, October 3, 1635, died in July, 1636. Children of second marriage: 6. Hannah, born in Hingham, April 30, 1637, died May 19, 1637. 7. Hannah (again), born May 15, 1638, died in Bristol, September 11, 1691; married (first) John Brown, of Salem; (second), October 21, 1679, John Rogers. 8. Bathsheba, born October, 1640, died April 14, 1724; married (first), June 27, 1664, John Leavitt, Jr.; (second), November 19, 1674, Joseph Turner. 9.

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Israel, born June 29, 1642, died at Scituate, April 14, 1731; married, December 30, 1668, Sarah Wittewill, daughter of Rev. William Wittewill, of Scituate. 10. Jael, born December 30, 1643, died April 18, 1730, at Kingston; married, May 25, 1664, Joseph Bradford, son of Governor William Bradford. 11. Gershom, born in December, 1645, died December 19, 1707; graduated from Harvard College, in 1667; pastor of Groton, Massachusetts, from November 25, 1679, until his death. 12. Jophet, born April 4, 1647; was graduated from Harvard College, in 1667; was a surgeon. He sailed for England before 1670, and was lost at sea. 13. Nehemiah, baptized November 20, 1648; was graduated from Harvard College in 1667; was pastor of Newtown until his death August 25, 1712. 14. David, baptized August 18, 1651, died at his father's homestead, August 21, 1717; was a tanner by occupation; was a selectman eight times; married (first) Joanna Quincy, daughter of Edmund and Joanna (Hoar) Quincy, born April 16, 1654, died May 18, 1695; married (second), December 4, 1695, Sarah Joyce, of Boston, who died October 14, 1729. 15. Rebecca, born April 9, 1654, died in Stonington, Connecticut, April 8, 1727; married, October 10, 1679, Captain Daniel (I) Mason. (Mason II.) 16. Abigail, born October 19, 1656, died unmarried, April 12, 1683. 17. Lydia, born January 7, 1658-59, died October 18, 1732; married, November 12, 1690, Thomas Lincoln. 18. Hezekiah, born August 30, 1661, died May 11, 1662.

(Lincoln: "History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. II, pp. 335, 336.)

III. Rev. Jeremiah Hobart, son of Rev. Peter Hobart, was born in England, in 1630, and died at Haddam, Connecticut, November 6, 1715, at the age of eighty-five. His death occurred while he was attending worship and just after he received the sacrament. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1650. He first settled in Topsfield, Massachusetts. During his ministry in 1675-76, at the time of King Philip's War, the selectmen were compelled to build a stonewall around the meetinghouse, with a watch tower ten feet high. Because Mr. Hobart had made many enemies among his congregation, he was accused of immorality and his salary was withheld. The

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matter was brought before the court, which after hearing the evidence, completely exonerated him and ordered payment of all arrears and the repair of his place. However, the attitude of the people did not change so he removed to Hempstead, Long Island, and later to Haddam, Connecticut. Here he described himself in a petition to the Governor as "an ancient, dejected and despised minister."

Rev. Jeremiah Hobart married Elizabeth Whiting. (Whiting II.) Children: 1. Dorothy, of whom further. 2. Jeremiah, born December 16, 1672. 3. Elizabeth, born February 8, 1674. 4. Margaret, born January 16, 1677-78. One daughter married Hezekiah Willis, Secretary of the Province of Connecticut, and another daughter married Hezekiah Brainard.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family, citing: "Topsfield, Massachusetts, Vital Records," Vol. IX. "Historical Collections of Topsfield, Massachusetts," Vol. VI, p. 49.)

IV. Dorothy Hobart, daughter of Rev. Jeremiah and Elizabeth (Whiting) Hobart, was born August 21, 1671. She married Daniel (2) Mason. (Mason III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Whiting Line)

Arms—Per saltire azure and ermine, a lion's head erased or, in chief three bezants.

Crest—A lion's head erased or.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Whiting, as a surname, has been assigned two derivations. One is the baptismal, originating in the Anglo-Saxon personal name *Hwiting*. This was made up from the Old English *hwit*, meaning "white or fair," plus the suffix *ing*, meaning "son." The second derivation is from locality, meaning "dweller at the white meadow." This was composed of the Old English *hwit* and the Old North and Eastern English *ing*. In this case *ing* meant "meadow," while *hwit* kept the meaning given above.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. Rev. Samuel Whiting, the emigrant ancestor of this line, was born November 20, 1597, at Boston, Lincolnshire, and died at Lynn, Massachusetts, December 11, 1679, at the age of eighty-two. He came of a family which was established in Lincolnshire, England, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and was prominent in life and

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affairs there up to the period of American emigration. Rev. Whiting took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1616 from Cambridge University and, in 1620, he received his degree of Master of Arts.

Early in April of 1636, accompanied by his wife and two children, he sailed from England, and arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, May 26, 1636. The following November he was established as minister of the church in Saugust, later called Lynn, in his honor. In December, 1636, he was admitted a freeman and soon after established his permanent residence opposite the meetinghouse in Shepard Street. For forty-three years he ministered to spiritual wants of Lynn, and throughout this period was the best beloved figure in its life and affairs.

Dr. Mather, in his "Magnalia," first published in 1702, pays tribute to Mr. Whiting, as follows:

And he (Mr. Whiting) was not less a man of temper than of learning; the peculiar sweetness and goodness of his temper must be deemed an essential stroke in his character; he was wonderfully happy in his meek, his composed, his peacable disposition; and his meekness of wisdom outshine all his other attainments in learning for there is no humane literature so hardly attained as the discretion of man to regulate his anger. His very countenance had an amiable smile continually sweetening of it; and his face herein was but the true image of his mind, which, like the upper regions, was marvelously free from the storms of passions.

Rev. Samuel Whiting married (first), in England, a lady whose name is not known. He married (second), August 6, 1629, at Boston, England, Elizabeth St. John. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Decent from Saxon Kings XXVIII.) It is through this marriage that the royal lineage enters, as she was of noble and royal blood, being descended from Charlemagne, William the Conqueror, Alfred the Great, and early kings of Scotland. Children of first marriage: Sons, who died in England. 1. Dorothy, married, in 1650, Thomas Wilde, son of Rev. Thomas Wilde, of Roxbury, Massachusetts. Children of second marriage: 2. Rev. Samuel, born in England, March 25, 1633, died in 1713; married, November 12, 1656, Dorcas Chester. 3. Rev. John, born in Lynn, Massachusetts, 1637; married Esther, surname not known; both died October 19,

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1689. 4. Rev. Joseph, born April 6, 1641; married (first) Sarah Danforth; (second) Rebecca Prescott. 5. Elizabeth, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. *Elizabeth Whiting*, daughter of Rev. Samuel and Elizabeth (St. John) Whiting, was born in 1645 and died at Hartford, Connecticut, aged eighty-eight. She married Rev. Jeremiah Hobart. (Hobart—American Line—III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Denison Line)

Arms—Argent, on a chevron engrailed gules between three torteaux, an annulet or.

Crest—A dexter arm erect vested vert, the hand proper grasping a scimitar.

Motto—*Domus grata.* (Beloved home.) (Crozier: "General Armory.")

The Denison family had been established in England for many centuries, the name being on record in counties Norfolk and Cambridge as early as 1273. In 1379 Robert Denysson was named in the Poll Tax of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Both Denise and Denis were highly popular as baptismal names in France, Denise being the feminine form of Denis. In addition to a suggested origin as a font name, Denison, Dennison, and other variants, may be from the Anglo-Saxon "Denisca" or Danish.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. *John Denison*, earliest known ancestor of this line, died in Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire, England, December 4, 1582. There is evidence of his having lived in Bishop's Stortford as early as 1567. He married Agnes, who married (second), May 1 or May 3, 1584, John Gace or Gase, whose will was found in 1602, in which he mentioned George, Edward, and William Denison, "children of my wife," also Elizabeth Crouch, "a daughter of my wife." Children of John and Agnes Denison: 1. Luce, baptized August 3, 1567, buried at Bishop's Stortford, December 9, 1582 or 1584. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Edward, baptized at Bishop's Stortford, April 6, 1575; was living in Dublin, Ireland, in 1670; married in 1631. 4. Mary, baptized at Bishop's Stortford, April 28, 1577. 5. Elizabeth, baptized at Bishop's Stortford, August 23, 1579. 6. George, baptized at

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Bishop's Stortford, March 17, 1582; buried there, August 20, 1642; married Constance Glascock.

(J. L. Glascock: "Pedigree of Denison," published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLVI, pp. 352-354. R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 334.)

II. William Denison, son of John and Agnes Denison, was baptized in Bishop's Stortford, England, February 3, 1571, and died in Roxbury, Massachusetts, January 25, 1653. According to the inscription on his tombstone, he was a Master of Arts, and, since two of his sons were graduates of the University of Cambridge, it is assumed that he also received his education there.

William Denison was well situated in Bishop's Stortford, but became interested in the emigration to New England, whereupon he decided to go there himself. In 1631, with his family, he came to America on the ship "Lyon," and settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he lived until his death. He brought a very good estate to New England, and soon became a leader in civic and religious affairs. His name is third on the list of the founders of the First Church of that town, which was organized about 1632 with John Eliot as pastor. John Eliot was a missionary to the Indians, traveling to America on the ship "Lyon" with William Denison, and appears to have been a tutor in his family. William Denison was a founder of the free school in Roxbury, and was one of the first deacons of the church. In 1634 he was constable and deputy to the General Court. A list of early freeholders shows that he possessed two hundred and sixty-seven acres of land. In 1637, he and his son, Edward, were among several other Roxbury men who were disarmed for "seditious libel," because they were followers of Anne Hutchinson, the religious leader, who drew many of the more intelligent to her way of thinking.

William Denison married, at Bishop's Stortford, England, November 7, 1603, Margaret (Chandler) Monck, who died in Roxbury, Massachusetts, February 23, 1645. Children: 1. Rev. John, baptized in Bishop's Stortford, April 7, 1605; educated at Cambridge; remained in England when the family came to America; was vicar of Staunton, Hertfordshire, 1660-70. 2. William, baptized at Bishop's Stortford, October 5, 1606; was a soldier in Holland in 1624, at the

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siege of Breda, when it was taken by Spinola and Count Mansfield; was never heard of again. 3. George, baptized at Bishop's Stortford, October 15, 1609, buried there in 1615. 4. Daniel, born at Bishop's Stortford, October 18, 1612, died in 1682; was a graduate of Cambridge and accompanied his parents to Massachusetts, where he became a major-general of the militia; was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and for twenty-nine years was one of the assistants to the Governor; his autobiography, preserved by descendants, is the authority for identifying the family with the Denisons of Bishop's Stortford; married Patience Dudley, a daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. 5. Sarah, born and died at Bishop's Stortford, in 1615. 6. Edward (again), of whom further. 7. Captain George, born in 1618, baptized at Bishop's Stortford, December 10, 1620, died at Hartford, Connecticut, October 23, 1694; married (first), in 1640, Bridget Thompson; (second), in 1645, Ann Borodell.

(J. L. Glascock: "Pedigree of Denison," published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLVI, pp. 352-354. R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 334. Drake: "History of Roxbury, Massachusetts," pp. 50, 90, 91. J. D. Baldwin and W. Clift: "A Record of the Descendants of Captain George Denison of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 5. F. M. Caulkins: "History of New London," p. 332.)

III. Edward Denison, son of William and Margaret (Chandler-Monck) Denison, was born in 1614, baptized at Bishop's Stortford, November 2 or 3, 1616, and died April 26, 1668. He was among those disarmed in 1637, and was a friend of Wheelwright. However, he was still a respected citizen as he was addressed as "Mr." In 1648 he was a freeman, and in the years 1652 and 1655, he was a representative to the General Court.

Edward Denison married, March 20, 1641, Elizabeth Weld. (Weld II.) Children: 1. Elizabeth. 2. John, born May 14, 1644. 3. Edward, died in 1646. 4. Jeremiah, born in 1647, died in 1649. 5. Joseph, born April 8, 1649. 6. Margaret, of whom further. 7. Mary, born March 27, 1654. 8. Hannah, born September 10, 1655. 9. Sarah, born November 4, 1657; married Thomas Robinson. 10. William, born September 18, 1664. 11. Deborah, born in 1666-67.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

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IV. Margaret Denison, daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Weld) Denison, was born December 15, 1650, and died May 13, 1678. She married Captain Daniel (I) Mason. (Mason II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Weld Line)

Arms—Azure, a fesse nebulée between three crescents ermine.

Crest—A wivern sable gutté, ducally gorged and chained or.

Motto—*Nil sine numine.* (Nothing without the Deity.)

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Weld, with its variants, Weald, Welde, Wold, is a surname of locality origin, meaning "at the weld," from residence thereby. A weld is a woody or stubby waste. There are many instances of this name on the early records. Walter de la Wolde appears on the Fines Roll in 11 Edward I; Willelmus del Weld on the Poll Tax list for West Riding of Yorkshire in 1379; and John atte Welde on the Patent Rolls in 4 Edward III.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Captain Joseph Weld, the first of this line to be of record, was buried October 7, 1646. He came to New England about 1635, bringing wife, Elizabeth, and children, Elizabeth, Mary, Hannah, and Thomas, leaving at home John, the eldest. He settled in the town of Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he was a freeman on March 3, 1636, its representative in 1637 and for seven years following. He was also captain of the militia, and was of good estate and high reputation. In his will, probated in 1646, he made bequests to his wife, Barbara, and to her children, Daniel, Sarah, and Marah; and to children of his first wife, John, Thomas, Edward, Mary, Hannah, and to Elizabeth Denison.

Captain Joseph Weld married (first), in England, Elizabeth, surname not known, who died in October, 1638. He married (second), April 20, 1639, Barbara Clapp. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born in England, in 1623; remained in England; married, in 1647, Margaret Bowen. 2. Elizabeth, of whom further. 3. Mary, born in 1627, in England; married, about 1648, Daniel Harris, of Middletown. 4. Hannah, born in 1629, in England; from language of her father's will seems to have been engaged to a son of Rev. Thomas Hooker, founder of Hartford, but nothing further is known. 5.

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Thomas, born in England, in 1632. 6. Edmund, born July 14, 1636, in New England. Children of second marriage: 7. Sarah, born December 21, 1640; married, July 23, 1663, John Franks, of Boston. 8. Daniel, baptized September 25, 1642. 9. Joseph, baptized February 9, 1645, died at the age of ten months. 10. Marah, baptized August 2, 1646; married Comfort Starr.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, pp. 457-58.)

II. *Elizabeth Weld*, daughter of Captain Joseph and Elizabeth Weld, was born in England, in 1625. She married Edward Denison. (Denison III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Bill Line)

Arms—Ermine, two wood-bills sable with long handles proper in saltire on a chief azure a pale or, charged with a rose gules between two pelicans' heads erased at the neck argent.

Crest—A pelican's head couped at the neck, vulning herself proper.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

Bill, as a surname, has been assigned two derivations. The first possible origin being from the Old High German *bill*, meaning sword or axe; the second origin being from the pet or nickname for William, though this was later. The name appears in Domesday Book as *Bil*.

The Bill family in England has an ancient and honorable record, which began when they first came from Denmark. For five centuries the family have been in Shropshire, and about 1490, Dr. Thomas Bill was an attending physician to Queen Elizabeth. William Bill was master of Trinity, provost of Elton, and dean of Westminster College. Dean Bill wrote the statutes of Westminster, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in the Dean's Chapel named entirely in his honor.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

I. *John (1) Bill*, the first of this line to be of record, was born in Much Wenlock, Shropshire, England, and was buried at St. Anne, Blackfriars, London. In his will, dated 1630, he made a bequest to his birthplace. By occupation he was a publisher in London.

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John (1) Bill married (first) Anne Mountford, daughter of Thomas Mountford, D. D. She was the author of a book, "The Mirror of Modestie," published in London in 1621, a second and a very rare edition appearing in 1719. She died May 3, 1621. John (1) Bill married (second) Joan Franklin, of Throwley, Kent. Children, all of first marriage: 1. John (2), of whom further. 2. Anne. 3. Charles, also a publisher. 4. Henry. 5. Mary.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. John (2) Bill, son of John (1) and Anne (Mountford) Bill, was born in England and died in 1638, in Boston, Massachusetts. He came to New England with his wife, Dorothy, before 1635. In 1635 his son John, aged thirteen, came over in the "Hopewell," and his daughter Marie, aged eleven, came in the "Planter." After his death, Richard Tuttle became responsible to the town for Dorothy Bill, widow, "a sojourner at his house" and "for anything about her," it being supposed that Dorothy Bill was a sister of the said Richard Tuttle.

John (2) Bill married, in England, Dorothy, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. James, born in England, in 1615; married Mary, surname not known. 2. Thomas, born about 1618; married (first) Elizabeth Nichols; (second) Abigail Willis. 3. Philip, of whom further. 4. John, born in 1622. 5. Mary, born in 1624.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Philip Bill, son of John (2) and Dorothy Bill, was born in England, about 1620, and died at Groton, Connecticut, July 8, 1689. When he first came to New England, he settled at Pulling Point, Boston, where his mother, and a brother, James, were living. He next lived at Ipswich until 1667-68, when he removed to Connecticut at the invitation of Governor John Winthrop. There he settled on the east side of the Thames, near New London, in that part of Connecticut incorporated in 1705 as Groton. There he owned a great deal of land, which he disposed of in his will to his children.

Philip Bill married Hannah, surname not known, who died in 1707. She married (second) Samuel Buckland, of New London. Children: 1. Philip, born about 1658; married (first) Elizabeth Lester; (second) Mary, surname not known. 2. Mary, born about

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1661. 3. Margaret, born in 1663, died in 1689. 4. Samuel, of whom further. 5. John, born in 1667. 6. Elizabeth, married, probably, James Avery. 7. Jonathan, baptized November 5, 1671, at New London. 8. Joshua, born October 16, 1673 or 1675; married (first), November 1, 1699, Joanna Potts; (second), in 1719, Hannah Swodel.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Samuel Bill, son of Philip and Hannah Bill, was born about 1665, at Ipswich, or near Boston, and died before January 27, 1729-1730, the date of probate of his will. He removed with his father to Groton, Connecticut. He and his wife, Mercy, were admitted to the church in New London, September 3, 1693. He was one of the five members that composed the church, who in 1700 signed the paper entitled "Complaint against the Elder of the Church of Christ of New London." The elder was the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, who was the pastor of the church at that time, and afterwards became Governor of Connecticut. For this action all the complaining members were suspended from the privileges of the church. Samuel Bill was involved in several land transactions in Groton. In his will he gave to his wife, Elizabeth, the house, and sums of money to children, Philip, James, Joseph, John, Hannah, Mercy, and Abigail.

Samuel Bill married (first) Mercy Haughton, daughter of Richard Haughton, of New London; married (second) Elizabeth, whose surname is not known. Children, uncertain as to which marriage: 1. Hannah, born about 1680. 2. Samuel, born about 1690; married (first) Hannah, surname not known; (second) Joanna Atwell. 3. Philip, born about 1692; married (first) Jane, surname not known; (second) Elizabeth, surname not known; (third) Ruth, surname not known. 4. James, born about 1694; married Mary Wodell. 5. A child, baptized 1695. 6. Ebenezer, married Patience Ingraham. 7. Joshua, baptized June 5, 1698. 8. Jonathan, baptized September 8, 1700. 9. Mercy, of whom further. 10. John. 11. Abigail.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Mercy Bill, daughter of Samuel Bill, was baptized September 27, 1702, and died in 1786. She married Ensign Joseph (2) Marsh. (Marsh V.)

(*Ibid.*)

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(The Lyman Arms)

Arms—Quarterly—1st and 4th, per chevron gules and argent in base an annulet of the first; 2d, gules, a chevron between three sheep argent; 3d, quarterly, ermine and gules over all a cross or.

Crest—A demi-bull argent attired and hooped or, langued gules.

Motto—*Quod verum tutum.* (What is true is safe.)

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

From Anglo-Saxon, the original language of our primitive Teutonic ancestors, came the roots, which, after many centuries of changing speech and fluctuating custom, developed into the surname Lyman. *Leof*, meaning "dear" or "beloved" and akin to the German *lieber*, was combined with "man" to form a word signifying by derivation the beloved or admired man. Contracted into Leman, this word was used as a personal or baptismal name, and, when in the eleventh or twelfth centuries the use of surnames came into common practice, it survived as a surname under the various spellings, Leman, Lemmon, Lemon, Leeman, Leemon, Leaman, and Limon. The form Lyman seems to be a more recent variant.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

(The Family in England)

Two ancient and honorable families were united by the marriage of Sir Thomas Lambert and Joan de Umfraville, and by the marriage of their great-granddaughter with Thomas Lyman, Esq., of Navistoke, County Essex, England, in the time of Henry VII, they were ancestors of the Lyman family.

I. Thomas Lyman, son of John Lyman, of Navistoke, succeeded his father, in 1432, to the estates of Navistoke and Wethersfield. With his wife, Elizabeth, he brought suit in 1488 against Cecilie Barautyn for unjustly detaining a sum of money.

Thomas Lyman married Elizabeth Lambert, daughter of Henry Lambert, of High Ongar, County Essex. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(L. Coleman: "Genealogy of the Lyman Family in Great Britain and America," pp. 32-33.)

II. Henry Lyman, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Lambert) Lyman, held Navistoke, in 1487, and was living in 1517. He mar-

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ried Alicia Hyde, daughter of Simon Hyde, of Wethersfield. Child:
1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. John Lyman, son of Henry and Alicia (Hyde) Lyman, was living in 1546, and was in possession of the Navistoke and Ongar estates. He married Margaret Gerard, daughter and heiress of William Gerard, of Beauchamp, County Essex. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Henry Lyman, son of John and Margaret (Gerard) Lyman, died at High Ongar, May 4, 1605. He inherited the estates of Navistoke and High Ongar. He married Elizabeth, surname not known, who was buried at Navistoke, April 15, 1587. Child, among others: 1. Richard (1), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. Richard (1) Lyman, son of Henry and Elizabeth Lyman, was baptized in High Ongar, County Essex, England, October 30, 1580, and died at Hartford, Connecticut, in August, 1640. The inventory of his estate is dated September 6, 1640. Before coming to America he sold a part, at least, of his English land, showing that he had formed the intention of leaving his native country and establishing himself permanently in the New World. It was in 1629 that he sold two messuages, arable lands, meadow and pasture, all at Norton Mandeville, County Essex. Two years later, in the middle of August, 1631, he embarked with his wife and children in the ship "Lion." They sailed from Bristol and arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, November 4, 1631.

Richard Lyman settled, first, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and with his wife, united with the church in what is now known as Roxbury, Massachusetts. On June 11, 1635, he was made a freeman. Later the same year, on October 15, he was one of the company that left Charlestown with Rev. Thomas Hooker and went to Connecticut to found Hartford. He was one of the original proprietors in 1636. His name is inscribed on a stone column in the rear of the

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Centre Church of Hartford, that was erected to the memory of the first settlers of the city.

Richard (1) Lyman married, in England, Sarah Osborne, daughter of Roger Osborne, of Halstead, Kent. She died in Hartford, Connecticut, where her will was probated January, 1641-42. Children, all born in England: 1. William, buried in 1615. 2. Phyllis, baptized September 12, 1611; married William Hills. 3. Richard, baptized July 18, 1613, died young. 4. William, baptized in 1616. 5. Richard (2) (again), of whom further. 6. Sarah, baptized February 8, 1620. 7. Anne, baptized in 1621. 8. John, baptized in 1623. 9. Robert, baptized in September, 1629; married, November 5, 1662, Hepzibah Bascom, daughter of Thomas Bascom.

(L. Coleman: "Genealogy of the Lyman Family in Great Britain and America," pp. 36-40. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 134.)

II. Richard (2) Lyman, son of Richard (1) and Sarah (Osborne) Lyman, was born in High Ongar, County Essex, England, baptized February 24, 1617, and died in Northampton, Massachusetts, June 3, 1662. He came to America with his father and settled at Hartford, inheriting, upon his father's death, most of the latter's land and property. He was taxed in Hartford in 1655 and probably removed the same year to Northampton, where, in December he was chosen a selectman. He sold his father's house at Hartford in 1660. For a time he resided at Windsor, and it is stated that he owned land there. With his brothers, John and Robert, he was among the first settlers of Northampton.

Richard (2) Lyman married Hepzibah Ford, daughter of Thomas Ford, of Windsor, Connecticut. She married (second) John (2) Marsh. (Marsh II.) Children: 1. Hepzibah, married, November 6, 1662, Joseph Dewey. 2. Sarah, of whom further. 3. Richard. 4. Thomas, lived at Durham, Connecticut. 5. Elizabeth, married, August 20, 1672, Joshua Pomeroy. 6. John. 7. Joanna, born at Northampton, in 1658. 8. Hannah, born July 8, 1660. 9. Moses, born February 20, 1662.

(L. Coleman: "Genealogy of the Lyman Family in Great Britain and America," p. 39. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 134.)

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III. *Sarah Lyman*, daughter of Richard (2) and Hepzibah (Ford) Lyman, was born about 1643 and died between the years 1688 and 1707, the exact date of her death not being known. She married John (3) Marsh. (Marsh III.)

(L. Coleman: "Genealogy of the Lyman Family in Great Britain and America," p. 39. D. W. Marsh: "Marsh Genealogy, Descendants of John Marsh of Hartford, Connecticut," p. 20.)

(The Webster Line)

Arms—Argent, a fess gules between three crosses-crosslet fitchée azure.

Crest—The sun rising out of the sea proper.

Motto—*Emergo.* (I emerge.)

(W. H. and Rev. M. R. Webster, D. D.: "History and Genealogy of the Governor John Webster Family of Connecticut," p. 7.)

This old and esteemed name is derived from the occupation of the early members of the family in England, who must have been cloth weavers. Webster is the feminine form of webb, or webber, meaning in Middle English, a cloth weaver. In the Hundred Rolls of 1273, John le Webstere is found and, in 1639, Robertus Webester was living.

From a chart in the possession of descendants of Noah Webster, the eminent lexicographer, it is set forth that the possible line of Governor John Webster was from the early family of Websters, of Scotch descent, who originally settled in Yorkshire, England. This family, down through the generations, had grants in Cambridgeshire, Essex and Huntingdonshire, and that John Webster came from Warwickshire, England, about 1636.

However, further search, under the authority of Charles Edward Banks, in the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LXII, pp. 232-34, the following and seemingly authentic "English Ancestry of Governor John Webster," is revealed. Mr. Banks and Savage both disagree with Noah Webster's manuscript which says that Governor John Webster probably came from Warwickshire. Mr. Banks finds in Leicestershire, which adjoins Warwickshire, some wills which are the basis of his statements, and which are quoted further on in Generations I and II. He says "from the corroborative evidence of identity of John Webster of Hartford and the yeoman of Cossington, County of Leicester," Webster himself lends his personal authority to this county origin, as in 1644 he wrote

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a letter to his daughter in the city of Leicester, which was sent over by Governor George Wyllys to his son, George, Jr., for delivery to her. The Cossington Parish Registers and the Leicestershire wills add confirmation to this origin.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." W. H. Webster and Rev. M. R. Webster, D. D.: "History and Genealogy of the Governor John Webster Family of Connecticut," p. 7. "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LXII, pp. 232-34.)

(The Family in England)

I. John Webster, of Cossington, Leicestershire, England, was the first known ancestor of the family. In his will, an abstract of which follows, dated February 1, 1593, he is recorded as a husbandman:

My soul to Almighty God and my body to be buried in the churchyard of Cossington.

To my son John Webster my whole team of horses, carts, implements, my great brass pot, etc.

To my daughter Margaret Webster 5 of my best kyne; living which her mother appointeth for her and my brewing lead.

The residue of my goods to my said son, John Webster, and daughter Margaret Webster, my executors.

Proved at Leicester, 26 Oct. 1594.

The death and burial of John Webster, "grandfather of the emigrant," are to be found in the parish register of Cossington, under date of October 12, 1594. Both his wife and his son, Matthew, were deceased before his will was made.

John Webster married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Matthew, of whom further. 2. John, mentioned in his father's will. 3. Margaret, mentioned in her father's will.

("New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LXII, pp. 232-34.)

II. Matthew Webster, son of John Webster, was of Cossington, Leicestershire, England, and like his father was listed as "husbandman." An abstract of his will, dated August 25, 1592, and probated at Leicester, September 30, 1592, is as follows:

My Soul to Almighty God and my body to be buried in the Parish of Cossington. To my brother John Webster 3 lamb hoggs and to my brother-in-law James Aston hoggs. To my sister Margaret Web-

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ster 1 ewe and 1 lamb. The residue of my goods then to be divided into 4 equal parts, 1 part to my son John Webster at 21, and the other 3 parts equally divided between my daughters Ffayth and Avis at 21, or marriage. My wife Elizabeth to be executrix and guardian of my children during their minority and Mr. Bobbington, Mr. Booth, Mr. Aston, and my father, John Webster, to be Supervisors.

Matthew Webster married Elizabeth, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Ffayth. 3. Avis.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. *Governor John Webster*, son of Matthew and Elizabeth Webster, was born in England, about 1590 and died in Hadley, Massachusetts, April 5, 1661. An abstract of his will, recorded in the "Probate Records of Northampton, Massachusetts," pp. 20-21, reads as follows:

To my Deare and beloved wife Agnes Webster I give one bed and comely furniture for ye same. As also my home and lands in Hartford all the profits of the same during her natural life. To son Matthew ten pounds. To son William seventy pounds. To son Thomas fifty pounds. To daughter (Ann) Marsh twenty pounds. To daughter (Elizabeth) Markham forty pounds. To grandchild Jonathan Hunt forty shillings. To grandchild Mary Hunt ten pounds. To all my grandchildren else in New England I give ten shillings apiece. To Mary, wife of William Holton of Northampton in part recompense for her great love and *paynes* for me I give forty shillings. To son Robert all the remainder of my estate.

The will is dated June 25, 1659.

It is evident that he resided for a period in Cossington, County Leicester, England, where his marriage and the baptisms of some of his children are recorded in the parish registers. Tradition had it that he came from County Warwick, England, to Watertown, Massachusetts, about 1636. He brought with him his wife, Agnes, and his children, who, apparently, were all born in England. In 1636, he was of Hartford, being an original proprietor. In 1639, his home was on the east side of the street now called Governor Street. He was one of the committee who for the first time sat with the Court of Magistrates, 1637-38, and he was a magistrate from 1639 to 1655, when he was made Deputy-Governor, and in 1656-57 he served as

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Governor. He was one of the committee who formed a code on criminal laws for Connecticut Colony, in 1642, and was a commissioner for the United Colonies in 1654. In addition, he was an influential member of the church of Hartford, and was one of the leaders of the Hadley Company, removing to that locality in 1659. Because of a controversy with the minister of Hartford, the settlement was planned at Hadley, Massachusetts, and John Webster headed the list of fifty-nine signers who agreed to locate there. His son, Robert, was another signer. Governor Webster lived for a time in Northampton, Massachusetts, and became one of the judges associated with John Pynchon and Samuel Chapin. He was admitted freeman in Massachusetts and, in 1660, was made a magistrate in that Colony. Mr. Trumbull summarized John Webster's services as follows:

For twenty years John Webster had been chosen into the magistracy of Connecticut. At the election of 1655 he was Deputy Governor, and at the election of 1656, he was chosen Governor of the colony. Prior to his election as governor, he was frequently directed by the General Court to decide controversies about lands, boundaries, estates, etc. In 1639, he was one of a committee appointed to confer with New Haven in relation to attacks from Indians. In 1649, the New England Congress employed him to "set forth on the towns" soldiers and ammunition for an expedition against the Indians. At other times he was chosen "to press men and ammunition" for attacks against Indians, or he was one of the officers with whom constables were to confer in the enlisting of men for military service. He made journeys to the seaside and to nearby towns to administer justice. He surveyed the highway from Hartford to Windsor. He was a man of prominence and standing.

His eminent descendant, Noah Webster, LL. D., one of the great lexicographers of the English language, erected a stone in the old Hadley cemetery, in 1818, a simple memorial on, or near, the actual grave of Governor Webster, bearing the following inscription:

To the Memory of John Webster, Esq., one of the first settlers of Hartford in Connecticut, who was many years a Magistrate or Assistant, and afterwards Deputy Gov. and Governor of that colony, and in 1659 with the sons, Robert, William and Thomas, associated with others in the purchase and settlement of Hadley, where he died in 1661, this monument is erected in 1818 by his descendant, Noah Webster of Amherst.

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Governor John Webster married, at Cossington, County Leicestershire, England, November 7, 1609, Agnes Smith. Children, order uncertain: 1. Matthew, baptized at Cossington, died July 16, 1675; was a freeman at Hartford, Connecticut, April 10, 1645; later settled at Farmington, Connecticut; married, but name of his wife is not known. 2. William, born about 1617; married, February 17, 1670, Mary Reeve, daughter of Thomas Reeve, of Springfield, Massachusetts, who was tried for witchcraft and was acquitted. 3. Robert, born in England, about 1627, died May 31, 1676; married, in 1652, Susanna Treat. 4. Thomas, died at Northampton, Massachusetts; married, June 16, 1663, Abigail Alexander. 5. Ann or Anne, of whom further. 6. Elizabeth, married, about 1658, as his second wife, William Markham, of Hadley, who was killed by the Indians, September 4, 1675. 7. Mary, died probably before 1659, as she is not mentioned in her father's will; married, in England, John Hunt. 8. Probably Faith, baptized at Cossington, July 29, 1627; named for her father's sister Ffayth.

(W. H. and Rev. M. R. Webster, D. D.: "History and Genealogy of the Governor John Webster Family," pp. 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 29, 30, 31. "An Index of Ancestors and Roll of Members of the Society of Colonial Wars," p. 516. W. D. Love: "The Colonial History of Hartford," pp. 32, 72, 135. C. C. Adams: "Middletown Upper Houses" [The Grafton Press], p. 703.)

II. *Ann or Anne Webster*, daughter of Governor John and Agnes (Smith) Webster, probably baptized at Cossington, England, July 29, 1621, and died July 9, 1662. She married John (2) Marsh. (Marsh II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Knowles Line)

Arms—Azure, a hawk seizing a partridge argent, on a chief of the last three bird bolts of the first. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Knowles, as a surname, is of locality origin, derived from the Anglo-Saxon *cnoll*, meaning "a knoll, hill or summit." The surname means "at the knoll" from residence thereby. Among the earliest known persons bearing this name is Roger de la Cnolle of County Devon, who is listed in the Hundred Rolls of 1273; Cecilia de Knolle,

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listed in the Poll Tax, for West Riding of Yorkshire, in 1379; and Robert de Knollys, listed in the Preston Guild Rolls of 1397.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. Richard Knowles, the first of our line to be of record, was in Plymouth, Massachusetts, January 2, 1637-38. He probably died between 1670 and 1675. The first record found of him is on his appearance in Plymouth Court, where he was charged with sailing his boat on the Sabbath. January 7, 1638-39, he was granted a "garden place" on that side of the town next to Duxbury. He is believed to have moved to Cambridge with his wife's family, but later probably returned to Plymouth, as he is found there in 1643 on the list of men able to bear arms, but there is no record of his service in an organized military company. Richard Knowles' occupation was that of a ship captain, and during the alarm over the war with the Dutch at New Amsterdam in 1653, his bark was pressed into service for transporting men and supplies. He moved to the new town of Eastham May 13, 1654, where he had a grant of land.

Richard Knowles married, at Plymouth, August 15, 1639, Ruth Bower, daughter of George and Barberie Bower. Children, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts: 1. John (1), of whom further. 2. Mercy or Mary, died at Eastham, Massachusetts; married, February 5, 1667-68, Ephraim Doane. 3. James, born November 17, 1648, died before October 10, 1678. 4. Duty, died August 29, 1714; married Joseph Collins. 5. Samuel, born in Plymouth, September 17, 1651, died at Eastham, June 19, 1737; married, at Eastham, in December, 1679, Mercy Freeman. 6. Mehitable, born May 20, 1653, died after 1671; married George Brown. 7. Barbara, born September 28, 1656, died February 23, 1714-15; married, June 13, 1677, Thomas Mayo.

(L. E. de Forest: "Ludington-Saltus Records," p. 144. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. VI, p. 44; Vol. LXXIX, p. 292. F. Freeman: "History of Cape Cod," Vol. II, pp. 374, 598. D. Dudley: "History and Genealogy of the Bangs Family in America," pp. 28, 29.)

II. John (1) Knowles, son of Richard and Ruth (Bower) Knowles, died June 3, 1675, when he was killed by the Indians near

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Taunton, Massachusetts, during King Philip's War. He was one of the nineteen men from Eastham who fought in the war. Provision was made for his widow by the Colony.

John (1) Knowles married, December 28, 1670, Apphia Bangs. (Bangs—American Line—II.) Children: 1. Edward, born November 7, 1671. 2. John (2), of whom further. 3. Rebecca, born March 2, 1674-75.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

III. Colonel John (2) Knowles, son of John (1) and Ruth Knowles, was born July 10, 1673, and died November 3, 1757, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His name appears on the list of June 6, 1733, as one of the grantees of Narragansett land for Township No. 7 from Eastham. He served as a member of the General Court, and was also probably connected with the militia. He and his wife were buried in an old burial ground of Eastham near the shores of the town cove. The inscription on the stone of his wife is as follows: "Here Lyes Buried the Body of Mrs. Mary Knowles, wife of Colnl John Knowles. Died Nov. ye 7th, 1745, in the 73d Year of Her age." His gravestone is inscribed: "Here lies buried the body of Colnl John Knowles who departed this life Nov. 3d, 1757, in the 85th Year of His Age."

Colonel John Knowles married Mary Sears. Children: 1. Joshua, born in Eastham, July 6, 1696; married, March 13, 1717-18, Sarah Paine. 2. John, born June 28, 1698. 3. Seth, born August 7, 1700. 4. Paul, of whom further. 5. James, born November 4, 1704. 6. Jesse, born April 1, 1707. 7. Mary, born October 9, 1709.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Paul Knowles, son of Colonel John (2) and Mary (Sears) Knowles, was born August 8, 1702. He married, February 28, 1722, Phebe Paine. (Paine IV.) Children: 1. Ann, baptized December 1, 1723; married, in 1743, Uriah Rich. 2. Phebe, of whom further. 3. Mary, baptized January 22, 1726-27. 4. Paul, baptized December 1, 1727-28. 5. John, baptized in November, 1730. 6. Thomas, baptized August 13, 1732. 7. Hannah, baptized in 1734. 8. Ruth, baptized March 14, 1735-36; married Elisha Turner. 9. James,

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baptized June 5, 1737. 10. Abigail, baptized December 3, 1738.
11. Silas, baptized in 1740.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Phebe Knowles*, daughter of Paul and Phebe (Paine) Knowles, was baptized May 2, 1725. She married (first) Joseph Collins. She married (second) Captain Simon Gross. (Gross—American Line—V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Paine Line)

Payne (Paine) Arms—Argent, on a fesse, engrailed gules, between three martlets sable, three mascles or, all within a bordure, engrailed of the second bezantée.

Crest—A wolf's head erased azure, charged with five bezants saltire-ways.

(E. J. and H. G. Cleveland: "The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families." Burke: "General Armory.")

Paganus was a Norman personal name, whence the modern Payne and Paine, as well as the more ancient Paganel and Paynel. The softened form, Payne, is found in Chaucer. In 1273 the name Payne appeared in Counties Norfolk, Hunt and Essex.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

The family of our interest is believed to have come from County Kent, England, and may have been of earlier stock from the northern counties of England. The Paynes and Paines claim descent from Hugo de Payen, a knight of Norman descent, crusader, 1099, founder of the order of "Templars of the Cross," whose name signified a residence at Payens, near Troyes, France. As early as 1400, a Payne family in England was of Market Bosworth, County Leicester. Also a Paine family from County Norfolk came to New England and settled in Hingham, Massachusetts; however, the ancestors of Thomas Paine, progenitor of this line, have not been found.

(E. J. and H. G. Cleveland: "The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families," Vol. I, pp. 75, 87. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXII, p. 60.)

I. *Thomas (1) Paine*, the progenitor of this line, was born in England. There may be truth in the theory that he visited the shores of New England for fishing purposes as early as 1621, but, according to tradition, he emigrated to America about 1624, bringing with him an only son, Thomas. Some authorities state that he was the same

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Thomas Paine who settled at Yarmouth, Massachusetts, in 1639, serving as deputy from that place to the court at Plymouth, and living at Yarmouth in 1650. Nothing definite can be proven of what became of him, excepting the above generally accepted theory.

Thomas (1) Paine had a son: 1. Thomas (2), of whom further.

(“New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. XXII, p. 60.)

II. Thomas (2) Paine, son of Thomas (1) Paine, was born in 1612, probably in County Kent, England, and died at Eastham, Massachusetts (now Orleans, Massachusetts), August 16, 1706. His will, dated May 12, 1705, was proved October 2, 1706.

Thomas Paine, “a lad who had lost the sight of one eye,” came to New England with his father. The date of arrival is not definitely known, but general opinion is that it was in 1624. In the list of inhabitants of Eastham, Massachusetts, May 22, 1655, appears this Thomas Paine, and he was made freeman there, June 1, 1658. In 1662 he and Giles Hopkins were surveyors of highway. Two years later, Mr. Paine served as juror; and as a deputy to the Old Colony Court, 1671-73, 1676, 1678, 1680-81, and in 1690. He was apparently a man of authority and influence, for in 1670 he and Jonathan Sparrow were appointed to visit ordinaries or taverns to see that there was no excessive drinking. That same year he served on the Grand Inquest. On June 5, 1671, Thomas Paine was chosen water bailiff for Plymouth Colony, an office created to protect Cape Cod fisheries. This office he held for several years as he did that of selectman for his town. In 1674, he served as constable, and in 1676 was appointed to the committee for building the meetinghouse. From 1674 to 1694 he was town treasurer, and for a time town clerk. Again, in 1696, he served the town—this time as representative to the General Court at Boston. There he purchased a residence for one hundred and thirty-five pounds, but this home he sold in 1697 and returned to end his days in Eastham.

In 1667 he had been granted a tract of land and added to this by a purchase of land at “Eastern Harbor” from Thomas Prence for twenty pounds, and by another, June 1, 1673, from Jabez Howland for fifteen pounds. His property was further increased by grants in

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1683 and in 1690. At his death he "seems to have been fairly possessed of real estate." By trade, Thomas Paine affirmed himself a cooper, but he was equally apt in other lines, and built gristmills in Eastham, Barnstable, and other parts of the county.

Thomas (2) Paine married, about 1650, Mary Snow. (Snow II.) Children: 1. Mary, married (first), January 11, 1670, James Rogers, Jr.; (second), April 24, 1674, Israel Cole. 2. Samuel, died in Eastham, Massachusetts, October 13, 1712; married, January 31, 1682, Patience Freeman. 3. Thomas (3), of whom further. 4. Eleazer, born March 10, 1658; died young. 5. Elisha, born in Eastham, died February 7, 1735-36; married, January 20, 1685, Rebecca Doane, who was born in Eastham, May 12, 1668, died in Canterbury, Connecticut, December 19, 1758, daughter of John and Hannah (Bangs) Doane. 6. John, born March 14, 1660-61, died October 26, 1731; married (first), March 14, 1689, Bennit Freeman, died May 13, 1716; (second), March 13, 1719-20, Alice Mayo. 7. Nicholas, died in 1733; married, about 1698, Hannah, surname not known. 8. James, born July 6, 1665, died in Barnstable, Massachusetts, November 12, 1728, aged sixty-three; married, April 9, 1691, Bethia Thatcher. 9. Joseph, died in Harwich, Massachusetts, October 1, 1712; married, May 27, 1691, Patience Sparrow. 10. Dorcas, died October 30, 1707; married, about 1690, Benjamin Vickery, of Hull, Massachusetts.

(E. J. and H. G. Cleveland: "The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families," Vol. I, p. 75. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. VI, p. 170; Vol. XII, pp. 61-62.)

III. Thomas (3) Paine, son of Thomas (2) and Mary (Snow) Paine, was born about 1657 and died at Truro, Massachusetts, June 23, 1721, aged sixty-four years, and was buried in the old burying ground at Truro. His will was dated April 6, 1720, and was presented July 4, 1721.

On June 6, 1684, Thomas Paine took the freeman's oath. In 1690 he purchased several tracts of land at Truro from his father, which tracts had formerly belonged to Governor Prence and Jabez Howland. But he did not move there until 1705. When Truro became a township he was elected the first selectman, and reelected for several years. In 1710 he became clerk and treasurer, and also

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received a commission as justice of the peace. He was proprietor's clerk, and his books which were beautifully kept are still extant. In July of 1713 he was appointed special justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He served both Truro and Eastham as representative.

Thomas (3) Paine married (first), August 5, 1678, Hannah Shaw. (Shaw III.) He married (second), March 8, 1714-15, Mrs. Elizabeth Eaires, of Boston. Children, all of first marriage: 1. Hannah, born April 6, 1679, died young. 2. Hugh, born July 5, 1680, died next year. 3. Thomas, born February 28, 1682; married, May 12, 1705, Thankful Cobb. 4. Hannah (again), born May 12, 1684, died January 14, 1757; married, May 5, 1704, Deacon John Binney. 5. Jonathan, born February 1, 1686; married (first), October 7, 1709, Sarah Mayo; (second), in 1719, Mary Purrington. 6. Abigail, born March 4, 1688, died the next winter. 7. Abigail (again), born November 10, 1689; married, November 8, 1711, Ebenezer White. 8. Phebe, born March 14, 1691, died young. 9. Elkanah, born February 1, 1693; married, March 10, 1719-20, Reliance Young. 10. Moses, born September 28, 1695; married, April 14, 1720, Margaret Mayo. 11. Joshua, born August 28, 1697; married (first), in 1720, Rebecca Sparrow; (second), in 1737, Constance Baker, of Canterbury, Connecticut, a widow. 12. Phebe (again), of whom further. 13. Lydia, born December 4, 1700; married, March 2, 1719-20, Josiah Hinckley. 14. Barnabas, born on November 13, 1705; married, June 25, 1724, Mary Purrington.

(E. J. and H. G. Cleveland: "The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families," Vol. I, p. 75. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. VI, p. 170; Vol. XII, pp. 61-62. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 337. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. Phebe Paine, daughter of Thomas (3) and Hannah (Shaw) Paine, was born February 11, 1699. She married Paul Knowles. (Knowles IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Shaw Line)

Arms—Sable, a chevron between three lozenges ermine.

(Burke: "Encyclopædia of Heraldry.")

Shaw, as a surname, is derived from the place-name "shaw" or "schaw," meaning a small woody shade or covert. "Richard de la

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Schawe" is listed in the Patent Rolls of Lancashire in 1271. "John atte Schawe" is found in ancient Parliamentary Rolls and we find mention of a "Thomas de Schaghe" among the early writs of Parliament.

(G. C. Martin: "Shaw, The Name, The Coats of Arms and Records of Various Families of the Name in Great Britain and the United States." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. John Shaw, the first of this line to be of record, was born in England, and died October 24, 1694, in New England. He came to America as early as 1627, when he settled at Plymouth, Massachusetts. There he shared in the division of cattle, prepared a home and sent for his family. He became a freeman in 1632 or 1633 and was one of the group who, before July 1, 1633, endeavored to make a passage from Green's Harbor to the Bay. In 1636 he acquired additional land. He joined the Plymouth military company in 1643 and served in King Philip's War. He was a juryman in 1648 and in 1652, and was one of the purchasers of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Ten years later he became one of the first settlers in Middleboro, Massachusetts, and had a share in the twenty-six men's purchase, which he sold before 1677 to Samuel Wood.

From the Plymouth Colony Deeds of 1656 we find that John Shaw gave to his son, Jonathan Shaw, his house and land in Plymouth, including about twenty-five acres of upland; he reserved for himself an interest in the orchard during his lifetime. At his death it was to become the property of his son, John Shaw. On March 26, 1658, John Shaw gave to his sons, "Sarjeant James" and John Shaw, one-half of his land at Coaksett or Cushena, Massachusetts. Another deed, dated January 30, 1663, records that John Shaw, Sr., gave to his son-in-law, Stephen Bryant of Plymouth, upland and meadows near Namassakett, Massachusetts, and a grant of land which John had received in Rehoboth, Massachusetts. He gave also to his son, James, one-half of his "purchase land att Chushena, and one fourth p^rte of my said lott at Chushena I give unto my son Jonathan Shaw." He requested that after his death his daughter, Abigail Bryant, should have his bed "and all the furniture thereunto belonging; as alsoe my Chist with whatsoever else Doth any wayes appertaine to mee."

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John Shaw married, in England, Alice, surname not known, who died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, March 6, 1654, and was buried there. Children, order not known: 1. John, returned to England, unmarried. 2. James, married, in 1652, Mary Mitchell. 3. Jonathan, of whom further. 4. Abigail, died in 1694; married Stephen Bryant.

(B. Shurtleff: "Descendants of William Shurtleff of Plymouth and Marshfield, Massachusetts," p. 35. W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," Part II, p. 235. "Plymouth Colony Deeds," Vol. II, Part I, pp. 186, 206; Vol. III, p. 57. "Mayflower Descendant," Vol. X, pp. 33-35. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 696. "An Index of Ancestors and Roll of Members of the Society of Colonial Wars," p. 425.)

II. Jonathan Shaw, son of John and Alice Shaw, was born in England and died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1701. Jonathan came to America with his mother. It is believed that he was a resident for a time in Duxbury or Eastham, Massachusetts. On November 27, 1698, Jonathan and John Waterman were made the first deacons of the Plympton Church. He received several grants of land at Lakenham (now Carver) from 1662 to 1668. In 1673 he was surveyor of highways and his name appears on the list of voters who raised £30 for the soldiers on May 4, 1676. For three years, 1683, 1688, 1691 he was a grand juryman and, in 1685, he was rator for the town. In 1689 he was one of the committee appointed to sell Clark's Island.

Jonathan Shaw married (first), in Plymouth, January 22, 1656-1657, Phebe Watson. (Watson III.) He married (second) Persis (Dunham) Pratt, widow of Benajah Pratt and daughter of John Dunham. Children of first marriage: 1. Hannah, of whom further. 2. Jonathan, born in 1663, died at Plympton, Massachusetts, January 18, 1729-30; married (first), December 29, 1687, Mehitable Pratt; (second), November 6, 1715, Mary Darling. 3. Phebe, married, in 1682, John Morton. 4. Mary, married, in 1687, Eleazer Ring. 5. George, married, January 8, 1690, Constance Doane. 6. Lydia, married, April 4, 1689, Nicholas Snow. 7. Benjamin (twin), born in 1672. 8. Benoni (twin), born in 1672, died March 5, 1751; married Lydia Waterman.

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(B. Shurtleff: "The Descendants of William Shurtleff of Plymouth and Marshfield, Massachusetts," p. 35. "Plymouth Colony Records" in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. IX, p. 314; Vol. XLVII, p. 187; Vol. XLVIII, p. 189. "Mayflower Descendant," Vol. X, p. 33. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 696. W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," Part 2, p. 236.)

III. *Hannah Shaw*, daughter of Jonathan and Phebe (Watson) Shaw, was born in 1662 and died July 24, 1713. She married Thomas (3) Paine. (Paine III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Watson Line)

Arms—Argent, a fess gules in chief three crosses bottonnée of the last.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Watson, as a surname, with its variants Watt and Watts, is of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of Walter," from the nickname "Watt." This was one of the popular surnames of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *Robert Watson*, the progenitor of this line, died in 1637. He was of London, England, when he came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, about 1633, with his family. He married, in England, Elizabeth, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. George, of whom further. 2. Robert, was of Windsor, Connecticut; married, in 1646, Mary Rockwell. 3. Samuel. 4. Frances, married John Rogers, of Marshfield, Massachusetts.

(W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, Massachusetts," pp. 277-78. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 436. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. *George Watson*, son of Robert and Elizabeth Watson, was born in 1603 and died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1689, aged eighty-seven years. He came to New England with his parents about 1633. In 1638 he purchased land from Governor Bradford which formerly belonged to Francis Cooke. In 1660 he was appointed to lay out forty acres at Shifting Cove. He held several town positions and was one of those who appraised the property of Alice Southworth Bradford in 1670.

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George Watson married, in 1635, Phebe Hicks. (Hicks—American Line—II.) Children: 1. John. 2. Phebe, of whom further. 3. Samuel (twin), born January 18, 1648. 4. Elizabeth (twin), born January 18, 1648; married, in 1667, Joseph Williams, of Taunton, Massachusetts. 5. Mary, married, August 21, 1662, Thomas Leonard. 6. Jonathan, born March 9, 1652. 7. Elkanah, born February 25, 1656; married, in 1690, Mercy, whose surname is not known. 8. Jonathan (again), born in 1659. Perhaps others.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Phebe Watson*, daughter of George and Phebe (Hicks) Watson, was born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, about 1636. She married Jonathan Shaw. (Shaw II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Hicks Line)

Arms—Gules, a fess wavy between three fleurs-de-lis or.

Crest—A buck's head couped at the neck or, gorged with a wreath of laurel proper.
(Crozier: "General Armory." Vermont: "America Heraldica.")

Hicks, a nickname for Richard and originally a baptismal name meaning "the son of Richard," was of record in many counties in England as early as 1273, and was widely scattered in Gloucestershire in 1327, as shown by the tax lists.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Mrs. W. H. Beach: "A Cotswald Family, Hicks and Hicks-Beach," p. 19.)

(The Family in England)

I. *John Hicks*, the progenitor of this line, was a lineal descendant of Sir Ellis Hicks, who was knighted on the field of Poitiers in 1356 by Edward, the Black Prince. John Hicks was of County Gloucester, England. He died in 1492, leaving a son: Thomas, of whom further.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. *Thomas Hicks*, son of John Hicks, died in 1565. He married Margaret Atwood, and they were the parents of: Baptist, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Baptist Hicks*, son of Thomas and Margaret (Atwood) Hicks, was born in 1526. He married Mary Everard, daughter of

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James Everard, Esq. They were the parents of: James, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. James Hicks, son of Baptist and Mary (Everard) Hicks, was born in 1550. He married Phebe Allyn, daughter of Rev. Ephraim Allyn. Children: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. John. 3. Ephraim. 4. Samuel. 5. James. 6. Thomas.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. Robert Hicks, emigrant ancestor, son of James and Phebe (Allyn) Hicks, was born in England about 1570-75, and died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, March 24, 1647. His name appears on the list of passengers of the ship "Fortune," in 1621, as of Bermondsey Street, Southwark, London, a fellmonger or hide and wool merchant of London. He came to the Colonies alone and drew one lot in the division of 1623, settling at Scituate, Massachusetts, for a time, later removing to Plymouth. He was taxed eighteen shillings in Plymouth in 1632-33, and twelve shillings in 1633-34. Robert Hicks acquired a great deal of land in Plymouth, and became a freeman there in 1633. Later he moved to Duxbury, Massachusetts, as in 1642 two of his sons, John and Stephen, left his home and went to Long Island.

In his will, filed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, dated May 28, 1645, Robert Hicks left to son Ephraim his home at Plymouth and land recently purchased from John Alden, also land at Island Creek; he named his eldest son, Samuel; wife, Margaret, to have the use of three rooms in his house during her lifetime and to be executrix of his will. He made bequests to his grandson, John Bangs, to Rev. John Reyner's son, John, to John Watson, and others. Inventory of his estate was taken July 5, 1647, and it amounted to £39 13d.

Robert Hicks married (first) Elizabeth Morgan, daughter of John Morgan. He married (second), in England, Margaret Winslow. She came in the ship "Ann" accompanied by their four children, Samuel, Ephraim, Lydia, and Phebe, all of whom shared in the land division of 1627. In 1662 she confirmed the sale of fifty acres of land on the North River, which had been sold by her husband

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during his life to Elnathan Chauncey, youngest son of President Chauncey. In her will, dated July 8, 1665, Margaret Hicks made bequests to her son, Samuel; to daughter-in-law, Lydia; to Samuel's children; to son, Ephraim, now deceased; to grandchild, John Bangs; to the son of her son-in-law, George Watson, husband of her daughter, Phebe, deceased. George Watson and Captain Southworth were named overseers. Inventory of her estate was taken March 5, 1665, and amounted to £53 12s. 6d. Children of first marriage: 1. Thomas, born in England, baptized in Bermondsey, a borough of London, was buried in England, in April, 1604. 2. John, born in England, baptized in Bermondsey, October 12, 1605. He was one of the patentees to whom Governor Kieft, in 1645, granted the township of Flushing, Long Island. He was active in the affairs of the community and his name and that of his only son, Thomas, appears in almost every public measure for many years. Thomas Hicks was appointed the first judge of Queens County. Children of second marriage: 3. Sarah, baptized in Bermondsey, October 25, 1607. 4. Samuel, called "eldest son" in his father's will; perhaps that meant the eldest living son, as he is not named with the earliest four children baptized at Bermondsey; married, about 1645, Lydia Doane, daughter of John Doane. 5. Stephen. 6. Ephraim, born in England, died in 1649, three months after his marriage; married, September 13, 1649, Elizabeth Howland. She married (second), July 10, 1651, John Dickarson. 7. Phebe, of whom further. 8. Lydia, died after 1627; married Edward Bangs. (Bangs—American Line—I.)

(S. Rudder: "A New History of Gloucestershire," p. 837. "The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. XXXVIII, p. 161. Rev. J. Cornell: "Genealogy of the Cornell Family," p. 382. C. E. Banks: "The Planters of the Commonwealth," pp. 51, 54. C. E. Banks: "The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers," p. 119. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. IV, pp. 252, 282; Vol. VI, p. 187. C. H. Pope: "The Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 232. S. Deane: "History of Scituate, Massachusetts," p. 284. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the Early Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 410. F. Freeman: "History of Cape Cod," Vol. II, p. 357. C. H. Bangs: "Edward Bangs the Pilgrim," pp. 1, 10. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

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II. *Phebe Hicks*, daughter of Robert and Margaret (Winslow) Hicks, was born in England and died May 22, 1665. She married George Watson. (Watson II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Snow Line)

Arms—Argent, on a fess, between two bars nebulée sable, a lion passant of the field.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

Originally Snow was a personal name, given to a child born in the time of snow. Before surnames were used a child was often known as "the son of Snow," and from this the name came to be applied as a surname.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

The Snow family is one of the most ancient of the old and honorable families of historic lineage of New England, its establishment in this country dating from a period only about fifteen years after the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers to the New World. From the earliest days of Colonial history the family has been prominent in the states of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where its sons have held places of importance in the affairs of the community, in the fields of finance, commerce, business and in the professions.

Little is known of the ancestors of Nicholas Snow, the American progenitor of our line. It is certain that the Snows are an ancient family in Hertfordshire, the borders of which are only twelve miles north of London. Elizabeth and Dorothy, granddaughters of Henry Snow, of London, and his wife, Magdalen, and daughters of John Snow, gave deeds of lands in the Hundred of Odsey, Hertfordshire, Elizabeth's dated December 20, 1537, and Dorothy's, October 20, 1538. Sir Jeremiah Snow settled the manor of Shenley, Hertfordshire, on his nephew, John Snell, June 5, 1669, and he and his wife, Rebecca, and nephew Robert Snow, have monuments in Shenley Church. Whether any of these Snows of Hertfordshire were related in any way to Nicholas Snow of the line herewith, still remains obscure.

Mr. Waters, famous for his research work in England, believes that the Snows mentioned in the will of Joseph Walker, of St. Margaret's, city of Westminster, were the parents of our Nicholas Snow, but this point has not been definitely established. The will, dated

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February 13, 1666, and proved February 29, 1666, states "to my kinswoman Mary Snow, wife of Nicholas Snow, citizen and armourer of London, whom I nominate executrix,"

(H. F. Waters: "Genealogical Gleanings in England," in "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXIX, p. 166; Vol. XLVII, p. 82. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," Vol. I, pp. 460, 482; Vol. III, p. 516.)

I. Nicholas Snow, probably son of Nicholas and Mary Snow, of London, was born in England and died at Eastham, Massachusetts, November 25, 1676. He came to Plymouth in the year 1623, arriving on the ship "Anne," with Anthony and William Snow. The following year he shared in the land division, and later, in 1633, he was made a freeman. Here Nicholas Snow remained until 1645, when, with Thomas Prence, John Doane, Josias Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley and Edward Bangs and their families, he removed to Eastham, where they settled. There he was appointed clerk and town clerk for sixteen years. From 1648 to 1651 he was deputy for Eastham, and from 1663 to 1670 he was selectman.

Nicholas Snow married, before May 22, 1627, Constance Hopkins. (Hopkins II.) Children: 1. Mark, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, May 9, 1628; married (first) Anna Cook; (second) Jane Prence. 2. Mary, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born in Plymouth, in 1632; married William Walker. 4. Joseph, born in Plymouth, in 1634; married Mary, surname not known. 5. Stephen, born in Plymouth, in 1636; married (first) Susanna (Dean) Rogers; (second) Mary Bigford. 6. John, born in Plymouth, in 1638; married Mary Walden. 7. Elizabeth, born in 1640; married Thomas Rogers. 8. Jabez, born in 1642; married Elizabeth Smith. 9. Ruth, born in 1644, died in Eastham, Massachusetts, January 27, 1717; married John Cole. 10. Hannah, born probably in Eastham, in 1646. 11. Rebecca, born probably in Eastham, in 1648. 12. A child.

("Eastham Vital Records," from "Mayflower Descendant," Vols. I, II, III. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLVII, pp. 82, 186; Vol. XLVIII, p. 72. "Mayflower Descendants and Their Marriages for Two Generations," pp. 25, 26. G. F. Hall: "A Mayflower Line," p. 1.)

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II. *Mary Snow*, daughter of Nicholas and Constance (Hopkins) Snow, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, about 1630, and died in Eastham, Massachusetts, April 28, 1704. She married Thomas (2) Paine. (Paine II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Hopkins Line)

Arms—Sable, on a chevron, between three pistols or, as many roses gules.

Crest—A tower per bend indented, argent and gules, in flames proper.

Motto—*Pietas est pax.* (Piety is peace.) (Matthews: "American Armoury.")

Hopkins and its variants, Hopkin and Hopkinson, have their foundation as baptismal names, indicating "the son of Robert," and are derived from the nickname Hob or Hobbe. As early as 1273, "Hobekyn" appeared as a surname in County Cambridge, England. The name has been recorded in many forms in early days, among them, "Hobbekin," "Hobkyns," and "Hopkynnes."

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

The ancestry of Stephen Hopkins, of our interest, seems to be all conjecture. It is known that he lived in London and the inference is that he was in a parish on the high road entering London at Aldgate near which Bradford, Carver, Cushman and Southworth lived.

(C. E. Banks: "The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers," p. 61.)

I. *Stephen Hopkins*, the first of this line to be of record, was born in England, in 1580, and died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, between June 16 and July 27, 1644. He came to America from London in the "Mayflower" in 1620, and his name is found among those who signed the "Mayflower Compact." In the accounts of the "Mayflower" and its passengers, he is almost invariably referred to as Stephen Hopkins, Esquire. He apparently was a man of substance, as he brought two servants with him. Stephen Hopkins was evidently a military man, for he accompanied Captain Miles Standish in all his military expeditions and was one of the little regular army which the Plymouth Company established in 1621. It was he and Governor Winslow who went on the mission to Massasoit, in July, 1621, and established with that Indian chief a treaty of peace which

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

MARSH

Arms—Gules, a horse's head coupé between three crosses botonée fitchée argent. (Crozier: "General Armory.")

CORREY (COREY)

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three griffins' heads erased or, as many estoiles of the field.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a demi-griffin proper wings semée of trefoils sable. (Burke: "General Armory.")

HOBART

Arms—Sable, an estoile of eight points or, between two flanches ermine.

Crest—A bull passant per pale sable and gules bezantée, in the nostrils a ring or. (Crozier: "General Armory.")

LYMAN

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, per chevron gules and argent in base an annulet of the first, 2d, gules, a chevron between three sheep argent; 3d, quarterly, ermine and gules over all a cross or.

Crest—A demi-bull argent attired and hooped or, langued gules.

Motto—*Quod verum tutum.* (Crozier: "General Armory.")

HOPKINS

Arms—Sable, on a chevron, between three pistols or, as many roses gules.

Crest—A tower per bend indented, argent and gules, in flames proper.

Motto—*Pietas est pax.* (Matthews: "American Armoury.")

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Arms—Gules, two lions passant guardant or.
(Banks: "General Amory.")

MARSH

Arms—Gules, a horse's head couped between three crosses botonnee.
(Crozier: "General Amory.")

CORREY (CORRY)

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three griffins' heads erased or, as many estoiles of the field.
Crest—A ducal coronet or, a demi-griffin proper wings raised.
(Banks: "General Amory.")

HOBART

Arms—Sable, an estoile of eight points or, between two hands clasped or.
Crest—A bull passant proper, sable and gules between in the nose.
(Crozier: "General Amory.")

ALMAN

Arms—Gules, a chevron between three lions passant guardant in pale or.
Crest—A demi-bull argent, striped and hooped or, langued gules.
(Crozier: "General Amory.")

HOPKINS

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three pistols or, as many roses or.
Crest—A tower portcullis indented, argent and gules, the flames proper.
(Mott: "Pistols en pale.")



William the Conqueror



Marsh



Correy
(COREY)



Hobart



Hyman



Hopkins

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lasted for so many years. He was with the first party that went ashore at Plymouth Rock, and was the first white man of the Colony to entertain an Indian at his home over night. After the incorporation of Plymouth, he was a member of the first council of Governor's assistants, a position to which he was chosen for three successive years, 1632-35.

Mr. Hopkins was one of the most prominent and useful men in the Colony. He headed a list of persons chosen to arrange for trade with outsiders—a sort of incipient Chamber of Commerce. He was added to the council of Governor's assistants in 1637 as an assessor to raise a fund for sending aid to the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut colonies in the impending Indian War; and in the same year he and his two sons, Giles and Caleb, were among the forty-two who volunteered their services as soldiers to aid these same colonies. He was repeatedly mentioned as an appraiser of estates, administrator, guardian and juryman.

Stephen Hopkins married (first), in England, Constance Dudley. He married (second), in England, Elizabeth, who accompanied him to America and bore the baby, Oceanus, on board the "Mayflower." Children of first marriage: 1. Giles. 2. Constance, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 3. Deborah, married, in 1646, Andrew Ring. 4. Oceanus, born en route to America on the "Mayflower," died within a year. 5. Damaris, born probably in 1622; married, in 1646, Jacob Cooke. 6. Elizabeth, died in 1666, unmarried. 7. Caleb. 8. Ruth, who died before her father.

(C. E. Banks: "The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers," pp. 61-64. "The Mayflower Descendant," Vol. V, pp. 47-53. J. W. Hawes: "Stephen and Giles Hopkins and Some of Their Descendants," pp. 1-16. J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 462.)

II. Constance Hopkins, daughter of Stephen and Constance (Dudley) Hopkins, was born in England and died at Eastham, Massachusetts, in October, 1677. She was about ten years of age when she accompanied her father to America in the "Mayflower." She married Nicholas Snow. (Snow I.)

(J. W. Hawes: "Stephen and Giles Hopkins and Some of Their Descendants," p. 13.)

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(The Bangs Line)

Arms—Sable, a cross engrailed ermine, between four fleurs-de-lis or.

Crest—A Moor's head full-faced couped at the shoulders proper, on the head a cap of maintenance gules, turned up ermine, adorned with a crescent issuant therefrom, a fleur-de-lis or.

(D. Dudley: "The History and Genealogy of the Bangs Family in America," pp. 14, 15.)

(The Family in England)

I. *Richard Bangs*, the first of this line to be of record, was sheriff of Norwich, England, in 1577. He was the father of: 1. John, of whom further.

(L. E. de Forest: "American Colonial Families," in "National Coloniana Society," p. 98.)

II. *John Bangs*, son of Richard Bangs, married Jane Chaire. Child: 1. Edward, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. *Edward Bangs*, son of John and Jane (Chaire) Bangs, was born in Panfield, near Braintree, County Essex, England, baptized October 28, 1591, and died at Eastham, Massachusetts, in 1678. Although definite proof is lacking, there is a tradition that Edward Bangs was a native of Chichester, County Sussex, England, which is not far from County Essex. Another tradition states that although Edward Bangs may have been born in Chichester, he, or his immediate family was later on the Isle of Man.

Edward Bangs came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in the ship "Ann" in June, 1623. That year he acquired a garden plot of four acres on the Eel River. He was one of the surveyors who was appointed to assist William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Howland and others in laying out lots in Plymouth. In 1633 he was made a freeman and taxed twelve shillings. He was active in civic affairs and held many public offices. From 1634-36 he was assessor, and in October, 1636, he was one of the Great Inquest, or Grand Jury, sworn "to enquire of all abuses within the body of the Government." In 1637 he was on a committee to divide meadow grounds, in 1638 on the Great Inquest, and in 1639 served as an arbitrator between Samuel Gorton and Thomas Clark.

Edward Bangs was granted eighty acres of land by the Plymouth Court provided he contribute one-sixteenth part toward the building

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of a forty or fifty-ton barque. He was a shipwright by trade, and in 1643 was included in a list of Plymouth citizens who were able to bear arms. In 1645, Edward Bangs became a freeman of Nawssett, or Eastham, the oldest town in Cape Cod, and about 1650 served as a deputy to the Old Colony Court. In 1651 Edward Bangs and his wife, Rebecca, gave a deed to M. Kempton, which is recorded at Plymouth Registry. He was town treasurer of Eastham from 1646 to 1665, and served as a selectman for two years about 1665. His will, dated October 19, 1677, bequeathed land to his sons Jonathan and John, to Joshua he gave his house with some land, and to each daughter, four pounds. He named Jonathan his executor.

Edward Bangs married (first), in 1627, Lydia Hicks. (Hicks—American Line—I, Child 8.) He married (second) Rebecca Hubbard, born in England, in 1608, daughter of Edmund and Margaret (Dewey) Hubbard. Child of first marriage: 1. John, born about 1634; married, January 22, 1660, Hannah Smalley. Children of second marriage: 2. Rebecca, born about 1636, died before 1677; married, October 16, 1654, Captain Jonathan Sparrow. 3. Lieutenant Joshua, born in Plymouth, in 1637, died in 1709; in his will, probated February 7, 1710, he made bequests to his eight sisters, among them Apphia Atwood, naming her sons, John Knowles and Joseph Atwood executors, and leaving a home and land to each. He married, December 1, 1669, Hannah Scudder. 4. Sarah, born about 1638, died in February, 1682-83; married, in Eastham, Massachusetts, in 1656, Captain Thomas Howes, of Yarmouth, Massachusetts. 5. Captain Jonathan, was born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1640, died at Harwich, now Brewster, Massachusetts, November 9, 1728; married (first), at Eastham, Massachusetts, July 16, 1664, Mary Mayo. He married (second) Sarah, surname not known, who died June 11, 1719, aged seventy-eight. He married (third), intentions published July 23, 1720, Mrs. Ruth (Cole) Young. 6. Lydia, born about 1642; married, December 24, 1661, Benjamin Higgins. 7. Hannah, born about 1644; married, April 30, 1662, John Deane. 8. Bethia, born May 28, 1650, died October 15, 1696; married Rev. Gershom Hall. 9. Mercy (twin), born October 15, 1651; married, December 28, 1670, Stephen Merrick. 10. Apphia (twin), of whom further.

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(L. E. de Forest: "American Colonial Families," in "National Coloniana Society," p. 98. D. Dudley: "History and Genealogy of the Bangs Family in America," pp. 9-11, 14-17, 19-21, 28, 29. C. H. Bangs: "Edward Bangs the Pilgrim," pp. 1, 10. D. O. S. Lowell: "A Munsey-Hopkins Genealogy," pp. 57-59. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," chart opposite p. 370; Vol. X, p. 157. "Plymouth Registry," Vol. I, p. 209.)

II. *Apphia Bangs*, daughter of Edward and Rebecca (Hubbard) Bangs, was born October 15, 1651. She married (first) John (I) Knowles. (Knowles II.) She married (second) Stephen Atwood.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Adams Line)

Arms—Azure, a crescent between three mullets or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Adams, as a surname, with its variants, Adam, Adames, and Adamson, is of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of Adam." This was a prime favorite as a font-name in the thirteenth century. The name appears frequently on the Hundred Rolls of counties Oxford, Cambridge, and Hunts, in 1273.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *John Adams*, the progenitor of this line in America, was one of the earliest settlers, and the first of the name to come to this country, arriving at Plymouth, Massachusetts, November 9, 1621, on the ship "Fortune." His family was of Welsh origin, but nothing further is known of his ancestry. Two years later his wife followed him to Plymouth on the ship "Ann," and received a grant of land in the same year. By trade John Adams was a carpenter and was well esteemed in the community. He died in 1633, leaving a widow and three children and a "decent estate" for those times.

John Adams married Ellen or Elinor Newton. When she presented "an inventory of the goods and chattels of her late husband John Adams deceased, upon oath, 11, November 1633, and whereas the said John died without will, it was ordered that if in case the said Ellen shall have an inclination to marry, she before her said marriage shall estate the three children of her former husband deceased, James, John and Susan, in £5 sterling apiece to be paid when they come to years of discretion according to the statutes of England."

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In June, 1634, Ellen or Elinor Adams married (second) Kenelm Winslow, of Marshfield, where she resided until her death. She was buried December 3, 1681, "being 83 years old." Children of John and Ellen or Elinor (Newton) Adams: 1. James, of whom further. 2. John. 3. Susan or Susannah.

(J. Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England." Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

II. James Adams, son of John and Ellen or Elinor (Newton) Adams, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and died at sea, aboard the ship "James," January 19, 1653-54. In early childhood he went with his mother to Marshfield, and was brought up in the family of his stepfather, Kenelm Winslow. James Adams resided on a farm on the Marshfield side of the North River nearly opposite his father-in-law. However, he worshipped at the Second Church in Scituate, where his children were baptized. After his death his widow continued to reside at Marshfield with her children until May 7, 1673, when she received a grant of one hundred and fifty acres from the General Court. This grant was located "about eight miles northward from Lancaster, Massachusetts." The same year with two of her sons and possibly one or more daughters, she removed to Sudbury, Massachusetts, where she died.

James Adams married, June 16, 1646, Frances Vassall, daughter of William Vassall, a prominent man in the community of Scituate. He was of a distinguished family, being the son of an alderman of London, and was himself connected with the Massachusetts Bay Company. Another daughter of William Vassall married Resolved White, a member of the family that came to the New World on the "Mayflower." Children of James and Frances (Vassall) Adams: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Anna, born April 18, 1649. 3. Richard, born April 19, 1651, died after 1673. 4. Mary, born January 27, 1653. 5. Margaret, born in 1654.

(*Ibid.*)

III. William Adams, son of James and Frances (Vassall) Adams, was born in Marshfield, Massachusetts, May 16, 1647. About 1673 he removed to Sudbury, Massachusetts, with his mother and brother Richard. In 1675 he had twenty-five acres assigned to him in Worces-

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ter for money paid by him to the Indians. By trade William Adams was a shoemaker.

William Adams married, in 1673, Elizabeth, whose surname is not known. Children: 1. James, born March 31, 1674; settled in Westerly, Rhode Island. 2. John, born March 8, 1676; settled in Worcester, Massachusetts. 3. Richard (1), of whom further. 4. Elizabeth. 5. Mary. 6. Frances, 7. Margaret. 8. Anna.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Richard (1) Adams, son of William and Elizabeth Adams, was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts, August 22, 1678, and died at Preston, Connecticut, in 1749. About 1700 he moved to Preston, Connecticut, where his uncle Richard had preceded him.

Richard (1) Adams married, about 1702, in Preston, Connecticut, Mercy Leonard, who died in 1749, daughter of Samuel and Abigail (Wood) Leonard, of Preston, and granddaughter of Solomon Leonard, an original incorporator of Duxbury and Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Abigail Wood was a sister of Mary, who became, in 1677, Major William Bradford's third wife. Children of Richard (1) and Mercy (Leonard) Adams: 1. Richard (2), of whom further. 2. Elizabeth. 3. Abigail.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Richard (2) Adams, son of Richard (1) and Mercy (Leonard) Adams, was born at Preston, Connecticut, June 3, 1708, and died at Sandisfield, Massachusetts, March 1, 1787. In June, 1764, he bought a farm in Sandisfield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, and removed there with his four young sons, Samuel, Richard, John, and James. The eldest son William and the daughters Mary, Susanna and Mercy married and remained in Connecticut.

Richard (2) Adams married, December 26, 1732, Susanna Preston, of Windham, Connecticut, who died April 24, 1788, at Sandisfield, Massachusetts. She was the daughter of John and Mary (Haynes) Preston, who removed to Connecticut from Andover, Massachusetts. John Preston was the grandson of Roger Preston, an early settler of Ipswich, where he arrived in 1635. Mary Haynes was the daughter of Jonathan Haynes, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, and in her girlhood had been captured by the Indians and taken to

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Canada, from where she was redeemed by the payment of one hundred pounds of tobacco. Children of Richard (2) and Susanna (Preston) Adams, all born at Preston, Connecticut: 1. William. 2. Mary. 3. Susanna. 4. Mercy. 5. Samuel, of whom further. 6. Richard. 7. John. 8. James.

(Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VI. Samuel Adams, son of Richard (2) and Susanna (Preston) Adams, was born in Preston, Connecticut, April 19, 1737, and died in Bethlehem (now Otis), Massachusetts, in 1809. In 1764 he removed with his father and family to Sandisfield, Massachusetts, where he and his father and brothers became prominent in community affairs. They owned and operated a gristmill, a potashry, a store and two taverns. In his old age Samuel and his wife lived in Bethlehem (now Otis), a few miles north of their old home in Sandisfield, with their son Amos. They are both buried in the old graveyard there.

Samuel Adams married, March 28, 1759, Sarah Clark, of Preston, Connecticut. Children: 1. Darius, wounded in the battle of Monmouth, and "died of his wounds," in 1778, aged seventeen years. 2. Samuel, resided in Sheffield, Massachusetts. 3. Leonard, resided at Washington, District of Columbia. 4. Amos, of whom further. 5. Joseph, lived for a time at Bethlehem (now Otis). 6. Sarah. 7. Mehitable. 8. Elizabeth.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Amos Adams, son of Samuel and Sarah (Clark) Adams, was born in Sandisfield, Massachusetts, October 28, 1766, and died June 19, 1836, at Wellington, Lorain County, Ohio.

He was a man of very strong character and took a prominent part in every undertaking with which he was connected. Especially was this true in religious affairs, for he was a devout churchman, and was for years a deacon of his church. In 1821, or about then, the tide of emigration setting toward the "Western Reserve," Amos Adams and his entire family started westward. Stopping at Cambridge, Pennsylvania, they were attracted by the place and remained there a few years during which time three of his children, Roswell, Huldah, and Sarah, married and made their homes there. The remainder of

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the family continued on to Ohio, where in Lorain County, they helped found the town of Wellington. Here he acquired an extensive farm in the northern part of the town, as well as purchasing separate farms for each of his sons, Amos, Milton, Calvin, and Albert. His own farm eventually became the property of his son Gideon. They all lived here as useful and respected members of the community.

Amos Adams married, November 29, 1792, Huldah Wright, daughter of Gideon and Elizabeth (Buck) Wright, who died August 5, 1840, at Wellington, Ohio. Both her parents were born and married in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and were descended from the Demmings, Treats, Stoddards, Hubbards, Churchills, Gilberts, Mygatts, Footes, and other families, who, with the Wrights and Bucks were all early and prominent settlers of Wethersfield. Mr. and Mrs. Wright were descended from Mrs. Honor (Treat) Demming, the sister of Governor Treat, and from Mrs. Elizabeth (Demming) Foote, who subsequently become the second wife of Governor Thomas Welles. Children of Amos and Huldah (Wright) Adams, all born at Bethlehem (Otis), Massachusetts: 1. Roswell. 2. Huldah. 3. Sarah. 4. Amos. 5. Milton. 6. Calvin. 7. Albert. 8. Gideon Wright, of whom further. 9. A son, died in childhood, at Bethlehem. Three other children.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Gideon Wright Adams, son of Amos and Huldah (Wright) Adams, was born at Bethlehem, Massachusetts, December 2, 1809, and died February 25, 1875, aged sixty-five years, at Wellington, Ohio, on the homestead he had inherited from his father. He accompanied his parents to Pennsylvania and Ohio, and in the community where they finally settled, Gideon Wright Adams followed his father in being a leading and respected citizen. Throughout his entire life he showed the inheritance of sterling uprightness and integrity which had been handed down through a long line of Pilgrim and Puritan ancestors.

Gideon Wright Adams married, October 26, 1836, Bertia Hull Slocum, born at Tolland, Massachusetts, a few miles from his birthplace, and died at Wellington, Ohio, January 4, 1880. She was the

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daughter of Cornelius and Elizabeth (Fowler) Slocum, who had come early to Sullivan, about ten miles south of Wellington, later removing to Wellington, where Gideon Wright Adams met his future wife. Her paternal grandparents, David and Phebe (Manchester) Slocum, came to Tolland, Massachusetts, from Tiverton, Rhode Island, and through them she was descended from many of the prominent early Rhode Island families, including the Peabodys, Cooks, Briggs, Bordens, Fishers, Hulls and Dyers, and also from Edward Gray, whose gravestone is the oldest now standing in the old graveyard at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Through Rebecca (Cook) Manchester, her great-grandmother, she was also descended from Elizabeth Alden, oldest child of John and Priscilla (Mullins) Alden, both of whom came over in the "Mayflower." Elizabeth Alden was the first girl child born in the Plymouth Colony. The Dyer line traces back to William Dyer, a prominent Rhode Island Colony official, whose wife Mary was hanged in Boston because of her Quaker belief. Elizabeth Fowler, mother of Bertia Hull (Slocum) Adams, was a descendant of William Fowler, early in New Haven, Connecticut, and of the Rev. Charles Chauncey, second president of Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts; as well as other prominent families. Children of Gideon Wright and Bertia Hull (Slocum) Adams: 1. Helen Jeannette, of whom further. 2. Celestia Blinn, born September 6, 1843; married Arthur Ives. 3. Alice Gertrude, born August 4, 1845. 4. Anna Hortense, born November 13, 1847. 5. Erwin Wright (twin), born October 1, 1849; married Emma Mallory. 6. Ermina Fowler (twin), born October 1, 1849; married Noah Huckins.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Helen Jeannette Adams, daughter of Gideon Wright and Bertia Hull (Slocum) Adams, was born May 24, 1841, at Wellington, Ohio.

She married Simeon Windecker. (Windecker III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Mayflower Descent from Stephen Hopkins)

I. Stephen Hopkins, Generation I of the Hopkins Line, came to America on the "Mayflower," and was a signer of the "Mayflower

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Compact." He married (first) Constance Dudley. They were the parents of a daughter: Constance, of whom further.

II. Constance Hopkins, daughter of Stephen and Constance (Dudley) Hopkins, married Nicholas Snow. (Snow I.) They had a daughter: Mary, of whom further.

III. Mary Snow, daughter of Nicholas and Constance (Hopkins) Snow, married Thomas (2) Paine. (Paine II.) Their son was: Thomas (3), of whom further.

IV. Thomas (3) Paine, son of Thomas (2) and Mary (Snow) Paine, married Hannah Shaw. (Shaw III.) A daughter was: Phebe, of whom further.

V. Phebe Paine, daughter of Thomas (3) and Hannah (Shaw) Paine, married Paul Knowles. (Knowles IV.) A daughter was: Phebe, of whom further.

VI. Phebe Knowles, daughter of Paul and Phebe (Paine) Knowles, married (second) Captain Simon Gross. (Gross—American Line—V.) A son was: Thomas, of whom further.

VII. Rev. Thomas Gross, son of Captain Simon and Phebe (Knowles-Collins) Gross, married (second) Rhoda (Marsh) Pitkin. (Marsh VII.) They had a son: Pitkin, of whom further.

VIII. Dr. Pitkin Gross, son of Rev. Thomas and Rhoda (Marsh-Pitkin) Gross, married Rebecca Corey. (Corey—American Line—VII.) They had a son: Benjamin Sayre, of whom further.

IX. Benjamin Sayre Gross, son of Dr. Pitkin and Rebecca (Corey) Gross, married Irene Augusta Quigley. (Quigley III.) They were the parents of a daughter: Esther, of whom further.

X. Esther Gross, daughter of Benjamin Sayre and Irene Augusta (Quigley) Gross, married Clifton Nichols Windecker. (Windecker IV.) Children: 1. Robert Erwin, married Louise Aldrich; children: i. Sylvia. ii. Dorle. 2. Irene Jeannette, married Jose M. Alonso; child: i. Jeannette. 3. Charles Edward, married Mae Noling; child: i. John Charles.

(Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Saxon Kings)

I. Egbert, Ecgberht or Ecgbert, King of the West Saxons, son of Ealhmund, died in 839. A son was: Ethelwulf or Aethelwulf, of whom further.

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II. Ethelwulf or Aethelwulf, King of the West Saxons and Kentishmen, son of Egbert, Ecgberht or Ecgbert, married Osburh or Osburga, daughter of Oslac the royal cupbearer. Their son was: Alfred or Aelfred, of whom further.

III. Alfred or Aelfred the Great, King of the West Saxons, son of Ethelwulf or Aethelwulf and Osburh or Osburga, was one of the most illustrious rulers on record. He was born in Wantage, Berkshire, A. D. 849, and though the youngest of five sons, he succeeded his brother, Ethelred, in 871. He laid the foundation of the British Navy and through his conquests of the Danes, he brought peace, culture and civilization to England. He died in 901, in the thirtieth year of his reign. One of his daughters, Aelfthryth, married Baldwin II, Count of Flanders, their son being Arnulf I, Count of Flanders. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Charlemagne XII.)

Alfred the Great married, in 868, Ealhswith, daughter of Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Gainas. A son was: Edward or Eadward, of whom further.

IV. Edward or Eadward, the Elder, King of the Angles and Saxons, son of Alfred or Aelfred and Ealhswith, married Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, daughter of Sigillin. Their son was: Edmund or Eadmund, of whom further.

V. Edmund or Eadmund, son of Edward or Eadward and Eadgifu or Eadgyfu, married Aelfgifu. A son was: Edgar or Eadgar, of whom further.

VI. Edgar or Eadgar, the Peaceful, King of the English, son of Edmund or Eadmund and Aelfgifu, married in 964, Aelfthryth, daughter of Ordgar, Earl of Devon. A son was: Aethelred, of whom further.

VII. Aethelred, the Unready, King of the English, son of Edgar or Eadgar and Aelfthryth, married Aelfgifu, said to have been a daughter of Thored, Earl of the Northumbrians. A son was: Edmund or Eadmund, of whom further.

VIII. Edmund or Eadmund, Ironside, King of the English, son of Aethelred and Aelfgifu, married, in 1015, Ealdgyth, widow of

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the Danish Earl, Sigferth. Their son was: Edward or Eadward, of whom further.

IX. Edward or Eadward, the Exile, son of Edmund or Eadmund and Ealdgyth, married Agatha, usually described as a kinswoman of Gisela, Queen of Hungary and sister of the Emperor Henry II. A daughter was: Margaret, of whom further.

X. Margaret, called St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Edward or Eadward and Agatha, married Malcolm III, called Canmore, King of Scotland. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from the Kings of Scotland IX.) A daughter was: Matilda, of whom further.

XI. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III and Margaret of England, married as his first wife, Henry I, King of England, son of William the Conqueror. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Charlemagne XVIII.) A daughter was: Matilda or Maud, of whom further.

XII. Matilda or Maud, Queen of England and Empress, daughter of Henry I and Matilda of Scotland, married (second), in 1127, Geoffrey V, called Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. Their son was: Henry II, of whom further.

XIII. Henry II, King of England, son of Geoffrey V Plantagenet and Matilda or Maud of England, married, in 1152, Eleanor of Aquitaine. A son was: John, of whom further.

XIV. John, King of England, called Lackland, son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, married Isabel Taillefer, of Angoulême. Their second son was: Richard, of whom further.

XV. Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, son of John and Isabel Taillefer, had a natural son: Richard, of whom further.

XVI. Sir Richard de Cornwall, Knight, natural son of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, had a daughter: Joan, of whom further.

XVII. Joan de Cornwall, daughter of Sir Richard de Cornwall, married Sir John Howard, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. They were the parents of: John, of whom further.

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XVIII. Sir John Howard, Knight, son of Sir John and Joan (de Cornwall) Howard, married Alice, daughter of Sir Robert de Boys. A son was: Robert, of whom further.

XIX. Sir Robert Howard, son of Sir John and Alice (de Boys) Howard, married Margery, daughter of Robert, Lord Scales. A son was: John, of whom further.

XX. Sir John Howard, son of Sir Robert and Margery Howard, married Alice, daughter and heir of Sir William Tendring, of Tendring. A son was: Henry, of whom further.

XXI. Henry Howard, son of Sir John and Alice (Tendring) Howard, married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Hussey. They were the parents of a daughter: Elizabeth, of whom further.

XXII. Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Henry and Mary (Hussey) Howard, married Henry Wentworth, of Codham Hall, Wethersfield, County Essex. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Irish Kings [MacMorrough] LXVI.) A daughter was: Margery, of whom further.

XXIII. Margery Wentworth, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Howard) Wentworth, married, before 1483, Sir William Waldegrave, K. B., of Smallbridge, County Suffolk. A daughter was: Margery, of whom further.

XXIV. Margery Waldegrave, daughter of Sir William and Margery (Wentworth) Waldegrave, married Sir John St. John, Lord St. John, of Bletso. A son was: Oliver, of whom further.

XXV. Sir Oliver St. John, of Bletso, son of Sir John and Margery (Waldegrave) St. John, married Agnes Fisher. They were the parents of: Thomas, of whom further.

XXVI. Thomas St. John, son of Sir Oliver and Agnes (Fisher) St. John, was of Bletso. He married and had a son: Oliver, of whom further.

XXVII. Sir Oliver St. John, son of Thomas St. John, married Sarah Bulkeley, daughter of Rev. Edward Bulkeley, of Odell. They were the parents of: Elizabeth, of whom further.

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XXVIII. *Elizabeth St. John*, daughter of Sir Oliver and Sarah (Bulkeley) St. John, married Rev. Samuel Whiting. (Whiting I.) A daughter was: Elizabeth, of whom further.

XXIX. *Elizabeth Whiting*, daughter of Rev. Samuel and Elizabeth (St. John) Whiting, married Rev. Jeremiah Hobart. (Hobart—American Line—III.) A daughter was: Dorothy, of whom further.

XXX. *Dorothy Hobart*, daughter of Rev. Jeremiah and Elizabeth (Whiting) Hobart, married Daniel (2) Mason. (Mason III.) They were the parents of a son: Jeremiah, of whom further.

XXXI. *Jeremiah Mason*, son of Daniel (2) and Dorothy (Hobart) Mason, married Mary Clark. (Clark III.) A daughter was: Dorothy, of whom further.

XXXII. *Dorothy Mason*, daughter of Jeremiah and Mary (Clark) Mason, married Lieutenant-Governor Joseph (3) Marsh. (Marsh VI.) A daughter was: Rhoda, of whom further.

XXXIII. *Rhoda Marsh*, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Joseph (3) and Dorothy (Mason) Marsh, married (second) Rev. Thomas Gross. (Gross—American Line—VI.) They were the parents of: Pitkin, of whom further.

XXXIV. *Dr. Pitkin Gross*, son of Rev. Thomas and Rhoda (Marsh-Pitkin) Gross, married Rebecca Corey. (Corey—American Line—VII.) They had a son: Benjamin Sayre, of whom further.

XXXV. *Benjamin Sayre Gross*, son of Dr. Pitkin and Rebecca (Corey) Gross, married Irene Augusta Quigley. (Quigley III.) They were the parents of a daughter: Esther, of whom further.

XXXVI. *Esther Gross*, daughter of Benjamin Sayre and Irene Augusta (Quigley) Gross, married Clifton Nichols Windecker. (Windecker IV.) Children: 1. Robert Erwin, married Louise Aldrich; children: i. Sylvia. ii. Dorle. 2. Irene Jeannette, married Jose M. Alonso; child: i. Jeannette. 3. Charles Edward, married Mae Noling; child: i. John Charles.

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(Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Irish Kings [MacMorrough])

J. O'Hart, in his account of Irish families, traces the line of Donoch MacMorrough, King of Leinster, back to very early Biblical days. In this pedigree we find Ugaine Mór, the sixty-sixth Monarch of Ireland, and from this point we quote Mr. O'Hart's record of this descent.

I. Ugaine Mór was the sixty-sixth Monarch of Ireland. Among the curious stories related by the ancient Irish historians is that of his leading a fleet to the Mediterranean, landing forces in Africa, and attacking Sicily. He then proceeded to Gaul and married Cæsair, daughter of the King of the Gauls, by whom he had twenty-two sons and three daughters. Only two of these sons had issue. Of these, Cobthach Caolbhreagh was ancestor of numerous Irish families in Meath, Ulster, and Conacht, as well as of the kings of Scotland. The other son was Laeghaire Lorc, of whom further.

(J. O'Hart: "Irish Pedigrees," Vol. I, p. 354.)

II. Laeghaire Lorc, sixty-eighth Monarch of Ireland, began to reign in 593 B. C.

(*Ibid.*, p. 640.)

III. Olioll Aine.

IV. Labhradh Longseach.

V. Olioll Bracan.

VI. Aeneas Ollamh, seventy-third Monarch.

VII. Breassal.

VIII. Fergus Fortamhail, eightieth Monarch of Ireland, slain in 384 B. C.

IX. Felim Fortuin.

X. Crimthann Coscrach, eighty-fifth Monarch.

XI. Mogh-Art.

XII. Art.

XIII. Allod.

XIV. Nuadh Falaid.

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XV. Fearach Foghlas.

XVI. Olioll Glas.

XVII. Fiacha Fobrug.

XVIII. Breassal Breac.

XIX. Luy.

XX. Sedna.

XXI. Nuadhas Neacht, ninety-sixth Monarch.

XXII. Fergus Fairgé.

XXIII. Ros.

XXIV. Fionn Filé.

XXV. Conchobhar Abhraoidhruaidh, ninety-ninth Monarch.

XXVI. Mogh Corb.

XXVII. Cu-Corb, King of Leinster.

XXVIII. Niadh Corb.

XXIX. Cormac Gealtach.

XXX. Felim Fiorurglas.

XXXI. Cathair Mór, one hundred and ninth Monarch of Ireland and King of Leinster in the beginning of the second century. His posterity formed the principal families of Leinster. His will, naming thirty sons, is contained in "Book of Leacan" and in the "Book of Ballymote."

XXXII. Fiacha Baicheda, died in 220.

(*Ibid.*, p. 761.)

XXXIII. Breasal Bealach, second Christian King of Leinster.

XXXIV. Labhradh.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 553-56.)

XXXV. Eanna Ceannsalach.

XXXVI. Crimthann Cass, who was baptized by St. Patrick at Rathvilly about 448, was King of Leinster for forty years. He married Mell, daughter of Erebran of the Desies in Munster.

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XXXVII. Nathach, who was baptized by St. Patrick, was King of Leinster for ten years.

XXXVIII. Eoghan Caoch.

XXXIX. Siollan.

XL. Faelan.

XLI. Faolchu.

XLII. Onchu.

XLIII. Rudgal.

XLIV. Aodh.

XLV. Diarmuid.

XLVI. Cairbre, slain in 876.

XLVII. Ceneth, King of Leinster, slain by the Danes.

XLVIII. Ceallach.

XLIX. Donal, King of Leinster.

L. Diarmuid, King of Leinster, died in 997.

LI. Donoch Maol-Na-mBo, King of Leinster.

LII. Diarmuid, forty-seventh Christian King of Leinster and one hundred and seventy-seventh Milesian Monarch of Ireland, was slain February 23, 1072, at Odhba.

LIII. Murcha, fiftieth Christian King of Leinster, died at Dublin, December 8, 1090. From him comes the Clan Morochoe, anglicized O'Moroghoe and modernized O'Murphy, Murrough, and Murphy.

LIV. Donoch MacMorrough, fifty-sixth Christian King of Leinster, was slain in 1115 by Donal O'Brien and the Danes.

LV. Diarmuid, elder son of Donoch MacMorrough, is known as Dermot MacMorrough. He became King of Leinster in 1135, and was its fifty-eighth Christian King. In 1166 he was deposed by Roderick O'Connor, and invoked the aid of Henry II, King of England. Through his aid the towns of Waterford, Wexford and Dublin became English colonies. This was the introduction of the English

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into Ireland, an event of great historical importance. Dermot MacMorrough is also credited with the compilation of the "Book of Leinster," a collection of early Gaelic traditions.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. VII, p. 240.)

LVI. Eva, daughter of Dermot MacMorrough, married Richard de Clare, known as Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. A daughter was: Isabel, of whom further.

LVII. Isabel de Clare, daughter of Richard and Eva (MacMorrough) de Clare, married William Mareschall or Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. A daughter was: Sibyl, of whom further.

LVIII. Sibyl Marshall, daughter of William and Isabel (de Clare) Mareschall or Marshall, married, as his first wife, William de Ferrières or de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. A daughter was: Isabel, of whom further.

LIX. Isabel de Ferrières or de Ferrers, daughter of William and Sibyl (Marshall) de Ferrières or de Ferrers, married (second) Sir Reynold de Mohun, son of Reynold and Alice (Briwere) de Mohun. A daughter was: Isabel, of whom further.

LX. Isabel de Mohun, daughter of Sir Reynold and Isabel (de Ferrières or de Ferrers) de Mohun, married Sir Edmund Deincourt, Lord Deincourt, who died January 6, 1326-27. A son was: John, of whom further.

LXI. John Deincourt, son of Sir Edmund and Isabel (de Mohun) Deincourt, died during his father's lifetime. He had a son: William, of whom further.

LXII. William Deincourt, Lord Deincourt, son of John Deincourt, married Milicent la Zouche, daughter of Sir William la Zouche, of Haringworth, Lord Zouche, and his wife, Maud Lovel, daughter of Sir John, Lord Lovel. A daughter was: Margaret, of whom further.

LXIII. Margaret Deincourt, daughter of William and Milicent (la Zouche) Deincourt, married Robert de Tibetot, Lord Tibetot, son of John and Margaret (Badlesmere) Tibetot. A daughter was: Elizabeth, of whom further.

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LXIV. Elizabeth de Tibetot, daughter of Robert and Margaret (Deincourt) de Tibetot, married Sir Philip le Despenser of Goxhill and Camoys Manor. A daughter was: Margery, of whom further.

LXV. Margery la Despensere, daughter of Sir Philip and Elizabeth (de Tibetot) le Despenser, married (second) Roger Wentworth, of Nettlestead, son of John and Agnes (Dronsfield) Wentworth, of North Elmsall, Yorkshire. A son was: Henry, of whom further.

LXVI. Henry Wentworth, of Codham Hall in Wethersfield, County Essex, son of Roger and Margery (*la Despensere*) Wentworth, married (first) Elizabeth Howard. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Saxon Kings of England XXII.)

Generations LXVII to LXXX are the same as Generations XXIII to XXXVI of Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England.

(Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Charlemagne)

The Carolingian Kings, so called from their most illustrious member, Charlemagne, gained the throne of France in 751, when Pepin III, also called Pepin the Short, deposed the last ruler of the Merovingian dynasty and took the title of King. The Carolingian dynasty reigned in France from 751 to 987, when it was ousted by the Capetian dynasty.

(“Encyclopædia Britannica,” Eleventh Edition, Vol. V, p. 381.)

I. St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, was born about 582 and died after 461. Children: 1. St. Chlodulf, Bishop of Metz. 2. Anschisus, of whom further.

(T. Hodgkin: “Italy and Her Invaders,” Vol. VII, p. 24.)

II. Anschisus, son of St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, was born about 605. He was mayor of the palace of Austrasia from 632 to 638. He married Bega, daughter of Pepin of Landen (called Pepin I), mayor of the palace of the Merovingian King, Dagobert I of Austrasia. Child: 1. Pepin II, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Pepin II, son of Anschisus and Bega, called, although incorrectly, Pepin of Heristal or Herstal, died December 16, 714. About

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678 he led the nobles of Austrasia against Ebroin, mayor of the palace of Neustria. His victory at the battle of Tertry in 687 marked the downfall of the Merovingians, although they still held the titles of kings. He ruled under four of them. He fought the Frisians and, after defeating their Duke, Radbod, brought them within the Christian Church. He likewise defended his frontiers against the Bavarians and Alemanni.

Pepin II married (first) Plectrude; (second) Alpaïda or Chalpaïda. Children of first marriage: 1. Drogo. 2. Grimwald. Children of second marriage: 3. Charles Martel, of whom further. 4. Childebrand.

(T. Hodgkin: "Italy and Her Invaders," Vol. VII, p. 24. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. IX, p. 612; Vol. XVII, p. 948.)

IV. Charles Martel, son of Pepin and Alpaïda or Chalpaïda, was born about 688 and died October 22, 741. After the death of his father there was a period of anarchy. His nephews, grandchildren of Plectrude, were proclaimed rulers and Charles was thrown into prison. Austrasia (east portion of France) and Neustria (western France) were still separate. He escaped and defeated the Neustrians at Amblève in 716 and at Vincy the following year. He also took the title of mayor of the palace of Austrasia, thus uniting the northern part of the country. In 719 he forced Duke Odo of Aquitaine to recognize his suzerainty. He also became renowned for his victories over the Moors. They had conquered Spain in 711 and later crossed the Pyrenees and advanced on Gaul as far as Tours. His brilliant victory, in October, 732, over the Moors ended the last of the Arab invasion and led to his being called Martel (the Hammer). He then took the offensive against them in southern France. His victories over the Germans resulted in the annexation of Frisia, the end of the duchy of Alemannia, intervention in Bavaria and the payment of tribute by the Saxons. Pope Gregory III attempted to gain his aid against the Lombards, but was unsuccessful. For a few years before his death there was no King of the Merovingian line and in 741 he divided the kingdom between his two sons as though he were master of the realm.

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Charles Martel married Chrotrudis. Children: 1. Carloman, succeeded his father in Austrasia and western Germany; abdicated in 747. 2. Pepin III, of whom further.

(“Encyclopædia Britannica,” Fourteenth Edition, Vol. V, p. 293.)

V. Pepin III, called Pepin the Short, son of Charles Martel and Chrotrudis, succeeded his father in Neustria, the western part of the kingdom, while his brother, Carloman, held the eastern part. They both kept the title of mayor of the palace and were the actual rulers of the country. They appointed Childeric III, probably a Merovingian, as King, but presided over tribunals, convoked councils of the church, and made war themselves. Carloman abdicated and retired to a monastery in 747. Pepin was thus sole master of both Austrasia and Neustria and after consulting Pope Zacharias took the title of King. He was crowned by St. Boniface in 751 and later was crowned by Pope Stephen II, who also made him a Patrician of Rome. In return for these favors Pepin made two expeditions against the Lombards. He took the exarchate of Ravenna from them and conferred it on the Pope. This marked the beginning of the Papal States. After an eight-year war he occupied Aquitaine.

Pepin III married Bertha, daughter of Chiribert, Count of Laon. Children: 1. Charlemagne, of whom further. 2. Carloman.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 948.)

VI. Charlemagne, son of Pepin III or Pepin the Short and Bertha of Laon, was born April 2, 742-43, died January 28, 814, and was buried at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the early part of his reign, he invaded northern Italy, putting an end to the Lombard kingdom. From 774 to 799 he was at war with the Saxons, at that time a heathen race east of the Rhine. In 785, Widukind, Saxon leader, submitted and was baptized a Christian, but resistance continued in the outlying portions of the region. Bavaria was next annexed and this brought Charlemagne in conflict with the Avars, whose Khan became a Christian in 805. Expeditions were also sent against the Arabs of North Spain. On December 25, 800, while in Rome, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III, thus reviving the Roman Empire. After a naval war in the Adriatic, in which he surrendered some disputed territory, Charlemagne was saluted by the

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Greek envoys as Basileus, the equality of the two empires being thus recognized. The reign of Charlemagne witnessed a revival of arts and letters, a revision of Frankish law, and the writing of the laws of the Saxons, Thuringians and Frisians.

Charlemagne married (first), in 770, Hermengarde or Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius, King of Lombardy; (second), in 771, Hildegarde, born in 757, died April 30, 782, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Swabia; (third), in 783, Fastrada, who died in 794, daughter of Rudolph, Count of Franconia; (fourth) Liutgarde, who died June 4, 800. Children of second marriage: 1. Charles, born in 772, died December 4, 811, was King of Germany; left no issue. 2. Rothrude or Rotrude, born in 773, died June 6, 810; married Roricon I, Count of Maine. 3. Adelaide, Abbess of Fara, born in 775, died June 6, 810. 4. Pepin, of whom further. 5. Louis I, the Pious, born in 778, died near Ingelheim, June 20, 840; was crowned Emperor by his father at Aachen in 813. 6. Lothair, born in 779, died in 780. 7. Berthe, died in 853; married Angilbert. 8. Gisele, born in 781. 9. Hildegarde, born in 782, died in 822; Abbess of Argenteuil; married Eberhard I, Lord Beutelsbach. Children of third marriage: 10. Theodrade, Abbess of Argenteuil. 11. Hiltrude, Abbess of Faremontier. Child of fourth marriage: 12. Emma, died in 839; married Eginhard, Abbot.

(C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. II, pp. 325-26, 417. P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. I, pp. 28, 29. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. V, pp. 256-59.)

VII. Pepin, son of Charlemagne and his second wife, Hildegarde of Swabia, was born in 777 and died July 8, 810. When he was baptized in Rome in 781, he was named Carloman, but Pope Adrian changed this name the same year at Easter, when he anointed him King of Lombardy. He is also described as King of Italy. He conquered the Avarois in 799, later made himself master of Venice and sent his fleet to ravage the coast of Dalmatia.

Pepin married, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Bernard, of whom further. Several daughters, one of whom married Lambert, father of Guy, Duke of Spoleto, who was chosen King

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of Italy in 888 and had himself crowned Emperor by Pope Formosus in 892.

(P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," p. 48.)

VIII. Bernard, son of Pepin, succeeded his father as King of Italy at the age of twelve or thirteen years, being crowned by the Archbishop of Milan in 810. He repulsed the Saracens who attempted to occupy Italy, but later revolted against his uncle, Louis the Pious. He was defeated, deprived of his eyesight and died three days later, in April, 818.

Bernard married, but the name of his wife is not known. Child: 1. Pepin II, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Pepin II, son of Bernard, was Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin, a region soon after this called Vermandois. The name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Bernard, died without issue, although some German authorities regard him as ancestor of the House of Bavaria. 2. Heribert I, of whom further. 3. Pepin, ancestor of the Counts of Valois.

(*Ibid.*)

X. Heribert I, son of Pepin II, was Seigneur of Peronne and St. Quentin. He was killed in 902 by men serving Baldwin II of Flanders. By ceaseless energy he achieved his ambition to become Count of Vermandois, a title destined to grow in lustre through many generations. The territory included, in addition to the place from which the title was derived, the cities and territories of Reims, Soissons, Meaux, and Senlis.

Heribert I married, but the name of his wife is not of record. Children: 1. Heribert II, of whom further.. 2. A daughter, who married Uddom, brother of Herman, Duke of Swabia. 3. Beatrix, married Robert, King of the Franks.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. Heribert II, Count of Vermandois, Troyes and Meaux, son of Heribert I, died in 943 and was buried in St. Quentin. From 902 to 915 he carried on a war with the Counts of Flanders, later aided

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Robert, Duke of France, against Charles the Simple, and fought in the battle of Soissons, in which Robert was killed. He next helped Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, gain the throne and after entertaining Charles the Simple to a sumptuous banquet took him prisoner. Raoul did not reward him sufficiently and Heribert set Charles free. During the reign of Louis d'Outremer, Heribert joined Hugh of Burgundy in opposing him.

Heribert II married Hildebrante, daughter of Robert, Duke of France. Children: 1. Albert I, Count of Vermandois, died September 9, 987; married Gerberge, daughter of Louis d'Outremer. 2. Heribert, Count of Troyes and Meaux. 3. Robert, Count of Troyes, married Adelais, daughter of Gilbert, Count of Autun and Duke of Burgundy, and Ermengarde of Burgundy; their daughter, Adelais, married Geoffrey I, Count of Anjou. 4. Eudes. 5. Hugues, Archbishop of Reims. 6. Alix or Adela, of whom further. 7. Leutgarde, married (first), as his second wife, William I, Duke of Normandy; she married (second) Thibaut I, Count of Blois, Chartres and Tours.

(P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," p. 49. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. III, p. 238.)

XII. Alix or Adela of Vermandois, daughter of Heribert II and Hildebrante of France, married Arnulf I or Arnoul I, Count of Flanders, called the Elder and the Great, who died March 27, 965. He was the son of Baldwin II and Aelfthryth, who was a daughter of Alfred the Great. He succeeded to the whole inheritance upon the death of his brother and ruled from 918 to 965. Arnulf I increased his territory by force of arms, first capturing the Castle of Arras and then that of Montreuil. Heruin II of Ponthieu, who held Montreuil, was assisted by William Longespée (Longsword), Duke of Normandy, and they succeeded in recapturing the castle. Arnulf I later joined forces with Louis d'Outremer in the invasion of Normandy and in 946 he besieged Rouen. His lands were invaded by the Hungarians, who penetrated as far as Cambrai. Arnulf I fought the Northmen, as had his father and grandfather, and took an active part in the struggles in Lorraine between the Emperor Otto I and Hugh Capet. On the death of his son Baldwin III, to whom he had relinquished his authority, Arnulf I returned to power and spent the

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remaining years of his life in securing the succession of his grandson. Children of Arnulf I or Arnoul I and Alix or Adela of Vermandois: 1. Baldwin III, of whom further. 2. Elstrude, married Sifrid, Count of Guines.

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," Fifth Edition, No. XXIX. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. V, p. 96. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Eleventh Edition, Vol. X, p. 478.)

XIII. Baldwin III, Count of Flanders, son of Arnulf I and Alix or Adela of Vermandois, died before his father in 961-62. He shared in the government of Flanders during his father's life and did a great deal for the commercial and industrial progress of Flanders, establishing the first weavers and fullers at Ghent. He instituted yearly fairs at Ypres, Bruges and other places. At the time of his death his son was a minor, and his father thereupon resumed authority.

Baldwin III married Mathilda, who according to St. Arnoul was the daughter of Conrad the Peaceful, King of Arles, but is claimed by other ancient writers to have been the daughter of Herman Billing (Hermann Billung), Duke of Saxony. Children: 1. Arnulf II or Arnoul II, of whom further. 2. Bertha, married Aimar I, Count of Geneva.

(*Ibid.* A. Warnkœnig: "Histoire de la Flandre jusque l'année 1305," Vol. I, p. 151.)

XIV. Arnulf II or Arnoul II, the Younger, Count of Flanders, son of Baldwin III and Mathilda, succeeded his grandfather, Arnulf I, and ruled from 965 until his death on March 23, 988. He was still a minor at his accession, and Lothair, King of France, took advantage of this fact to invade Flanders. The Danes were called upon for assistance, but Lothair seized not only the territory acquired by Arnulf I, but some of the older regions as well. Later Arnulf refused to recognize Hugh Capet, and Flanders was again invaded. Arnulf took refuge with Richard, Duke of Normandy, who arranged peace with the French King.

Arnulf II married Susanna, daughter of Berenger, King of Italy. Child: 1. Baldwin IV, of whom further.

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," Fifth Edition, No. XXIX. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de

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vérifier les dates," Vol. V, p. 96. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Eleventh Edition, Vol. X, p. 478.)

XV. Baldwin IV, the Bearded (Barbu), Count of Flanders, son of Arnulf II and Susanna of Italy, succeeded his father at an early age and ruled until his death on May 30, 1036. In 1006, he allied himself with the Count of Louvain and fought successfully against both the Capetian Kings of France and the Emperor Henry II of Germany. Henry was obliged to grant to Baldwin, Valenciennes, the burgraveship of Ghent, and the land of Waes, as fiefs. In 1012 Henry made a further grant to Baldwin of the Island of Walcheren and the Province of Zeeland, which led to a long quarrel between Flanders and Holland. The fiefs granted by Henry II made the Count of Flanders a feudatory of the Empire as well as of the French Crown, and in Flemish history the French fiefs were known as Crown Flanders and the German fiefs as Imperial Flanders.

Baldwin's son, later Baldwin V, rebelled against his father in 1028 at the instigation of his wife, but two years later peace was sworn at Oudenaarde, and the old Count continued to reign until his death.

Baldwin IV married (first) Ogive, daughter of Frederick, Count of Luxemburg; (second) Eleonore, daughter of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. Children of first marriage: 1. Baldwin V, of whom further. 2. Hermengarde, married Adalbert, Count de Gand.

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," Fifth Edition, No. XXIX. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. V, pp. 96, 97. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Eleventh Edition, Vol. X, p. 478.)

XVI. Baldwin V, surnamed de Lille and, more commonly, *le Débonnaire*, Count of Flanders, son of Baldwin IV and Ogive of Luxemburg, ruled from 1036 until his death in 1067. He was a forceful and enterprising man and greatly extended his power by wars and alliances. He invaded Frisia in 1045 because Thierrî IV of Holland refused to recognize his suzerainty over part of Zeeland. He fought the Emperor Henry III at about the same time and persisted in his revolt for several years, until peace was formally concluded with Henry IV in 1056. From Henry IV, Baldwin obtained

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in fief the territory between the Scheldt and the Dender and the margraviate of Antwerp, but continued to render homage to the Empire. He built the canal separating Artois and Flanders. So great had his power become that on the death of Henry I of France in 1060 he was appointed Regent during the minority of Philip I.

Baldwin V married, as her second husband, Adela, widow of Richard III, Duke of Normandy, and daughter of Robert, King of France. Children: 1. Baldwin VI, of Mons, Count of Flanders and Count of Hainault, married Richilde of Hainault. 2. Robert, Count of Alost and Waes, married Gertrude of Saxony, widow of Floris I of Holland, and became the Frisian Regent of Holland during the minority of his stepson. 3. Henry. 4. Matilda, of whom further. 5. Judith, married (first) Toston or Tostig, brother of Harold, whom William the Conqueror defeated for the throne of England; married (second) Welfe, Welf or Guelph, Duke of Bavaria.

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," Fifth Edition, No. XXIX. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. V, pp. 97, 98. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Eleventh Edition, Vol. X, pp. 478-79.)

XVII. Matilda or Maud, daughter of Baldwin V and Adela of France, married William I, King of England, called the Conqueror. He was the son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and Arletta, daughter of a tanner of Falaise. William was born at Falaise, Normandy, in 1027 or 1028 and died at Rouen, France, September 9, 1087. He was buried in St. Stephen's Church at Caen.

When he was a small boy, his father died and he was acknowledged his successor by the Norman barons. The next twelve years were a period of anarchy, but in 1047, with the help of Henry I of France, he stamped out a serious rising and later recovered the fortress of Alençon from Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou. Fearing the close connection of Normandy with Flanders, Henry I joined Geoffrey to invade Normandy, but was twice defeated, and William added to his power by annexing Mayenne and Maine.

In 1065 Edward the Confessor, King of England, died and William claimed the succession. He invaded England and on October 14, 1066, defeated Harold at the battle of Senlac or Hastings. He

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was crowned King of England on Christmas Day at Westminster Abbey. For the next five years he continued military operations, reducing the north and west, and in 1070 completed the conquest of the north by a march to Chester. To reward his followers, he redistributed land taken from its former owners, but in granting it, each of his barons received portions in several counties. His administration was based on Norman feudalism, the barons having close personal relations with the King. At the same time the old courts and shire and hundred were preserved, as well as the system of governing through sheriffs. Although his heavy taxation caused complaints, he won the respect of his English subjects, who regarded him as their protector against feudal oppression on account of his regard for legal forms and his confirmation of the "laws of Edward." Two prelates, Lanfranc of Canterbury and Geoffrey of Coutances, were his chief advisers. Among his later military campaigns was that against Malcolm, King of Scotland, who submitted to him at the Forth; his suppression of two rebellions in Maine; and his invasion of the French Vexin. During the latter he was injured, when his horse plunged on the burning cinders of Mantes, which city he had sacked and burned. He was carried to Rouen, where he died.

Children of William the Conqueror and Matilda or Maud of Flanders: 1. Robert, Duke of Normandy. 2. Richard. 3. William II, surnamed Rufus, King of England, 1087-1100; died unmarried. 4. Henry I, of whom further. 5. Cecilia, Abbess of Caen. 6. Constance, married, in 1086, Alan, Count of Brittany. 7. Adelaide, probably betrothed to Earl Harold, died in her youth. 8. Adela, married Estienne, Count of Blois. 9. Agatha (perhaps a daughter), promised to Edwin, Earl of Mercia; married, by proxy, to Alfonso, King of Spain, but died on the voyage before reaching Spain. 10. Matilda (perhaps a daughter). 11. Gundred (perhaps a daughter), whose parentage has been in dispute for many years.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XXIII, pp. 609-10. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XIII, pp. 50-51; Vol. XXI, pp. 293-301.)

XVIII. Henry I, King of England, surnamed Beauclerc, son of William the Conqueror and Matilda or Maud of Flanders, was born

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in 1068 and died near Gisors, France, December 1, 1135. He was buried in the Abbey of Reading, which he founded.

He was given an excellent education, including the English law and language. As a younger son he was not expected to inherit the Crown. Of his elder brothers, William received England and Robert became Duke of Normandy. When William died, in 1100, Robert was on a crusade and Henry seized the Crown. He issued a charter by which he promised to restore the "laws of Edward," exchange customary fees for the unlimited demands of his father and brother on the barons, stop the plundering of the church, and force the barons to do justice to their tenants. By marrying a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon kings he completed his policy of allying himself with the native English. In both England and Normandy he was more popular with the non-feudal classes than with the barons. English levies helped him repel an invasion of Robert and his victory at Tinchebrai was regarded as an English victory in revenge for Hastings. Several times he was successful in putting down rebellions and conspiracies in Normandy. The chief institution created during his reign was that of the exchequer.

Henry I married (first) Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from Saxon Kings of England XI.) She died in 1118, and he married (second) Adelaide, daughter of Godfrey, Count of Louvain. Children of first marriage: 1. William, called the Aetheling; married Matilda of Anjou; died without issue in a shipwreck. 2. Matilda or Maud (*q. v.*).

("Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XI, p. 432. J. R. Green: "History of the English People," Vol. I, p. 140. "Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. IX, p. 436.)

Generations XIX to XLIII are the same as Generations XII to XXXVI of Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England.

(Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from the Kings of Scotland)

I. Kenneth I MacAlpin, King of the Scots, son of Alpin, King of the Dalriada Scots, married the daughter of Donald of the Isles. A son was: Constantine, of whom further.

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II. Constantine I, King of Scotland or Alban, son of Kenneth I MacAlpin, was the father of: Donald, of whom further.

III. Donald, son of Constantine I, was the father of: Malcolm, of whom further.

IV. Malcolm I, son of Donald, was the father of: Kenneth, of whom further.

V. Kenneth II, King of Scotland, son of Malcolm I, was the father of: Malcolm, of whom further.

VI. Malcolm II, King of Scotland, son of Kenneth II, married a daughter of the Duke of Normandy. A daughter was: Bethoc, of whom further.

VII. Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II, King of Scotland, married, about 1000, Crinan the Thane, hereditary Lay Abbot of Dunkeld and Seneschal of the Isles. A son was: Duncan, of whom further.

VIII. Duncan I, King of Scotland, son of Crinan and Bethoc, married, in 1030, a cousin of Siward, Earl of Northumberland. A son was: Malcolm, of whom further.

IX. Malcolm III, called Canmore, King of Scotland, son of Duncan I, married (second) Margaret of England. (Mrs. Esther [Gross] Windecker's Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England X.)

Generations X to XXXVII are the same as Generations XI to XXXVI of Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England.

Book Review

Dr. Bard of Hyde Park, by J. Brett Langstaff, with Introduction by Nicholas Murray Butler; 365 pages and twelve illustrations, octavo; E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1942; \$3.75.

To one familiar with the life and work of Brett Langstaff, the fact that he has chosen the life of an American Colonial doctor for a volume would be assurance of a biography of unusual elements, for no author who has lived as full and as rich a life by middle age as he could be content with a drab central character. Nor does the perusal of the volume fail to justify the expectation, and the convincing and admirable figure of Dr. Bard that emerges, the choice of the gracefully presented material, and the vigor of the narrative style, quite disguise for the average reader the fact that here is a work which scholars will enthusiastically approve.

Nor, as it becomes known to the reading public, will it require the emphasis upon George Washington, Nicholas Murray Butler, and Hyde Park, which figure in its promotion, to gain it vogue among lovers of biography. President Washington was a professional incident; Dr. Butler performs a minor duty; and Dr. Bard was much more of New York than of Hyde Park, intriguing as the last-named place is in these days when we are so acutely conscious of our national leadership. It will be news to a large proportion of its readers that, as Dr. Butler states in a pleasing complimentary foreword, "the name Bard takes its place with the most important half dozen names of those on this side of the Atlantic who in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries united their intellectual life with public service," but it is a statement entirely defensible by the facts set forth.

An interesting bibliography includes eleven of Dr. Bard's own writings, while an outline of the author's pursuit of manuscript material gives credit to assistance given throughout six years of research, mentions disappointments sustained, and refers in passing to a lady

BOOK REVIEW

who "kindly produced for the author from her handbag an authentic letter of her distinguished ancestor, regretting that it is not convenient to take out of storage boxes which may contain more Bard material." Note material has been given place at the end of the book, rather than at foot of pages, constituting removal from the text of obstacles to easy reading, and a helpful and concise biographical index refreshes the memory (or instructs the mind) of him who consults it.

This mention of Brett Langstaff's latest book opens with a reference to its author's life, and closes with a statement of satisfaction that a character as strong and as outstanding as Sam Bard has engaged the pen of a biographer who himself has touched at first hand great personalities, has been in the midst of social, religious, and intellectual reforms and progress of world import, and has set in motion vital forces for good.

W. S. D.

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED

OCTOBER, 1942

VOLUME XXXVI . NUMBER 4



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, Inc.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY

NEW YORK CITY

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AMERICANA

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, Literature, and Industrial History. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor. All communications should be addressed:

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC.,
Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL COMPANY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

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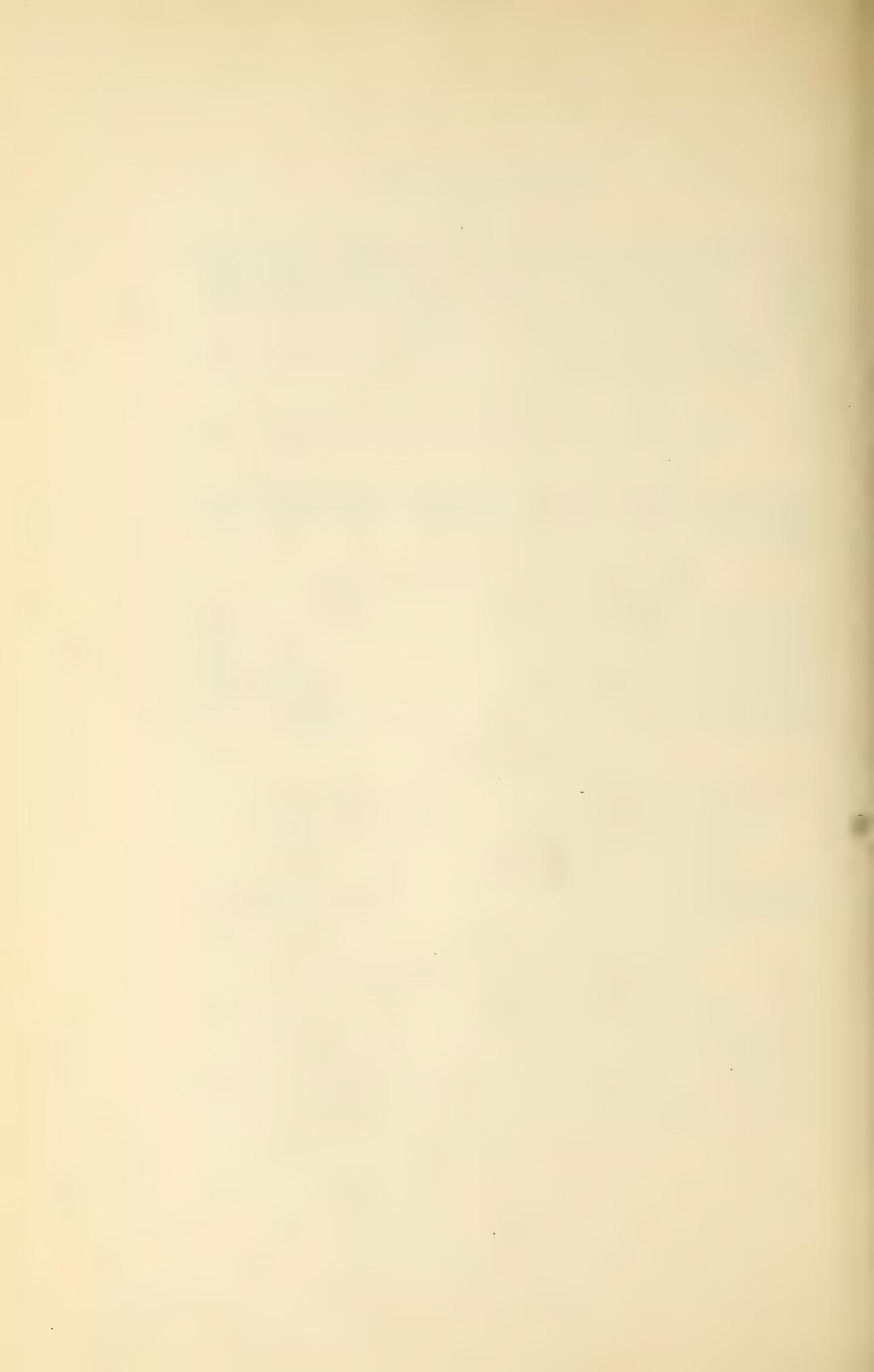
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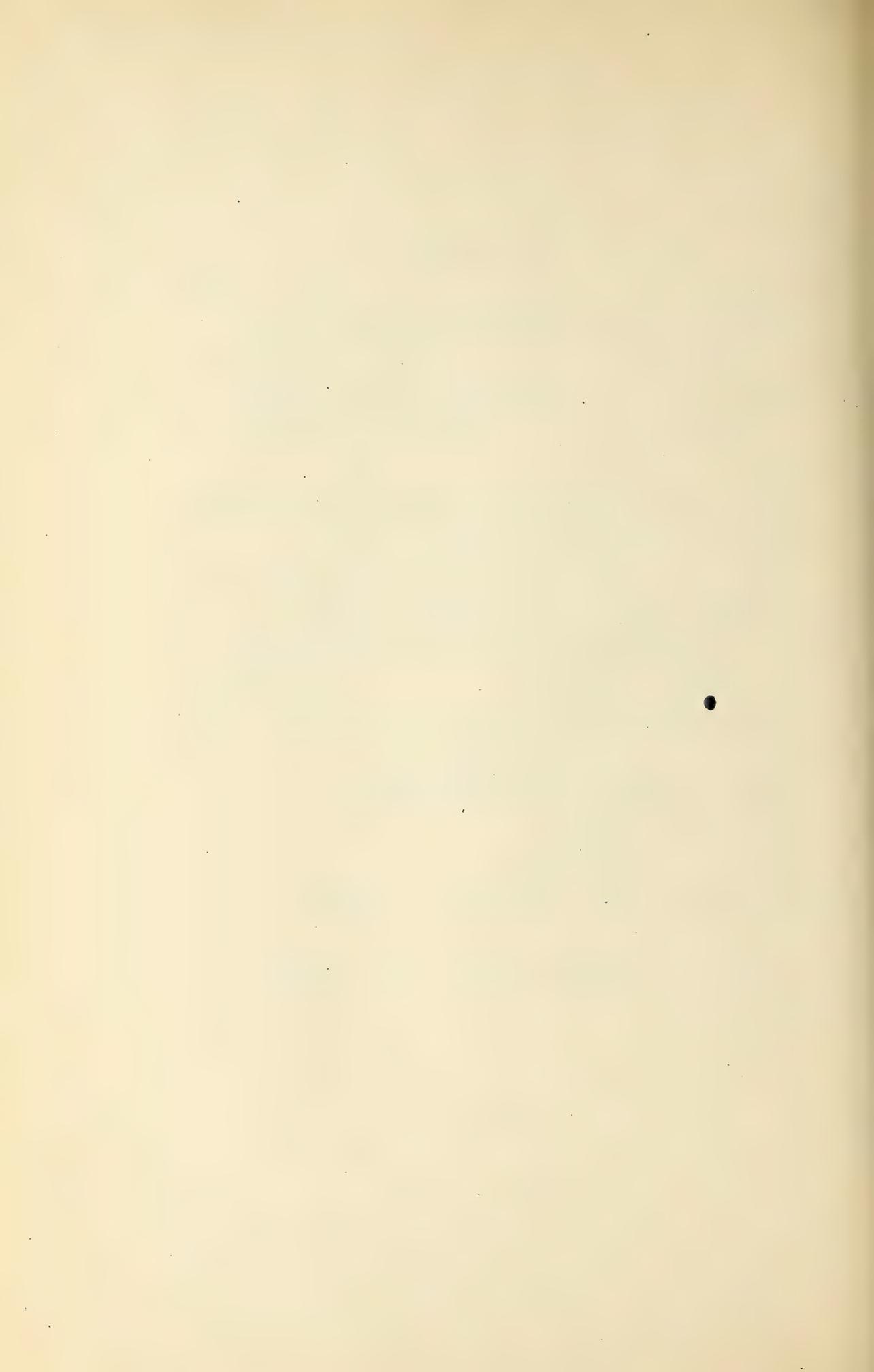
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Mysticism in Modern Times, L. I.

BY ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE, PH. D., UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO,
NEW YORK



THE average American regards Positivism, the philosophy of Auguste Comte, if he has any knowledge at all concerning it, as a French system of rationalism. The range of Positivism is vastly wider, however, than this, for not only is it a classification of all knowledge and an exposition of scientific method, but it is also an attempt to solve the problems of society by applying scientific method to the social order. This entails a new religion and a readjustment of the existing economic and political orders. The name given to this new Positivist religion is the Religion of Humanity. It was prominent not only in France, but its influence was felt by leading thinkers over most of the western world. In America two of its apostles founded a semi-religious, semi-communistic settlement at Modern Times, Long Island, as a base for proselytizing the rest of the country. So far as I can discover, there have been only two out-and-out disciples of the Religion of Humanity in America, but the activities of these two are sufficiently significant and colorful to demand comment.

Before narrating the events at Modern Times, it is necessary to give a cursory explanation of Positivism, with a description of the Religion of Humanity. The most widely known doctrine of Comte's philosophy is his famous law of the three stages. According to this law, all human institutions, knowledge, and phases of society, before they can reach the positive stage, must pass through two anterior forms, the theological and metaphysical. In the theological stage a personal or volitional explanation of nature is given, and a personalized God is held responsible for all phenomena. This stage has three further divisions, fetichism, polytheism, monotheism. The metaphysical stage is ontological and abstractional. Nature is given consciousness, and instead of a personal deity, abstract Force is

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thought to control the universe. The Positivist stage is the result of the rigid application of empirical science to all phases of life. "We have no knowledge of anything but Phenomena; and our knowledge of phenomena is relative, not absolute. We know not the essence, nor the real mode of production, of any fact, but only its relations to other facts in the way of succession or of similitude. These relations are constant; that is always the same in the same circumstances. The constant resemblances which link phenomena together, and the constant sequences which unite them as antecedent and consequent, are termed their laws. The laws of phenomena are all we know respecting them. Their essential nature, and their ultimate cause, either efficient or final, are unknown and inscrutable to us."¹ The basis of scientific method is epitomized by Comte's phrase "savoir pour prévoir." Control and power over phenomena and ability to predict results depend on previously observed sequences. "We foresee a fact or event by means of facts which are signs of it, because experience has shown them to be its antecedents. All foresight therefore and all intelligent actions have only been possible in proportion as men have successfully attempted to ascertain the successions of phenomena."²

In applying the law of the three stages to human relations Comte expounded his theory of social progress. In the theological stage, all institutions of state, the government, laws, customs, *etc.*, were thought to be divinely established. In the metaphysical stage, moral rules and political institutions evolved from the conception of Natural Rights. People regarded Natural Rights as an entity, and the growth and spread of Natural Rights as one of the imaginary laws of the imaginary being, Nature. The Positive state represented "all theories in which the ultimate standard of institutions and rules of action was the happiness of mankind."³

Although Comte gives a complete and thorough review of history, classifying events into stages and eulogizing great leaders, his forecast for the future is not based on history. He expects the positive stage to emerge within a comparatively short time and predicts a more

1. John Stuart Mill, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (New York: 1887), pp. 7-8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

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rapid, thorough, and harmonious transition to the positive stage than historical progress alone would justify.

Comte felt that the development of sociology would bring about this early transition. Humanity would then be organized on scientific principles under the direction of a moral, intellectual, and spiritual authority. In the positive stage the principles of science established by these competent persons must be unhesitatingly accepted and followed. No moral differences should be permitted, for common opinion is a poor tribunal. The Spiritual Power will have undisputed authority over all moral problems.

The Religion of Humanity is an integral part of the Positivist system, both as a philosophy, and, as Comte visualized it, as the ultimate controlling force of society. The Universal Religion of Humanity requires love and service of the human race and worship of the *Grand Etre*. Humanity, or the *Grand Etre*, includes all those in every age and every position who have played their part worthily in life. The unworthy of the human race are ignored and doomed to eternal oblivion, but the *Grand Etre* may also include sentient beings, such as dogs and cats, who earn the privilege by some act of great devotion or service. Comte's golden rule is "vivre pour autrui." His ethical system stresses altruism (his own coined word) over egoism and demands constant service and sacrifice. It admits no middle ground between duty and sin and recognizes no acts having no moral significance.

Worship is both private and public. The personal cult consists of the adoration of noble women, dead or alive, in the form of prayer, commemoration, or effusion. The ritual occupies two hours daily, and is observed at rising, the middle of the day and at night. The domestic cult consists of nine sacraments to be observed at the appropriate times; presentation (at birth), initiation (at 14 years), admission (21 years), destination (28 years), marriage, maturity (42 years), retirement (63 years), transformation (death), and incorporation into the *Grand Etre* (7 years after death). The public cult consists of worship of the *Grand Etre* through at least one public ceremony each week, the construction of temples, erection of statues, and observance of the Positivist Calendar.

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When Positivism is ultimately adopted, the clergy will exercise the functions of the Spiritual Power and possess absolute authority over moral and intellectual matters. The undisputed authority which astronomers possess in astronomy will be possessed regarding social questions by Positive philosophers. They will also direct all education. The decrees of the Spiritual Authority will be enforced by public opinion. The members of the priesthood are to receive a very small salary and have no civil rights, but this discrimination is compensated for by their moral and intellectual authority.

The Temporal Power will be composed of rich capitalists and employers of labor. It is important to bear in mind that the Positivists regard the capitalist as a public functionary, merely entrusted by society with wealth to administer in the interests of society. He belongs to an order of chivalry of wealth with the object of doing good deeds and redressing wrongs through the purse. The power of the capitalists is checked, however, by the Spiritual authority, for if the capitalist indulges himself lavishly he will incur sacerdotal admonishment.

When Positivism controls the world order, the existing nations are to be broken up into small republics, the largest not to exceed the size of Belgium or Portugal. Larger nationalities would be incompatible with unity and patriotism. The powers of government in these states are to be vested in three bankers with powers amounting to dictatorship, the spiritual power, however, remaining under the control of a single Pontiff for the entire human race. Comte himself during his later years occupied the position of Pontiff for the Positivist world.

The Religion of Humanity is concerned solely with human existence and maintains no belief in a future world. Nevertheless, it has a certain hope of life beyond death: the hope of eternal life in the memory of the rest of Humanity. This is the subjective immortality of the Religion of Humanity. It is social, not individual, and is attained through subjective commemoration after incorporation into the *Grand Etre*.

It is at once apparent that medieval mysticism is the basis of the Religion of Humanity. Although empirical science furnishes the key to the epistemology of Positivism, the tradition and sacerdotal-

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ism of Catholicism provide the façade to its theology. Its symbolism and ritual are taken over from the medieval church, and the private worship of noble women is a remnant of Mariolatry. The sacraments of the Positivist cult parallel the sacraments of the Catholic Church, and the Positivist priesthood possesses authority similar to that of the Papacy in the middle ages. As a matter of fact, Comte regarded conversion to Catholicism as an excellent transition to Positivism, and even entertained hopes of using the Jesuits to establish the Religion of Humanity in America.⁴ He regarded the Jesuit order as the best organizers and staunchest defenders of Catholicism and felt that in New York they might be more approachable by Positivists than their brothers in Europe since they could have no hope of dominating political affairs in America. He even thought that they could be won over to Positivism, for Positivism visualizes the establishment of an all-pervasive spiritual hierarchy like that unsuccessfully attempted by Loyola. The Jesuits, however, in America as well as in Europe remained aloof from Positivism, and the only American converts to the Religion of Humanity, Henry Edger and John Metcalf, had little in common with the Jesuit order.

Henry Edger was born in 1820 in Sussex, England, but moved to the United States where he became a naturalized citizen in 1861. He had lived in the United States many years before his naturalization, however, which occurred four years after the death of Comte. John Metcalf, although extremely loyal and devoted in his Positivist allegiance, was little more than a satellite of Edger. Notwithstanding the fact that he was probably one of the two most devoted disciples of Comte in America, he does not loom very large in the Positivist horizon. Unlike Edger, he was a native American. He lived in Ohio until his conversion to Positivism and subsequently lived with the Edger family at Modern Times, returning to Ohio after Edger's death.

Edger was regarded by Comte as the chief apostle of Positivism in the new world, and this is the position he actually did occupy. Until 1856, Edger lived at Thomson's Station, Long Island, where he

⁴ Paul Edger, ed., *Lettres d'Auguste Comte à Henry Edger et John Metcalf*. (Paris: 1889), Apostolate Positiviste, p. 75.

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attempted to reach his neighbor's hearts with the gospel of Positivism. In 1856, he took a step which he had been long contemplating and formed a Positivist haven which he called *Modern Times* and where he lived with his family and occasional Positivist converts. In the same year he published an American edition of the *Positivist Calendar*, the first book on Positivism by an avowed American disciple, and the first exposition of its religious phase ever to be published in the English language. The latter fact in itself lends distinction to Edger's work.

Edger was converted to Positivism through reading a series of articles on the Positive Philosophy which appeared in 1852 in a London newspaper, *The Leader*. After this preliminary encounter with Positivism, he eagerly studied everything available on the subject and established communication with the Society at Paris. Then, early in 1856, he began corresponding with Comte himself. This personal contact was established through a contribution of ten francs to the "subsidé sacerdotal," a subscription fund to enable Comte to continue his philosophic work. After 1850, it was Comte's policy to acknowledge all subscriptions in annual circular letters, but realizing the significance of an American supporter, he replied to Edger with a personal letter. Following this personal contact, Edger became a zealous disciple and entered heart and soul into the spirit of Positivism.

Edger carried on extensive personal missionary work soon after his communication with Comte and became the most active American in public propagandizing. His children were all reared in the Positivist faith, and Edger became extremely anxious to have them presented in the orthodox manner. This ceremony occurs at birth or shortly after and is analogous to christening. Edger was extremely anxious to have his daughter legitimately presented and asked Comte for full instructions. Edger already knew the ritual and ceremony, but encountered difficulty in choosing a suitable "parrain" and "marrain." Comte realized that suitable Positivist godfathers and godmothers could not be readily found in America; so to make things easy he extended special dispensation to allow the services of heathen who would recognize the fundamental dogmas of the Religion of Humanity, and who would also subscribe to "la loi du veuvage" or permanent widowhood of the surviving spouse.

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Before the time of the ceremony, however, Edger was able to secure a Positive parrain, one whom he had himself converted. This was John Metcalf, who later became Edger's chief coadjutor in proclaiming Positivism in America. The marrain, Edger described as a good soul, but unfortunately Protestant. Comte, on hearing about her, hoped that the ceremony would lead her to see the light and accept the blessings to be obtained through Positivism. Edger's daughter was named Sophie for Comte's housekeeper, whom Edger both admired and respected. Comte was quite touched by this choice, for Sophie had been a great favorite of his. He had special pleasure, therefore, in authorizing Edger to take his place at the ceremony. While presiding over the presentation, Edger wore a green ribbon around his right arm to indicate his priestly office, and the event was later recorded in the *Registre correspondant* at Paris.

Edger was by no means content with single conversions and family ceremonies. He wanted an extensive movement and worked indefatigably to bring it about. In 1854 he began translating the *Catechisme positiviste*, and in 1856 he published an original work, *Modern Times, the Labor Question, and the Family*. Comte promised to break his "cerebral hygiene," his policy of reading no contemporary works in order to leave his mind clear for philosophic reasoning, to read this opuscle. It received his praise and warm approval. Edger's next undertaking *The Positivist Calendar: Or Transitional System of Public Commemoration, Instituted by Auguste Comte, Founder of the Positive Religion of Humanity, With A Brief Exposition of Religious Positivism* was more ambitious and imposing, and Comte termed it greatly superior to his preceding effort. In addition to sections describing the calendar, it contains an exposition of the Religion of Humanity and a history of the rise and progress of Positivism. In the preface Edger unequivocally indicates his affiliation with Positivism. "The author has long waited to see recognized doctrines which have infused peace into his own soul, given an aim and a direction to his own life, substituted radiant and solid hopes for the blank despair in which the grovelling materialism and gloomy scepticism, now really prevalent, naturally result."⁵ He is not at all

5. *Positivist Calendar* (Modern Times: 1856), Published by the author, p. vi.

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bombastic, however, but in a quite unassuming manner explains his motives for writing. "Gratitude on the one hand for incalculable benefits received, and the duty which devolves upon us all of diffusing the happiness we, ourselves, enjoy, compel the writer, poor, obscure, and devoid of social influence as he finds himself, to lay aside for a moment his habitual employment in rural industry, and occupy, although with fear and trembling, a public position from which he involuntarily shrinks."⁶ The sections on the calendar which represents "a series of annual Commemorations adapted to revive a just respect for our social antecedents" are taken from the seventh French edition, but Edger's is the first English edition.⁷ Although this fact is historically significant, showing the influence of America in the Positivist movement, Edger's original sections are far more interesting. They show the hope and confidence he vested in Positivism and depict the American scene from the viewpoint of the Positivist promoter interpreting the past as a preparatory period for his doctrines. The theme of all his observations, the destructive and growing anarchy of the nation and of the world, is his chief indictment of the existing order, but at the same time he feels that this is the milieu most likely to welcome Positivism as the remedy for its troubles.

Edger regards as the most dangerous aspect of the prevailing anarchy, the negation of the past and the view that modern society is the best of all possible worlds. He finds much evidence of the existence of anarchy. "The anarchical tendencies of the age are penetrating farther and farther into the holy places; subversive doctrines, 'Woman's Rights,' 'Free love,'—in a word, the prevalent impulses towards universal demolition, and 'the abolition' of everything, are taking possession even of the pulpits."⁸ Elsewhere he declares that this material disorder results from the anarchy of the state, and this in turn results from intellectual anarchy. Even the most convinced opponent of Positivism would be forced to agree with him that Positivism would at least abolish intellectual anarchy, which is the next step in this line of reasoning.

The grand crisis, or turning point from society dominated by metaphysical philosophy to society dominated by positive philosophy,

6. *Loc. cit.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

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commenced with the French Revolution. This turning point is observed as the year 1 on the Positivist Calendar, and the dates of Positivism are all reckoned from this time. At the time of "the great final crisis of the struggle between the new and the ancient faiths, it seemed possible to the other occidental governments to confine the Genius of Revolt to the land of its birth if not to strangle it even there." Later events have shown that it must spread throughout the peoples of the entire western world. All this is preparation for Edger's remarks on America.

He does not link the American revolution with the French revolution as might be expected, but regards them as struggles for entirely different ideals and objectives. The War of Independence was waged for material purposes, not to justify a great social philosophy.

The fundamental principle involved in that important event was colonial independence: in a word, the overthrow of the Colonial System. . . . Neither in the purposes of its founders, nor in the general spirit and temper of its people, nor in its subsequent policy, does the great American Union, vast as was the mission devolving upon it, present any indications of its being the organ of a radically new social phase, or of a final emancipation from the theological and military system. On the contrary, theological religion had here received from the puritan reinforcement, its last systematic impulse and seemed to have derived thence a new vitality capable of outliving many a rude stroke. So that, notwithstanding the noble humanist tendencies of Jefferson, and the natural republican sympathies with the French revolutionaries, the faith of the pilgrim fathers seemed scarcely shaken for all the first half century of the national existence of the United States. The fundamental principles of social order are, it is true, more profoundly compromised here than elsewhere. Our anarchy is more complete, since it equally affects the spiritual order and the temporal order.⁹

According to this view, America has retrogressed since the time of Jefferson rather than followed the spirit and ideals of the revolution in France.

Democracy in America is also contrary to the spirit of Positivism, and although Edger does not inveigh against it specifically, he proposes an antithetical system as infinitely better. This system is based on the Feudo-Catholic civilization, the significance of which "as con-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

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taining the germ of the final solution of the social problem has been hitherto overlooked by historians; especially the protestant and sceptical; indeed its discovery was possible only to a fully positive philosophy of history. It consists in the entire harmonization of independence and concurrence by means of the radical separation of the two powers."¹⁰ This separation of temporal and spiritual powers is the basis of the Positivist society, and of course the Positivist conception of the sacerdotal office as the source of education and guidance of the state is the solution offered of the problem of anarchy. The great opposition among the northern nations to this type of social control is the result of the unfortunate abuses of the Catholic Church which aroused their prejudice and distrust, "otherwise no intelligent mind could at this day fail to recognize that of all tyranny the most insupportable is that involved in anarchy, whether temporal or spiritual."¹¹

In 1856, however, Edger cherished hopes for the regeneration of his countrymen, and declared: "The new social doctrine is now, however, sufficiently elaborated to permit of its being brought into direct competition with the combined forces of the decadent theological faiths and the prevailing metaphysical theories of revolt and negation."¹²

In discussing social reforms and the means of instituting desirable change, Edger discards the press as a valid instrument. This is an interesting attitude in an era of panegyric of the press and mass journalism. Edger, however, points out the fallacy of socialists and radicals in their implicit faith in journalism.

The very sects that have been most subversive in their doctrines relative to the institution of Property, have still failed to see how the periodical press, if only from the incurable venality of its very constitution, is necessarily on the one hand the subservient tool of the capitalist, and on the other the helpless slave of the demagogy. . . . This boasted institution of Journalism, with all its characteristic bravado, contains within itself the ineradicable seeds of its own decay, which will be even more rapid than its growth; as may easily be verified by any thoughtful and well-informed observer, upon a comparison of the press in freedom, as it is here, where it can develop all its

10. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

11. *Loc. cit.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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natural tendencies, with the press under restrictions, fiscal or otherwise, as in England or France.¹³

Edger's literary and missionary labors won the grateful recognition of Comte, and he devised a means of showing his appreciation. In a letter of 1856 Comte declared that Edger's extreme devotion and desire for purity had convinced him that he was the only acceptable candidate for the rôle of founder of the American Positivist Church. This was offered as an inducement to urge Edger to complete his education, especially in mathematics. As a matter of fact, Edger was entitled to official recognition since he and Metcalf were the only American adherents who made any point of their affiliation. Edger really took Comte seriously regarding his study program and engaged in assiduous study and concentration. This brought a prompt response from Comte: "*Afin de recompenser les efforts déjà fait et provoquer leur digne continuation, je dois vous informer que, dans mon Testament, je vous ai désigné comme l'un des trois membres que j'ai jusqu'ici choisis parmi les sept qui composent le contingent britannique du Comité Positif que je projetai des 1842, pour assister le Grand-Prêtre de l'humanité dans la direction générale de la transition occidentale.*"¹⁴ The other two assistants then chosen were John Fisher and Richard Congreve, both British leaders; so Edger was placed on a par with the greatest English Positivists of the time.

Edger's extreme zeal and fervor for the cause were shown through overt activities as well as intellectual development. He was tireless in his efforts to win converts, and he carried on extensive missionary work among the Catholics. In addition, his mind was fraught with schemes for spreading Positivism, most of which were merely visionary, but others which were actually carried out. One of the earliest of these schemes was an attempt to escape from the sordid materialistic environment. He suggested a Positivist monastery to which kindred minds could withdraw from the persecution of the world. This plan did not meet with Comte's approval, for he replied: "*Je ne puis adopter votre projet d'une sorte de monastere positiviste. Il me semble directement contraire a l'essor des affections domestiques, que notre religion érige en fondement nécessaire de l'existence*

13. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

14. Paul Edger, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

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sociale."¹⁵ He goes on to suggest that if exceptional men in the vicinity experience dissatisfaction in their isolation, let them find spiritual solace in marriage and family life rather than illusory satisfaction in a régime actually based on material expediency rather than spiritual values. Asceticism does not conform to the ideals of the Religion of Humanity. True adherents must recognize their obligations toward Humanity and attempt to elevate society rather than seek individual refuge.

Edger also visioned a model Positivist village at Modern Times, with a Positivist temple and streets pointing in the direction of Paris, and to this Comte had no objection, leaving the details entirely in Edger's hands. He felt that Edger should know whether or not the scheme would be feasible, although he gave particular approval to the idea of seeking subsidies from some rich American, who would assume patronage and make possible the conversion of Modern Times into a Positivist center, civic and religious.

There are many personal details regarding Edger's life at Modern Times that are extremely interesting. One of the most amusing of these is the difficulty he encountered in keeping his voluntary vow of chastity as part of his devotion to the Religion of Humanity. After Edger confessed his blacksliding to Comte, the latter felt sympathy rather than anxiety over his disciple's sexual difficulties. Comte revealed that he had passed through the same temptations himself, and he found nothing disastrous in the fact that one of his disciples had also succumbed. Although Comte had patterned his life after Benjamin Franklin with corresponding moral rigidity, in one period of four months he had three times purchased sensual enjoyment.¹⁶ It is little wonder, therefore, that Comte should condone Edger's relapse and assure him that he would eventually triumph over the desires of the flesh. Comte also remarked that from the slight evidence in his hands concerning Mrs. Edger he felt that she would do everything in her power to promote rather than hinder the noble purpose which will fit her spouse to take place among the front ranks of Positivists. Then he delivered some helpful hints which he had

¹⁵. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶. Richmond L. Hawkins, *Auguste Comte and the United States* (1816-53) (Cambridge: 1936), Harvard Univ. Press, p. 8.

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himself followed. To reach the highest stage of undefiled purity, Edger must renounce forever all use of wine, coffee, tobacco, liqueurs, tea, and all similar stimulants and drink only water. Comte had existed under this régime for eleven years, "*au grand profit de mon estomac.*" The whole affair is helped along by uttering at the rising hour the solemn formula: "*Aujourd'hui . . . ma purification doit être spécialement relative à l'instinct.*"¹⁷

Edger was ultra orthodox in his observance of ritual and ceremony. He and Metcalf regularly practiced the daily "culte intime et personnel," and Edger was extremely anxious to have the stages of his children's development properly observed by Positivist ritual. He became enthusiastic over the possibilities of Modern Times and outlined plans for industrial expansion. Comte approved this increase of industrial activities because Positivists must distinguish themselves in material things in order to gain the attention and confidence of the populace. He predicted furthermore that the proposed expansion might lead to the development of Modern Times as an important industrial center as well as a fount of Positivist doctrine.

These plans bore little fruit, however, for as far as I know, Edger and Metcalf were the only disciples of Comte in America who left reliable records of their affiliation. There were, nevertheless, still followers of the Religion of Humanity in America even as late as 1900. During his American tour the most distinguished of the British Positivists, Frederic Harrison, officiated at presentation and initiation ceremonies, but he mentioned no specific individuals except a Russian, Mrs. Sahud, whose child Leo was presented.¹⁸ Harrison mentioned also a luncheon in New York City at which he talked with American Positivists, "amongst others a Mr. Codman of Modern Times, one of the original 'Edger Positivists' of Long Island, who knew the Edger girls forty years ago, and whose wife was buried with Positivist rites twenty-five years ago."¹⁹ A better conception of the influence of Positivism in America, however, is obtained from Harrison's comment on a meeting in Paris in 1900 when plans were discussed for the erection of a monument and memorial to Comte.

17. Paul Edger, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 37.

18. Frederic Harrison, *Autobiographic Memoirs* (London: 1911), Macmillan Co., Vol. II, pp. 200-300, *passim*.

19. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 215.

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"The scheme was launched by a series of addresses in various languages, the delegates who spoke came from England, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Russia, Portugal, Turkey, Brazil, and Mexico."²⁰ The fact that the United States is not included in this list is significant and shows that Positivism never captured the American fancy.

The two forces contributing most toward American indifference toward the Religion of Humanity were the industrial revolution and the frontier. The immediate result of the industrial revolution was a great increase in production with an accompanying outward manifestation of prosperity. New inventions and mass production methods led to unprecedented national wealth, and this inspired a widespread desire for even more wealth. The individual and collective energies of the nation were bent on increasing national wealth and power measured in terms of goods and factories. This emphasis on material things and personal gain was contrary to the spirit of the Religion of Humanity, and the factory system and the profit motive had nothing in common with altruism and worship of the saints of Humanity.

Development of the capitalistic system was a concomitant result of the industrial revolution. Its philosophical basis is found in the works of Adam Smith, with unbridled competition and *laissez faire* individualism as its chief tenets. The accumulation of gigantic fortunes through exploiting the economic resources of the nation for personal gain was justified by this philosophy, but under no other economic system would it have been possible. According to the Positivist theory, the capitalist is merely entrusted by society with wealth to administer in the interests of society and is prohibited from indulging himself or using wealth for personal ends.

In America economic individualism was dominant during the entire nineteenth century, following the precepts of Thomas Jefferson in the first half and the example of Jim Fisk in the second. Both forms were widely accepted and approved by the American people and were too great an obstacle for the socialistic and authoritarian doctrines of the Religion of Humanity to surmount.

The influence of the frontier in American history is of even greater significance in explaining the negligible effect of Positivism in America. According to the Turner theory, the frontier preserved and expanded

20. *Loc. cit.*

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the American ideals of democracy and equality, and developed nationalism, individualism and belief in the capacity of the common man as the controlling force of the state. Positivism was sympathetic to none of these ideals. In the Positivist state the powers of government would be vested in three bankers, who would exercise the authority of dictators, and the spiritual power would be under the control of a single pontiff, dominating the spiritual affairs of the entire human race. Nationalism would be impossible because the present nations would be divided into tiny local states, and at the same time individualism would be precluded by the unlimited authority of the Temporal Power and Spiritual Power. Not only was the organization of the Religion of Humanity with its mandated submission to artificial prescriptions opposed to the conditions of frontier life, but its creed was contrary to the pioneer spirit. Its austere morality and prescribed ethics made insufficient allowance for personality differences and individual eccentricities and could not be adapted to the exigencies and complications of the frontier. Finally, its elements of mysticism, the worship of Humanity as an abstraction, subjective contemplation and the reverence for the past were incompatible with the needs of the frontiersman. His spiritual needs were cared for by corn whiskey and frenzied revival meetings. His religion had to promise definite rewards and make provision for the future. Salvation and eternal life as pictured by the frontier evangelist were far more attractive than the dubious "subjective immortality" of the Religion of Humanity.

The new world atmosphere of America was a further bar to religious Positivism. The Comtian indictment of society did not affect the nineteenth century American. He was satisfied with existing conditions and optimistic regarding the future. He was aware of a continent to be explored and great natural resources to be exploited and felt that beyond this there was nothing to be desired. He was anxious to begin work immediately, eager to demonstrate his own importance, and consequently had no time to investigate new European religious systems.

Contributing still further to the elements incompatible with American culture was the medieval mysticism with which the Religion of Humanity was shrouded. In Europe this medievalism was no

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obstacle, for the customs and traditions of the people were likewise pervaded with the relics of the past. In the new world atmosphere of America, however, medieval traditions seemed remote and obsolete, and relics of the past instead of awakening interest and sympathy evoked feelings of scorn. The puritan impulse still dominant in American thought was an even more potent factor in the hostility to religious Positivism. Americans looked askance at this new evidence of ritualism and ecclesiastical hierarchy which the Reformation had attempted to overthrow, and the deep-seated puritanical prejudice against Catholicism and religious authoritarianism proved to be an insuperable barrier for the Religion of Humanity. Also, other elements of the population not affected by Puritanism felt the same distrust of religious authority.

The combined effect of the preceding influences kept the community of Positivist saints at Modern Times from burgeoning into a new-world shrine of the Religion of Humanity.

A Forgotten Charleston Poet: Joseph Brown Ladd, 1764-1786

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WHEN Mathew Carey established the monthly *American Museum* in Philadelphia in 1787, he presented in the Poets' Corner of that periodical what amounted to a representative anthology of contemporary American poets. By the end of eighteen months five poems by Timothy Dwight had appeared, six by John Trumbull, eight by Francis Hopkinson, eleven by David Humphreys, seventeen by Philip Freneau, and thirty-five by Joseph Brown Ladd. The literary strivings of the first decade of post-Revolutionary America were fairly represented by these six poets. And each of them has been remembered by scholars and biographers; each has been fitted into his own small niche in our histories of the development of American letters, except the last, who was, on the count of popularity, at this time most representative of them all.

I

Joseph Brown Ladd was born in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1764. He had little formal schooling, for "his father's circumstances," we are told, were "moderate." Yet we dare say that there was none among the poets of late eighteenth-century America who displayed, at least on the surface, more of what eighteenth-century America was pleased to denominate culture. As a boy Ladd soon tired of farming, at which occupation his father had set him at the age of eleven. He would rather, we are informed, retire with a pleasant book to some hidden and rustic retreat than work in the fields. He had already, at the age of ten, produced his first poem, an "Invocation to the Almighty," and soon was to see it published in Solomon Southwick's weekly *Newport Mercury*. Among his other accomplishments, he—like many another New England boy of his time—is said to have

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been able to repeat great chunks of the Bible from memory. At fourteen he was bound apprentice in a local mercantile establishment, only to find that shopkeeping and poetry did not mix. More congenial employment was soon found for him as printer's devil in the office of the *Mercury*. But here the boy's facility at satirical balladry and his willingness to have his lucubrations circulated as broadsides brought him into conflict with some of the victims of his satire, among whom is said to have been no less a personage than the eminent theologian Samuel Hopkins. The reverend clergyman went to Father Ladd; Father Ladd with punishment in his eye went to young Joseph; young Joseph retired from the printing business in disgrace.

What to do with the boy? He seemed to fit nowhere. At fifteen he was placed under the tuition of Dr. Isaac Senter, a scholarly young man and one of the most promising physicians of Rhode Island. The boy now "entered upon his studies as though sitting down to a banquet with an appetite sharpened by long fasting." He laid out a curriculum for himself, not in science and medicine alone, but in philosophy and rhetoric (Locke and Blair), in Greek and Latin and Hebrew, in French, and "in his hours of relaxation" in the English poets and essayists. He continued to write poetry himself. He fell in love romantically, with a wealthy young lady whose avaricious foster-parents broke the match and the young lovers' hearts in order to retain a guardian's share in the girl's income. In 1783, at nineteen, he had completed his studies, had received a license to practice medicine, and was ready to start out on his own.

Up to this point, up indeed to the age of twenty, Joseph Brown Ladd is a nebulous and legendary figure, his youth almost too exactly like the romantic concept of the youth of almost any romantic young poet. We depend for our knowledge of his first twenty years on the biographical sketch which W. B. Chittenden prefixed to *The Literary Remains* of her brother which Mrs. Elizabeth [Ladd] Haskins published in 1832, almost fifty years after Ladd's death. Rhode Island records, even the *Newport Mercury*, with which the young man is said to have been associated, tell us little more. We are not even sure exactly why he came to South Carolina in 1784. The legend is that in Newport he made the acquaintance and secured the friendship of General Nathanael Greene, who suggested the move and sup-

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plied the doctor with letters of recommendation. We may be fairly certain that he settled in Charleston for much the same reason that both Philip Freneau and Joel Barlow considered settling there at about this time—because in turbulent post-war America there was probably no better place for a foot-loose young man of ability to establish himself now that the British had evacuated the city and most of the Tories did not dare return. At any rate, we do know that Dr. Joseph Brown Ladd did arrive in Charleston in 1784, and that he remained there, an active, admired, and much quoted young man until his death two years later.

II

Now we are on solid ground. "On Wednesday last," announced the *South-Carolina Gazette* on Saturday, November twentieth, "the sloop 'Dove,' Capt. Phillips, arrived here from Rhode-Island, with whom came passengers, Mrs. Quash, Mrs. Shubrick, Lambert Lance, Esq. . . . [and, at the end of the list] Dr. Ladd." This may not have been the first trip the young physician made to Charleston. Indeed, we are led to believe by the memoir mentioned above that he had arrived in South Carolina earlier in the year. Perhaps he had made a first exploratory visit to investigate prospects, and then had returned to Newport to settle his affairs there. But now he was in South Carolina to stay.

He was captivated by the people he met, "their affability, their courteous manners, and the polite attention by which strangers are treated by them." Every house, he found, was "a caravansary where the wearied traveller is sure of a welcome reception, refreshment, and repose." Except for the danger of autumnal fevers, South Carolina seemed to him "the most agreeable country perhaps in the universe." It was gay and cultured, without the harshness of New England in either climate or manners. "Plays, concerts, and assemblies amuse the town; visiting, entertainments, and parties of amusement are the pleasures of the country."¹ Ladd did notice, he believed, a certain reprehensible tendency toward occasional excess in "dissolute Pleasures and luxury." "Bacchus is a deity," he said, "much respected in

1. "View of the Society and Manners in South Carolina. Letter I," *Columbian Herald*, October 26, 1785; reprinted in *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd* (New York, 1832), pp. 220-24.

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this country." Yet, "no objection can be made to the sway of so amiable, mirth-inspiring a divinity, when limited by prudence and moderation." After all, the young man temporized, "without the assistance of wine, in all warm climates the mind is enervated, the spirits become languid, and the imagination effete." He knew, furthermore, as a physician that "wine by its tonic quality obviates the debility induced by climate." At any rate, it was pleasant so to believe. And it was pleasant to be in South Carolina. Surrounded by slaves and accustomed to command, the Charlestonians might at first meeting seem haughty, even dictatorial. But Ladd soon learned to know them better. "Courtesy, affability, and politeness," he found, "form their distinguishing characteristics." For social virtues, "I venture to assert," he said, "that no country on earth has equalled Carolina."²

In this society the young physician seems soon to have made a place for himself. On July 4, 1785, he was chosen to deliver an Independence Day address, the second ever to have been made in the State, before Governor Moultrie and other leaders and officials of South Carolina. Seven years before, another and more famous physician, Dr. David Ramsay, had delivered in Charleston the first Fourth of July oration ever spoken in the new Nation. Now, at twenty-one, Ladd must have felt keenly the responsibility which rested on him as successor. He spoke manfully to the occasion. "Succeeding ages," he promised, "shall turn the historic page and catch inspiration from the era of 1776. They shall bow to the rising glory of America; and Rome, once mistress of the world, shall fade in their remembrance." As he warmed to his subject, Ladd opened wide every patriotic stop: Lexington ("Oh, Britain! write that page of thy history in crimson, and margin it with black, for thy troops fled! routed with stones, with clubs, and every ignominious weapon; they fled from our women, they were defeated by our children"), the brave American soldier ("When the historic leaf shall shiver in the blaze, when all human works, the great Iliad itself, receive their finish from the fire, the soldier's memory must survive, for it is registered in heaven!"), George Washington ("Oh! that upon this day ye would join your

2. "View of the Society and Manners in South Carolina. Letter II," *Columbian Herald*, November 4, 1785; reprinted in *Remains*, pp. 224-28.

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friendly vows with mine to eternize the name of Washington"), our military heroes ("Men whose names shall descend to posterity with coeternal honor!"), and God ("The great Generalissimo of our army from whom all honors flow"). The oration ended in a crescendo of rhetoric and patriotism. A young man in a young country spoke in glowing hyperbole. And he seemed to believe everything he said. The oration was a success. Long extracts from it were printed in the Charleston papers.³

Ladd was now on his way to at least a local fame. On July fifteenth over the signature "Arouet" he published in the *Columbian Herald* an "Ode for the Anniversary of American Independence," to be sung to the tune of "That power who form'd the unmeasur'd seas." Eight stanzas there were, calculated to "swell each patriot breast," make "generous tears flow round" for all American "martyrs in the glorious cause" of liberty:

Sons of Columbia! all attend
And give the genius of your land,
The tribute of a song;
For now eight summers passed away
Again returns the glorious day,
When freedom made us strong.

From this time until Ladd's death in November a year later, more than seventy contributions, in prose and in verse, signed "Arouet" are to be found in the Charleston *Columbian Herald*.⁴ Hardly an issue of the newspaper appeared without one, sometimes two poems or articles over his soon very familiar signature. He wrote tearful epitaphs, rousing patriotic songs, and soulful addresses to a maiden named Amanda. He translated Homer, and he corrected Alexander Pope for mistakes he had made at the same task. He wrote under the influence of Ossian, Goethe, Collins, Milton, and the Old Testament prophets. No such public parade of learning had appeared in Charleston before. The young man seemed at ease with Fénelon and Voltaire; he knew Thomas Paine and Socrates; he bandied about the names of Locke, Blair, Newton, Bacon, Plato, Statius, and ever

3. See *Columbian Herald*, July 22, 1785.

4. A complete check list of Ladd's contributions to the periodicals of his time has been prepared by the writer and will shortly be published.

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so many others. His readers were to understand that their poet translated with equal ease from Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German and French. He published a war song "long sought for in vain among the remnants of antiquity; and . . . now first restored." He attempted a modernization of one of Thomas Chatterton's spurious Rowley poems, from the language of "Owlde Inglonde." In his innocence and his desire to appear a cultured young man of the world, he even went so far as to pretend that some of his poems were "translated from the Gaulic of the celebrated Ossian."

And his readers apparently thought his poems splendid. "Phocion" wrote the editors of the *Columbian Herald* on October twelfth to demand more of them. When "Cato" in the *Charleston Evening Post* had the ill grace to scoff at "Arouet's" wordy imitativeness, "Crito" immediately took the scoffer seriously to task.⁵ "Philomela" wrote charmingly "To Arouet"⁶ that she unworthy knew indeed that his lines would live to all eternity. And an anonymous admirer found in Ladd the successor to Vergil, Voltaire, Pope, and Dryden as heir to the mantle of Homer:⁷

Again he lives, and what was *Homer's*, now
With common voice on *Arouet* we bestow;
The high sublime of the divine old bard
Breathes in thy numbers, in thy song is heard;
No more we *Homer's* imitator see,
For thou, sweet bard, thou thyself art he.

Soon Ladd announced that he had prepared a "New American Version" of the Book of Psalms, "to be Published when a sufficient Number of Subscribers Present."⁸ Then, on October 21, 1785, Messrs. Bowen and Markland, who, in addition to printing the *Columbian Herald*, had for sale in their shop on Church Street, opposite the City Tavern, stationery, Irish wafers, quills, Morocco pocket-books, Dutch sealing wax, and Watts' psalms and hymns, were proud to announce "Proposals for publishing by Subscription The Poems of Arouet." The volume would be a "new miscellany, entirely American," of 130 pages, priced at one dollar, and would be "put to the

5. August 28 and 30, 1785.

6. *Columbian Herald*, May 18, 1786.

7. "To Arouet, the Bard," *Columbian Herald*, May 25, 1786.

8. *Columbian Herald*, October 2, 1785. The volume was never published.

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press as soon as a sufficient number have subscribed to pay the expence." Five days later a larger advertisement appeared, filling one-third of a column—larger, indeed, than any advertisement in the *Columbian Herald* before. It ran irregularly for four months, until January 16, 1786, announcing proudly of the projected volume:

This work produced by one of the earliest of American bards cannot fail to excite the attention of a patriotic public. Every American must wish to possess one of the first productions of his country in poetry, which has appeared in a miscellaneous form: And those acquainted with the beauties of AROUET will pleasingly anticipate their publication. The author's character it were needless to illustrate, we shall only observe that he has many admirers, and seems to be growing daily in reputation.

The publishers were authorized to say that the volume would contain the author's "best pieces only, corrected and refined; together with a number of original poems, excluding such trivial pieces as obtain their *only* value from the favourite signature of AROUET." Furthermore, "animated with the best of motives," the publishers solicited particularly "the patronage of the *Fair*." It is not to be presumed, they said, that the ladies of this country will "suffer their favourite poet to slumber in oblivion."

The response to these proposals was apparently not immediately overwhelming. One hundred and ninety-five citizens of South Carolina, "generously inclined to encourage the effusions of genius in this production of our youthful *American Bard*," had subscribed for 284 copies when the edition finally appeared, "the obstacles which hitherto delayed the publication being removed," in August of 1786.⁹ The company of subscribers included many of the first names of South Carolina. The Hon. Aedanus Burke, the Hon. David Ramsay and Peter Freneau, Esq., each were on the list. The Moultrie family signed for eighteen copies, the Draytons for eleven, the Pinckneys for nine, the Rutledges for four. The volume, if not a financial, was a social success.

III

Yet poetry, though it must have been taken very seriously by the young physician, was at best only a sideline. One helped oneself to

9. *Columbian Herald*, May 29 and August 14, 1786. A copy of *The Poems of Arouet*, one of the rarer of early Southern literary items, may be seen in the Treasure Room of the Duke University Library.

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social reputation perhaps through graceful verses, but even in Charleston they could not have passed in lieu of cash. We may suspect that Ladd helped in some practical manner—setting type, composing paragraphs, or reading proof—in the printshop of Bowen & Markland: we are told that he had been trained in Newport for such work, though we cannot just be sure that it might not have been beneath the dignity of even a hungry young doctor. Of the extent of Ladd's medical practice in Charleston there is little evidence. His later biographer tells us that it was splendid, but we may perhaps be justified in being wary of the eulogistic exuberances of early nineteenth-century biography. By midsummer of 1786, however, he advertised:¹⁰

The poor families in the city of Charleston, who may at any time stand in need of medical assistance, and are so distressingly circumstanced that they are unable to purchase it, are hereby informed, that by calling on Dr. Ladd, at the house of Mrs. Theus, No. 87, Churchstreet, the really poor man will find a medical friend—ready to assist him with prescriptions, advice, and in particular cases with medicine gratis.

The Doctor will devote two hours in a day to this purpose, from 7 to 9 o'clock in the morning; at other times the nature of his engagements will render it difficult for him to attend. He cannot, however, at any time, be deaf to the distressed invalid. *The pleasure of doing good is the most elevated and refined of all the pleasures, and the only enjoyment that can reconcile us to the woes and miseries inseparably annexed to human life.* Of this the Doctor is convinced, and yielding to the impulses of a feeling heart, it will ever be his pride and happiness, so far as it is in his power, to

“Still distress's soul-afflicting cry,
And wipe the bursting tear from sorrow's eye.”

Projects other than either a medical practice or poetry, however, engaged the young physician at this time. He was apparently casting about for some means surer than these for gaining a livelihood. He published in the *Columbian Herald* in three parts “An Essay on Primitive, and Regenerative Light,”¹¹ which was so well received that Bowen & Markland soon issued it as a volume.¹² It was an ambitious undertaking, written with verve and some display of knowledge, an

10. *Columbian Herald*, August 14, 1786.

11. August 10, 14 and 17, 1786.

12. See *Columbian Herald*, August 24, 1786.

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essay "in which," Ladd said, "it is attempted, upon original principles, to account for every luminous phenomenon—the light of flame, the phosphoric glow, and the sparkling of the blue ocean."

But a more ambitious undertaking was already projected. The Charleston newspapers announced that "to ornament and expand the human mind, by the rays of liberal, soul-illuminating knowledge, the public are presented with Proposals for a course of Philosophical Lectures by Dr. Ladd." At twelve public meetings he would "consider all the modern discoveries and improvements in natural and experimental philosophy." Revealed would be "the sublime knowledge of that grand and stupendous fabric, the Universe . . . upon the principles of the immortal Newton. Moreover, ventured the same daring young man whom we have seen correcting Alexander Pope and whom we shall soon see chiding Dr. Samuel Johnson, "many deficiencies of that Prince of Philosophers will be supplied from the discoveries of modern times." Yet it would not be drudgery to his listeners: "In treating of the sun, the moon, the starry heavens, and the earth on which we tread, a new world opens on the mind, and many a beautiful avenue of knowledge will be explored." As a modern young scientist, versed in newest methods, Ladd could assure prospective subscribers that "the causes of night and day . . . and other phenomena, will be explained and demonstrated—not by mathematical reasoning, but by a series of experiments, obvious to every eye and fitted to every capacity."

He promised to explain the causes of the winds, the flow and reflow of the sea. Tornadoes, whirlwinds, water-spouts, volcanoes, earthquakes, burning mountains, meteors, "with many other entertaining, wonderful and sublime phenomena" would be amply discussed and "presented to the mind by a method new, curious and striking." Nature would be stripped of her mystery by a variety of beautiful experiments, "at once sufficient to astonish and convince"; her most hidden operations, which "the superstitious vulgar have supposed . . . produced by magic," would be exposed as part of universal law. Even the flaming comet "will appear divested of all the terrors with which ignorance and superstition have cloathed it; the milder sun-beam of truth will discover it to be a habitable earth like that on which we tread." And the sun and "those innumerable

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other suns which illuminate an infinity of space, will no longer appear to be frightful gulphs of fire, but inhabitable worlds."

Such would be the "sentimental feast" prepared for the ladies and gentlemen of Charleston. Nor need they fear that their lecturer would be pedantic; rather, he assured them "as he conducts them o'er the ample field of science," they would find "fresh flowers to adorn the path, and new beauties at every step . . . *pressing on the eye and twining round the heart.*" The soul would "expand itself with discoveries of sublime truth," as a new world opened to "the mental eye and the beauty of surrounding prospects" more than amply compensated for the "fatigues of the little journey."¹³

The first lecture was announced for five o'clock on the evening of September 22, 1786, at the State House; but at the last moment was postponed to three days later. Tickets would be twenty-one shillings nine pence for the course or five shillings a pair for a single lecture—just half what one would pay to enter the pit of Charleston's Harmony Hall, its theatre just outside the city limits at Louisburg.¹⁴ But there seems to have been little response from the public. It was a shame, thought the editor of the *Charleston Morning Post*, in a country where foreigners were so well received, and so well rewarded for their merit, that Dr. Ladd, an American, "be less successful in the prosecution of his plan, which he offers for public approbation and encouragement." None could conduct such a series of lectures better than he, for "perhaps no subject requires a more cultivated style, or a greater nicety of arrangement than disquisitions of the nature of these in question." Ladd's popularity is indicated again as the editor concluded, "When such a person as the doctor gratifies the public with his labours, we wish and may expect to meet with something as well in style as in matter as near perfection as the subject to be discussed will allow of."¹⁵

All the fine plans came, however, to nothing. The second lecture was never given. "Dr. Ladd being recovered from his late indisposition," the *Morning Post* announced on October seventh, "he intends, we hear, to continue his philosophical lectures next week." But by

13. *Columbian Herald*, August 14, 1786.

14. See *Columbian Herald*, September 22 and 25, 1786.

15. *Charleston Morning Post*, October 9, 1786.

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the next week Dr. Ladd was embroiled in a controversy of which he did not live to see the end.

IV

Meanwhile the individual poems of "Arouet" had continued to grace the pages of the *Columbian Herald*. Imitative, pretentious, sentimental, they indicate to us, nevertheless, the popular literary fare on which our ancestors fattened at the end of the eighteenth century. One sighed then without a self-conscious and superior smile when the poet wrote "To Amanda"¹⁶ thus:

Ah! how I listened when your silence broke
And kissed the air which trembled as you spoke.

One had the good sense to see solid and sentimental eighteenth-century philosophy behind such lines from an "Epitaph on an Old Horse"¹⁷ as these:

Let no facetious mortal laugh,
To see a horse's epitaph;
Lest some old steed, with saucy phiz,
Should have the sense to laugh at his.

One gloried in an attempt at Homeric metaphor, and one's pleasure was not one whit dampened by knowledge of "pathetic fallacy," when Ladd in an "Elegy, Sacred to the Manes of Philander,"¹⁸ wrote:

When the tall oak, amidst tempestuous gloom,
From heaven's own thunder shades the lowly broom;
If o'er its head the vivid lightnings burst,
Rive the big trunk, and level it with dust,
Each shrub laments the fall: and full in view,
A mournful chasm tells them where it grew.
So fell Philander; and where once he stood,
We long shall mourn the generous and the good.

One could turn from "The Terribly Sublime Description of Jehovah,"¹⁹

Midst pealing thunders, fire, and smoke,
Jehovah's awful silence broke,

16. August 8, 1785.
17. August 10, 1785.
18. August 12, 1785.
19. August 15, 1785.

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to the doggerel "What Is Happiness?"²⁰ (" 'Tis an empty fleeting shade") or the lugubrious "Sorrows of Charlotte at the Tomb of Werter"²¹ or the pretentious "Remonstrance of Almasa, Wife of Almas Ali Cawn, to General Hastings"²² to such a burlesque "Epitaph"²³ as

Here lies entomb'd the Boy divine,
Who whilom shone the God of Wine.
O let the sad Madeira pour—
Ye full decanters weep a shower—
Ye glades speak his wondrous works—
Ye bottles mourn—lament ye corks;—
And let each soul who call'd him friend
In flowing bumpers mourn his end.

This was all popular newspaper verse. It was interlarded, to be sure, with erudite references to the classics and to the accepted literary great of Europe, yet even this hardly raised it high above a level of poetic mediocrity. Meanwhile Ladd worked seriously on another, a longer poem. Nothing he published was to be more popular than the "Prospect of America." Two extracts from it appeared in the *Columbian Herald* on August thirty-first and September second. When it later appeared complete in *The Poems of Arouet*, it was excerpted with approval in Philadelphia and Boston.²⁴ Two years after Ladd's death an itinerant phrenologist announced at Edentown, North Carolina, "a moral, serious 'Lecture on Heads' and exhibitions of transparent Paintings from Dr. Ladd's poem."²⁵ The "Prospect of America" is of a type with John Trumbull's *Prospect of the Future Glory of America* (1770) and with Philip Freneau's *The Rising Glory of America* (1772). It shares in the patriotic optimism of David Humphreys' *A Poem on the Happiness of America* (1781), Timothy Dwight's *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), and Joel Barlow's *The Vision of Columbus* (1787). Young American poets wrote fervidly of the development of the new Nation in which they found themselves. Epics were in the air, and Ladd snatched eagerly for his

20. August 24, 1785.

21. September 7, 1785.

22. February 9, 1786.

23. December 26, 1785.

24. See *American Museum*, May, 1787, and *Herald of Freedom*, October 27, 1789.

25. *State Gazette of North Carolina*, November 3, 1788.

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share in the poetic celebration. In the "Prospect of America," Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, Samuel Adams and, especially, George Washington, each received unstinted praise. John Dickinson and Thomas Paine ("Immortal Payne! whose pen Could fashion empires while it kindled awe!") were eulogized for their parts in the American Revolution. Nor were rival American poets forgotten: the negress Phillis Wheatley ("Afric's heir to fame"), John Maylem ("Untaught he sung by all the muse inspired"), Joel Barlow and Philip Freneau were each noticed with generous approbation.

Ladd was not so generous when he contributed in prose his "Critical Remarks on Dr. Johnson" to the *Columbian Herald* of September second. It is difficult, perhaps, for us to understand how the young Charlestonian, guilty himself on almost every count, could charge the English writer with "swelled, pompous, bombastical language, an affected structure, and verbosity of style." Yet he did, a young American David peppering hard at a genuine literary Goliath. And by doing so he anticipated the romantic writers of England by many years.²⁶ Ladd, at the peak of his popularity, wrote:

The swelled bombastic style succeeds with the lower class of readers, who are by far the most numerous. Hence, every writer who is deficient in real genius, will affect pomposity, and magnificence in language. It gives him popularity; and popularity is the food of authors. It is that for which every writer from the heroic poet to the critical scribbler, is eagerly contending; and the influence of this popularity upon the herd of imitators, is almost beyond conception.

Did Ladd thus sign his own literary death warrant? Did he, too, only succeed with the "lower class of readers," and for the same reasons? Can he who criticized most tellingly in Johnson those faults which were most evident in himself claim from us today any remembrance as an American poet? In charity, we may recall that many of Ladd's poems are said to have been written when he was still in his teens, before he came to Charleston.²⁷ Many that he wrote in South Carolina were the slightest sort of ephemera, written hurriedly for an occasion, apologized for by his publishers. When his collected *Poems* did appear after many delays in August, 1786, the printers

26. See Bernard Smith, *Forces in American Criticism* (New York, 1929), p. 10.

27. W. B. Chittenden in *The Literary Remains of Joseph Brown Ladd* (New York, 1832), pp. xvii-xix.

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announced that "a long indisposition of the author had not only retarded publication, but deprived the readers of many pieces which would have made no invaluable addition to this miscellany."²⁸ Yet, even in charity, we may not linger over what Ladd might have done. His faults are obvious: imitativeness, pretentiousness, sentimentality, insipidity. But, with all, he was sensitive to new currents in literature, perhaps as much so as any American poet of his generation.

With Philip Freneau and Timothy Dwight he is to be remembered as one of the earliest native writers to be influenced by the pre-romantic poets of England. Echoes of Gray, Goldsmith, and Collins are heard in his lines. Turning away in spirit, if not always in form, from the mechanized couplets of Pope, he listened with care to the more vigorous music of Milton. He broke from the couplet, though only occasionally and tentatively, to the freer forms which would characterize the nineteenth century. More specifically, he was the first in America to write versified adaptations of the prose poems of Ossian.²⁹ He composed in the Della Cruscan manner before the amazing popularity of Robert Merry and his imitators in England and America. He reacted articulately to Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* less than a year after the first American edition of that international best seller in 1784,³⁰ and was thus harbinger of the sentimental epidemic which was so seriously to affect the early American novel. Finally, Ladd was self-consciously American, adapting his poems to an American audience, often writing—when he could break away from tradition—on American themes, reworking the Psalms into what he proudly designated a "new American version."

V

The poet was in poor health for the greater part of the late summer and early autumn of 1786. His illness interfered with the speedy publication of his *Poems* and with the immediate continuance of his philosophic lectures. It may be kindest for us to believe that it was also in some measure responsible for the letter addressed "To Ralph

28. *The Poems of Arouet* (Charleston, 1786), p. v.

29. Frederic I. Carpenter, "The Vogue for Ossian in America: A Study in Taste," *American Literature*, II, 409 (January, 1931).

30. See F. W. Lieder, "Goethe in England and America," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, X, 550 (December, 1910).

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Isaacs," which he published in the *Charleston Morning Post* on October 14, 1786, and in which he charged:

The wanton, unprovoked attempts you have made by circulating a number of scandalous reports to injure the only man whom in this country you might have called a friend, completes so black a system of infamous behavior—that I am under the necessity of publishing you to the world as a base, ungrateful villain.

While yet a stranger, I took you by the hand, and admitted you to the friendship of an honest, unsuspecting heart. Like the despicable Viper, you have attempted to gnaw that heart from my bosom, and have at once discovered the dangerous subtlety of the serpent, with all a serpent's venom.

I account it as one of the greatest misfortunes of my life that I ever became intimate with such a man, and as I move in a sphere of life and character far superior to you, I, from this time, not only renounce the whole circle of your acquaintance, but disdain to speak to any man who hereafter takes you by the hand.

This is the first time that ever Dr. Ladd's name was prostituted to an address of such insignificance, and it shall be the last. I leave you to your own reflections. I leave you to your insignificance. May the infamy of your conduct continually haunt your imagination, and may every past incident prove to you a lesson of wisdom, which shall admonish you in terms far more energetic than those of my pen. Go, rash boy—lay aside your insolence—forbear to be ungrateful, and beware, never to call forth the just resentment of any man to publish you as I have done.

The identity of Ralph Isaacs, thus published to the world as an ingrate, has not been discovered.³¹ He was evidently a young man no older than Ladd, and as quick tongued. On October sixteenth he addressed his spirited reply "To the Public":

In answer to a late address under the signature of Dr. Ladd, a production replete with falsity and abuse, and fraught with circumstances of unexampled turpitude; I am reduced to the necessity of requesting a few moments of the public attention.

31. We infer that he was, like Ladd, from Rhode Island, and we may guess that he was related to Jacob Isaacs, a prominent merchant and broker of Newport, with whom there is reason to believe Ladd had laid the foundation for a quarrel some months before: when it was advertised in the *Newport Mercury* of February 6, 1786, that one Jethro Allen would "exhibit an experiment of extracting fresh water out of salt water, without fire," and that tickets for the performance were to be purchased from Jacob Isaacs, Ladd (in Newport apparently on a visit to his parents) responded in the next issue of the paper with a forthright exposure of the scheme as a hoax. The implication that Isaacs was party to the imposture could not have been accepted with tranquillity by any of the merchant's family.

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This publication, the pure result of a maddened brain, grown desperate by infamy, now worthy soever of silent indignity, requires notwithstanding a lash of reprobation.—A sacred regard for the opinion of the world, and an ardent desire of vindicating my honor, with the honest intention of frustrating the insidious machinations of a designing rascal, are the motive by which I am actuated.

The *self-created Doctor* impeaches me with having injured his character—brands me with the sin of ingratitude—is lavish in conferring on me the most approbrious appellations, and finally boasts of the essential services I received at his hands. Sensible, in the first place, that he had no reputation to lose—that ignorance and folly were the sole springs of his conduct, there would have been a manifest insanity in my attempting to injure the character of a man whose fame was already blasted. I confidently assert that Dr. Ladd is a dangerous imposter—that he is at this moment under pecuniary obligations to me, and should consequently be considered as an object of detestation and abhorrence.

The Doctor presumes much on his superior station in life; and of the services he rendered me in this country; but I shall never envy the condition of a wretch, nor acknowledge any services from a man, whose notorious indigence must make him incapable of assisting a beggar.

Not many days have elapsed since he attempted to assassinate me; he attacked me with a pistol in one hand, and a stick in the other; I immediately disarmed him of his stick, which I now retain for the inspection of the curious.—Hence his cowardice is equally conspicuous with his infamy.—The meanness of his origin, and his daily misery, would have remained unnoticed; charity would suggest the idea, had he not contrasted my situation in life with his own.—He lately made an inefficient effort to be united in matrimony to a ———. But what a compliment does he pay to the numerous train of gentlemen with whom I have the happiness to be connected in this City, when he exclaims, “I from this time not only renounce the whole circle of your acquaintance, but disdain to speak to any man who hereafter takes you by the hand.” I now appeal to my acquaintances in particular, and the public in general, to decide between us.

I dare boldly affirm, that the event of a little time will convince the world, that the self-created Doctor is as blasted a scoundrel as ever disgraced humanity.

This could not pass unnoticed. But two days later the editor of the newspaper declined to allow the quarrel to continue in his columns: “The Animadversions on a pending dispute,” he said, “are written

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in a strain of acrimony and ill-nature, that renders a publication of them extremely improper." Young men of Carolina, however, had recourse to other expedients than words. On October twenty-first the *Post* informed its readers: "Yesterday morning Dr. Ladd and Mr. Ralph Isaacs met behind the barracks, and after taking ground at about 20 feet distance, the latter gentlemen fired and wounded the former in both legs, near the knees." Ladd, suggests his biographer, purposely fired wide of his mark. He was carried from the field, the fibula of one leg badly shattered. "Both gentlemen," reported the *Post*, "behaved with bravery and resolution, Dr. Ladd in particular, made an offer of firing hand to hand, which was refused by the seconds."

And on November 2, 1786, Joseph Brown Ladd died, aged twenty-two, as a result of his wounds. Of Dr. Ladd's character, said the *Post* on the next morning, "a few words will suffice. He was modest, unassuming, candid and humane, extremely grateful for favors received and very ready to acknowledge and return obligations." Of his poetry, which the obituary found to bear "evident marks of genius and exalted imagination," it was admitted, "'Tis true it may not entirely please the rigid critic, yet the fire of youth which often oversteps the bounds of cold correctness, will be an excuse."

Ladd was, in short, a young man sensitive to the reaction of his readers, and he wrote what his contemporaries wanted. In a period of change he was neither of the past nor wholly of the future. Taste was altering rapidly amid the intellectual and political revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century, and Joseph Brown Ladd, who anticipated many innovations, did not live to share completely in any of them. His period of maturity was too brief. Two years filled with more than seventy newspaper contributions, a medical practice, preparation for a series of public lectures, and two volumes issued from the press left little room for authentic literary development. As firmer voices rose, his chameleon style became lost in a welter in which it had no distinguishable part. Too much like those who had gone before, too faintly suggestive of what developed from him, he shares the fate of many transitional figures—oblivion.

What he might have been, then, is beside the point. At best, Ladd can live but obscurely today, a poet of his time, by ours forgotten. A

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few who search reverently through the past for clues to the secret of American cultural tradition will find him significant for the trends he represents. Most of us, however, will pause over him briefly, and then go on to matters pertinent to our own day, with only a memory, foggy perhaps in the backs of our minds, that once in Charleston there did live a poet who in the late eighteenth century was very popular, but whose name for the life of us we cannot remember.³²

32. And in this lapse we shall find ourselves in the company of men who might have been later contemporaries of the poet: Samuel L. Knapp, in *Lectures on American Literature* (New York, 1829), p. 104, called him Josiah Ladd; Samuel Kettell, in *Specimens of American Poetry* (New York, 1829), I, 334, called him William Ladd.



"NORFOLK HALL," RESIDENCE OF THE LATE JAMES WARNER, ESQ., SOUTH AUGUSTA, ONTARIO.



THE WARNER FAMILY ORCHESTRA

A Bit of Canadian Folklore

BY HOWARD W. WARNER, U. E., OTTAWA, CANADA



At a time when there is a renaissance of old-fashioned music and the "square dances" of a generation ago, it is interesting to make a brief note of a Canadian community and a family whose musical talents have formed the background of much of the social life and lighter communal activity of their home.

A dance, a lawn social or a wedding around South Augusta, Ontario, invariably saw the Warner orchestra in attendance to provide the music. The orchestra was founded as a family organization forty years ago by John Warner (violinist), who celebrated his seventy-ninth birthday with a family reunion at his residence and ancestral home, "Norfolk Hall," South Augusta, on April fifth (Easter Day), having been born there on Easter Day, 1863. The accompanying photograph, which was taken on his 1942 birthday, represents five generations of musical talent in the family.

At the turn of the twentieth century and following the period of the "gay nineties" there were such favorite dance numbers and selections as "Beauty's Dream," "Ole Eph's Vision" cake walk, "The Rye Waltz," "Mona" quadrille, "Fair Dame" and "Kerry Mills" lancers, and "Sugar Moon" barn dance. Mr. Warner was a contestant at the old-time fiddlers' contests at Keith's Theatre (now the Capitol Theatre), Ottawa, in May, 1926, and took second prize. These programs were in the form of a movement which was instituted by Henry Ford and held extensively throughout the United States and Canada.

Besides the founder, the orchestra at present includes his sons, Willard, as cornetist, and J. Reginald, as trombonist, both of Brockville, and his grandson, Corporal Howard W. Warner, Corps of Military Staff Clerks, Ottawa, as pianist. The original pianist was Mary E. Warner (the late Mrs. Lloyd S. Quartus, only daughter of

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the founder). During the latter half of the Edwardian era, when ballrooms were brilliant with the dancing of the two-step, three-step and hesitation waltz and echoing to the strains of "The Merry Widow" and "The Pink Lady," Melville Corbett (a nephew of the leader and a violinist who now resides in Ogdensburg, New York) played in the orchestra. Ruby A. R. Dawson (who later became the wife of Herman Pouwells, a prominent organist who played in Trinity Church, Brockville, and who now resides in Toronto) assisted with the violin playing at this time. Roy Darling (violinist of Algonquin) and Howard W. Warner, only son of Mr. and Mrs. Willard Warner, commenced in the orchestra at a "leap year" dance held at North Augusta in 1924.

Of English and United Empire Loyalist stock, the Warners form a link in the history of South Augusta from its earliest days, and for many years prior to the death of James Warner in 1895 their farm lands were given over to the cultivation of the hop. The pickers would come from the neighboring section of the country, as well as from Prescott and Ogdensburg, and the drying of the hops in the kilns and ovens was a familiar scene in the buildings which are still standing, but in use now as stables and drive sheds. Each Saturday night during the hop-picking season a dance would be held on the premises for the pickers, and these were outstanding social events. James Warner and his son, John Warner, played the violin at these dances, which consisted of square dances, lancers, galop, polka, schottische, the "Jersey," souvienna, lapastillion, cotillion and "The Waltz Quadrille." The "Double Scotch Reel" of these early days was known as an unusual and difficult bit of music to play as well as to "call off." The gentleman in the dance had two lady partners in the set and it was always reported that only one man in the neighborhood could "call" for it. However, in later years, the biggest dance of the season at the old Warner homestead was on March seventeenth, when the driveway was lined with rigs and the girls brought out their best poplins for the occasion. The polka, schottische, cake walk and three-steep age gradually gave way to the one-step and fox trot; the quadrille continued to be a fascinating and pleasing dance—but no swing!

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The founder and leader of the orchestra, John Warner, plays the violin his father used. The orchestra made its first public appearance in the form of an instrumental trio at Algonquin at the wedding of Fanny Hornibrooke to James Dalton, who later went to Ottawa to live, and then at the lawn socials and entertainments at Lord's Mills and Maitland, and St. George's Church and Bethel Church, South Augusta. It has also provided music in the dance halls of North Augusta, South Augusta, New Dublin, Fairfield East, Lord's Mills, Throoptown, Maitland, Lyn, Mallorytown, Brockville, and for the dance parties which were frequently held throughout the winter months each year in a large summer dining-room hall in the Warner home, when the residents of the "Third Concession" and the entire section of the surrounding countryside would be invited and represented. The orchestra would take its place in one corner of the big old-fashioned room, and the dance would usually open with the call "partners to places" for the "Circassian Circle" or "The Virginia Reel."

Ziba Marcus Landon, who had a quaint personality known to generations in the community as "Uncle Zibe" (his death occurred in 1890) and who frequently composed verses to "name" newly erected buildings in the district, came forward with the following lines when the summer dining-room was constructed as an addition to the residence of James Warner:

This building was built by old Uncle Jim.
Some of the timber was long and some of it was slim,
And some of it was big and some of it was small,
And the name we will give it is "Hop-pickers' Hall."

Howard W. Warner was organist for several years in St. George's Anglican Church, South Augusta, as well as the organist for many years in Bethel Methodist Church (now Bethel United Church) in the same community. His two Aunt Marys, the late Mrs. John Corbett (Mary Charlotte Warner, sister of the orchestra leader) and the late Mrs. Lloyd S. Quartus (at that time Mary Elizabeth Warner), were organist each in their turn in the latter church for a period of time. Corporal Warner, who was employed for many years in the Dominion Government Bureau of Mines, Ottawa, now

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frequently plays for the Sunday morning church services for the troops which are encamped at Landsdowne Park, Ottawa. In the year 1918 of the last war "Norfolk Hall" served as a hospitality house when a detachment of the Forestry Corps from Brockville was stationed in South Augusta, and parties were given in their honor at the home of Mr. and Mrs. John Warner.

The modern music, as well as light concert selections, and chamber music of the semi-classical nature, is played at the present time by the orchestra ensemble as represented in the photograph by the four members of the family, or by the three-generation stringed trio with violin, 'cello and piano being played, respectively. Willard Warner and his brother, J. Reginald Warner, are members of The Brockville Rifles Band and they have played with this organization for many years, being prominently identified with solo work. The late Mrs. J. J. Farrell, long of Morristown, New York, was another daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Warner, and she, as Harriet Warner, played the piano during her girlhood days in South Augusta. Marjorie E. Quartus, who lives with her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. John Warner, is one of the younger generation who is carrying on as a pianist in the family music tradition as set by her mother and ancestors.

In the summer months croquet was the popular pastime on the broad, spacious lawn in front of the old homestead, where four generations of the family were born and raised. The ancestors of Mrs. James Warner (Eliza Jane Morey), the Morey and Breakenridge families of the township of Augusta, were United Empire Loyalists. This year (1942) marks the centennial anniversary of the arrival of the Warner family to establish a home in Augusta Township, county of Grenville. It was in the late summer of the year 1842 that Mrs. Mary Fox Warner, widow of Samuel Warner, sailed from England to Canada with her family of small children, which included James Warner, his three brothers and two sisters. Samuel Warner had died as a young man only a short time previously in their native home in the village of Baconsthorpe, county of Norfolk, England. He was a noted violinist in the early days of the reign of Queen Victoria, and a family legend asserts that his violin was destroyed directly after his untimely death. Mrs. John Ward, a lifelong resident of Prescott, who died in 1869, was a sister of



MRS. JOSEPH MERRINGTON (MARY FOX-WARNER) WHOSE DEATH OCCURRED
FEBRUARY 23, 1873, AT THE AGE OF 62 YEARS, IN THE TOWN OF PRESCOTT,
ONTARIO.

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James Warner. The late Mrs. Jackson Ward and the late Thomas Warner (sister and brother of James Warner) also resided continuously in "The Fort Town" throughout their lengthy span of years. William and Samuel were the other two sons of Samuel Warner, of Baconsthorpe, England, and they settled in Hastings, Ontario, and Wadsworth, Ohio, respectively, where many of their descendants live at the present time. The widow of Samuel Warner (senior) later married Joseph Merrington, of Prescott, and their three children (Eliza, Crisanah, and Joseph) each died in their early twenties.

Other prominent pioneer families belonging to the early settlement of South Augusta are: McNish, Manhard, Shipman, Simpson, Rath, Dalton, Read, Landon, Wright, Shepherd, Towsley, Murray, Morey, Robertson, Pennock, Hurd, Stone and Burritt. The first postmasters were George A. Manhard and Milton A. Manhard, and the post-office was situated in the house where Fred Landon now resides. This house is one of the oldest in the district and it was built by Rev. Mr. Emerson, a Baptist minister. The Towsley homestead and the John Morey house are landmarks in the immediate vicinity which deserve especial mention. The former is reported to have been built in 1790.

John Henri Kagi

John Brown's Secretary of War

BY JOHN W. WAYLAND, PH. D., HARRISONBURG, VIRGINIA



BRAHAM NEFF KAGEY, the father of John Henri Kagi, born in Shenandoah County, Virginia, in 1807, went in 1829 to Trumbull County, Ohio, where he married Anna Fansler. Of this marriage were born Barbara Ann, 1833; John Henri, March 15, 1835; and Mary E., 1837. The mother died in 1838.

In 1852 A. N. Kagey, on his way to California *via* New York and Cape Horn, visited his kinsfolk in Virginia, bringing with him John Henri, who remained in Virginia about two months. Again, most of the time from June 6, 1854, until March 26, 1855, John was in Virginia, teaching school part of the time, specializing in phonography. Because of his abolition activities he had to leave Virginia, and at the end of March, 1855, he went to Nebraska City, the home of his sister Barbara, who in or about 1852 had married Allen Mayhew. At Nebraska City he studied law.

In October, 1854, Mary had joined John in Virginia, where she remained until her father returned from California in the summer of 1856, returning then with him to Ohio. The following autumn Abraham (afterwards known in the family as "California Abe") went to Nebraska, where Mary joined him the next year.

In Virginia John and Mary, most of the time, lived at the home of their uncle, Jacob Kagey, near Mt. Jackson. The author of this sketch is a son of Jacob Kagey's daughter Anna, who kept a diary in which she recorded the comings and goings of her relatives and also noted her frequent exchange of letters with John, his father, and his sisters. The author has this diary. He knew John's father and his sister Barbara, and was also well acquainted with the family historian, Franklin Keagy. The latter often saw John Henri Kagi (incognito) at Mrs. Rittner's in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1859.



THE OLD BRICK ENGINE HOUSE, "JOHN BROWN'S FORT," ON ITS PRESENT LOCATION AT THE SOUTHWESTERN SIDE OF THE CAMPUS OF STORER COLLEGE, HARPER'S FERRY; PHOTOGRAPH MADE JANUARY 4, 1939.



MONUMENT MARKING THE ORIGINAL SITE OF THE ENGINE HOUSE, "JOHN BROWN'S FORT," AT HARPER'S FERRY. THE CAMERA IN MAKING THIS PHOTOGRAPH (JANUARY 4, 1939) WAS STATIONED NEAR THE CONFLUENCE OF THE RIVERS, LOOKING WEST.

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Different members of the Kagey family spelled the name in different ways, but always pronounced it the same way, accenting a long *a* in the first syllable, and sounding the *g* as in *keg*. The original spelling was probably Kagi, and the final *i* or *y* was always given the short sound as in *mufti* and *muggy*.

The story of John Henri Kagi in relation to Civil War politics and John Brown which follows is part of a larger work which may be published at a later date, complete with numerous maps and illustrations.

JOHN KAGI IN KANSAS

Whether John Kagi went back from Nebraska to Ohio in the spring of 1856, as he said in his letter of December 24, 1855, he intended to do, I have not been able to ascertain. It does appear certain, however, that he was in Kansas, or planned to be there, in the early summer of 1856. The *Kansas Tribune*, published at Topeka, issue of July 9, 1856, contained a list of letters remaining in the post office at Lawrence on July 1, and among many others was one addressed to J. H. Kagi.¹ If he had intended to go to Lawrence and had directed his correspondents to address him there, but had not gone to Lawrence, he probably would have taken steps to have letters sent there forwarded to him. The conclusion is that he had been at Lawrence long enough, at some time prior to July 1, to receive mail there, and that at least one letter for him reached that place after he went elsewhere. The same newspaper, issue of August 18, contains two short articles signed "K."²

On September 4, 1856, at Topeka, Kagi wrote his father: "Just rec'd yr. letter of June 29, from Philadelphia.³ . . . I have been in Kansas permanently for some three months." He states further that his father's letter had been received by his attorney, Jacob Safford, in Nebraska, who had drawn the money authorized and had paid some debts that Kagi owed there [in Nebraska]. Evidently the letter had then been forwarded to Kagi at Topeka.

In his letter of September 4, 1856, from Topeka, Kagi says further:

1. See an incomplete file of the *Kansas Tribune* in the Library of Congress.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Written when A. N. Kagey was returning from California, *via* New York and Philadelphia.

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"It will be unsafe to send the money by the mails, so I shall have to go up [to Nebraska] as soon as it will be safe to do so. At present no one can go alone any distance. Civil war rages here now in all its horrors."⁴ He gives many particulars.

On July 4, 1856, the free-soil "legislature," assembled at Topeka, was dispersed by United States troops under Colonel (later General) E. V. Sumner. Richard J. Hinton states that Kagi was a witness of this dispersal; that he at once actively identified himself with the Free-State party, joining Company B of the 2d Regiment, Free-State Volunteers, under Aaron Dwight Stevens, then known as Colonel Whipple; and that he served in Whipple's regiment for one year. Franklin Keagy, the family historian, says that he was a member of Company B, 2d Regiment of Kansas Volunteers, and participated in the border wars; that when he first went to Kansas he was with James Lane and engaged in reporting for some Eastern papers.⁵ Hinton says that Kagi was the regular correspondent of the *National Era*, Washington, District of Columbia, the *New York Evening Post*, the *Kansas Tribune* at Topeka, and the *Republican* at Lawrence; and that he wrote a good deal also for the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Cleveland Leader*, and the *New York Tribune*. His letters to the *Evening Post* were signed "Kent."⁶

On November 20, 1856, Kagi, in prison at Leecompton, wrote to one of his sisters—he had heard nothing from his father since he left Bristolville for Nebraska—had had only one letter (the one written in Philadelphia) from him since he came home from California. He was expecting his father down (from Nebraska). "I am a Regular Correspondent," he said, "to the *National Era*."⁷

On May 21, 1856, Sheriff Jones, supported by a large pro-slavery posse, went to Lawrence to arrest certain Free-State leaders who had been indicted for treason. The arrest was accomplished without resistance; then Jones' men destroyed two Free-State printing presses and the new Free-State Hotel.⁸ Three days later, on Pottawatomie

4. This letter is in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka.

5. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, pp. 456, 457; "Kagy Relationship in America," p. 326.

6. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, p. 458.

7. This letter is in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka.

8. See pp. 68, 69, Stephenson's life of Lane, Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. III, 1930.

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Creek, about thirty-seven miles south of Lawrence, five pro-slavery men were taken from their beds, marched a short distance from their cabins, and killed with swords. This was the celebrated "Pottawatomie Massacre," perpetrated by seven men under the direction of John Brown, who had settled at Osawatomie the preceding October. Four of his sons, Owen, Frederick, Salmon, and Oliver, who had taken up land in the vicinity some months ahead of their father, with James Townsley, Theodore Weiner, and Henry Thompson, a son-in-law of Brown, made up the band of seven.⁹ The village of Lane is near the scene of the slaying. On June 2, 1856, at Black Jack, about midway between Osawatomie and Lawrence, Brown and his supporters fought a band of pro-slavery men of Kansas and Missouri, defeated them, and captured a number of them.¹⁰ On August 30, 1856, several hundred pro-slavery men advanced upon the town of Osawatomie, killed Brown's son Frederick, captured the town in spite of a stubborn defense by Brown and a small force, and burned much of it.¹¹ On September 15, 1856, a large force of pro-slavery men approached Lawrence, burned the houses of a number of Free-State men in the vicinity and threatened to destroy the town and "every abolitionist in the country," but were persuaded by Governor Geary to withdraw.¹²

These and other similar incidents that might be mentioned certainly justified Kagi's statement in his letter of September 4, 1856, that civil war was raging in all its horrors.

The imprisonment of Kagi and others at Lecompton must have taken place about September 20, 1856, or shortly before. Governor Geary was determined to put an end to revolutionary operations. Richard J. Hinton says that Kagi was arrested when he came to Topeka to report a speech that was to be made by Governor Geary, and places the date early in October. The time must have been a month earlier, for Kagi, three days out of prison on December 20, wrote his father that he had been in three months to a day. He was

9. See Hinton, pp. 20, 63, 80, 664, etc.

10. See Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. XVI (1925), pp. 524-28; "The Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives," 1928, p. 10.

11. Hinton, pp. 45, 604-06.

12. See p. 82, Stephenson's life of Lane, Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. III, 1930; Hinton, pp. 45-53.

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under indictments, Hinton says, for highway robbery, arson, etc. The same writer declares that all these charges were frauds, and that Kagi was never brought to trial.¹³ The purpose back of the indictments and arrest, Hinton asserts, was to stop Kagi's pen. If this is true, the machinations failed in their object, for a number of communications from him found their way into the columns of various newspapers. The *Kansas Tribune* (Topeka) of December 1, 1856, contains three letters written from the prison at Lecompton: one of Friday, October twenty-fourth, signed "K"; another of the twenty-fifth, with the same signature; and the third of Monday, November seventeenth, not signed, but evidently written by the same hand. Under date of October twenty-fourth the writer states that ninety-nine "human beings" are in "this wholesale prison"—among them Kagi and Richey of Topeka. The correspondent ("K") on the twenty-fifth said that on the morning of that day Richey, Kagi, and McVowr had been called up for trial, but none of them having his witnesses ready, their cases were laid over. The writer on November seventeenth was evidently still in prison.¹⁴

The man whose buildings it was alleged Kagi had aided in burning was the jailer in charge at Lecompton,¹⁵ and we may be sure that he did not put himself to any extra pains to make his charges comfortable. If Kagi had been incarcerated, as Hinton asserts, to stop his writing for the public press, efforts were no doubt made to prevent his sending out communications from prison. Hinton says that he resorted to all sorts of ingenious expedients to get his letters out of prison and properly mailed.¹⁶ Franklin Keagy gives more details—that he would borrow a plug of tobacco from a comrade (Kagi himself did not use tobacco), hollow it out, insert his letter and cover it over with a leaf of the plug, and then manage to exchange the loaded plug with some one from the outside who visited the jail.¹⁷ Franklin relates other incidents. He says that on one of the marches of the "Volunteers" they, tired, footsore, and thirsty, came one day to a small town, where they paused to rest. Some of the "boys" of

13. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, pp. 458, 459.

14. See an incomplete file of the *Kansas Tribune* in the Library of Congress.

15. Hinton, p. 459.

16. *Ibid.*

17. "Kagy Relationship in America," pp. 326, 327.

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Kagi's company obtained some liquor and brought it into camp. When it was shared out Kagi took his portion and bathed his feet with it, saying that his stomach was all right, but his feet needed refreshment. Franklin says also that those imprisoned at Leocompton were taken to Tecumseh for trial, where Kagi was charged with murder for having killed one of Colonel Titus' men in battle. Kagi declared that at the time of the killing he had not yet entered the military service of his country, but he would probably have been convicted had it not been for the evidence of a woman and her boy, who testified for him. At another time when a plot was laid to assassinate him at a night session of the Leocompton "Legislature," which he was reporting with his usual free comments, his landlady gave him warning which kept him away from that particular session. According to Franklin, John at this time was the correspondent for several Eastern papers and was associate editor of the *Topeka Tribune*.¹⁸

On Saturday, December 20, 1856, John wrote to his father: "I am at last free again—released on bail last Wednesday." He stated that he had been in prison three months to a day. He was needing money. His father was then at Nebraska City. On January 4, 1857, at Topeka, he wrote two letters that have been preserved, one (from the Garvey House) to his sister, probably Barbara Mayhew, at Nebraska City; the other (from the *Tribune* office) to his sister Mary, who was probably still in Ohio. In the latter he said: "I have already written to you once since my return from Prison, A week since I heard from father for the first time. . . . I think he will be down here in a week or two"; In this letter he says that he had been in prison three months.

On Monday, January 26, 1857, John wrote his father stating that he had again been bailed out of prison—had been held only two hours. "Can you not come down?"¹⁹ Uncle Abe was no doubt still at Nebraska City, with the Mayhews.

Regarding the releases from prison, the bail given, etc., I quote from Richard J. Hinton the following:

18. *Ibid.*

19. The letters referred to above are in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka.

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In January [1857], his health failing him rapidly, he procured bondsmen and was admitted to \$5000 bail. Judge Lecompte was glad to get rid of him. When the pro-slavery Constitutional Convention assembled soon after, in February 1857, Kagi came down to Lecompton to report its proceedings, and was almost immediately rearrested; giving this time bonds of \$8000. All these charges were frauds, and were never brought to trial.²⁰

Hinton along here is evidently about a month late with his dates, as will appear from Kagi's letters of December 20, 1856, and January 26, 1857; also from the report in the *Kansas Tribune* of February 2, 1857, of Kagi's encounter with Judge Elmore, given in our next chapter.

Possibly the pro-slavery leaders were not anxious to hold Kagi longer in prison. Hinton (page 460) submits the following quotation which he says is from a letter that Kagi wrote his sister while in prison at Lecompton:

Our friends will take us out the moment I say so. A regiment, the same in which I was a lieutenant, will come to our rescue any night I give the order. I hesitate only because we may get out some other way, and a forcible rescue would bring on a fearful winter war, which I do not wish to see. Be cheerful!

On January 30, 1857, John at Topeka wrote to his father, at Nebraska City, that he was planning to start for Ohio.²¹ Hinton speaks of his contemplated visit to Ohio, and that he planned to return West by way of the Missouri River; that he wished this plan to be kept "perfectly quiet," for his own safety. "I shall be compelled to go under an assumed name, as I am otherwise known all along the border and pro-slavery men would not hesitate to assassinate me."²²

Possibly John's intention was to go back to Ohio to accompany his sister Mary to Nebraska; but if he did this it was later in the year. The day after he wrote his father on January 30, 1857, an incident occurred that served to interrupt his plans for at least a brief period.

ENCOUNTER WITH JUDGE ELMORE

In the *Kansas Tribune* (Topeka) of Monday, February 2, 1857, appeared the following interesting story:

20. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, p. 459.

21. In the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

22. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, pp. 459, 460.

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A Shooting Affray—Came off at Tecumseh, on Saturday of last week, between our Reporter, Mr. J. H. KAGI, and ex-Judge ELMORE: the latter considering himself aggrieved by some remarks of the former which were recently published in the *Tribune*: and probably seeing that he could not successfully contradict the statements made by Mr. Kagi, in an argument, resorted to those particular friends of southern institutions, the cudgel and revolver, and he has proved himself equally unsuccessful in those.

The particulars of the affray as near as we can learn from those who were present, are:—That Saturday morning Mr. Kagi went to Tecumseh for the purpose of reporting the proceedings of a pro-slavery convention, which was to be held there on that day. The Judge and his emissaries had been on the lookout for their victim for several days, armed and equipped as modern chivalry directs. Previous to the hour set for the Convention to assemble, the Judge had taken his position on the Court House steps, to watch for the entrance of Kagi, who soon made his appearance, and in attempting to step up into the portico, Elmore raised a huge club which he had used as a walking stick, and at the same time accosting him with, "Your name is Kagi; are you a correspondent of the *Kansas Tribune*?" To which Kagi replied in the affirmative. He then asked if he wrote over the signature of K., and before he had time to reply, Elmore dealt him a heavy blow on the side of the head with his club, which sent him reeling for several rods. Elmore then fired and sought safety behind a pillar of the Court House. As soon as Kagi could bring himself to an upright position he drew a small four inch revolver which he happened to have with him, and fired, the ball passing through the lower part of the body and lodged in the thigh. From this time to the end of the affray, Mr. Kagi staggered hither and thither, attempting several times to bring his revolver to bear upon the Judge again, but the blow he had received caused utter blindness, so much so that he was unable to ascertain the exact whereabouts of the Judge, who continued to fire until he had spent four shots, when one of his friends fired one from the window above, making five in all—the first one of which took effect in Kagi's right side, and must have proved fatal had not the ball passed through a large pocket blank book which he had with him for the purpose of taking notes, and a number of letters, all of which were in the breast pocket of his coat.

Judge Elmore has occupied a very prominent position in the Territory as an acknowledged leader of the Pro slavery party, and when such men can find no other arguments with which to combat the progress of liberal principles, it argues a degree of desperation in the cause of our opponents which we had hardly suspected.—Elmore has, however, never been backward in the manifestation of Border Ruf-

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fian instincts. The life of one of the editors of the *Tribune* has repeatedly been threatened by him during the recent campaign, and but a few days previous to the above affray, he was heard to declare that the "*Tribune* should be stopped." We understand that the Judge is in a critical condition from his wound; but should he be so fortunate as to recover, we would assure him, and all who may sympathize with him in his enmity towards us, that should he be so unfortunate as to be unable to master his passion, and attempt to execute any of his threats against our person or our property, he will always find us ready to act for the defence of either, with a degree of cheerfulness and alacrity which may astonish him.¹

Tecumseh, where Elmore's assault upon Kagi took place, was a small town near Topeka, and by the "Border Ruffian" Legislature had been made the county seat of Shawnee County. Disturbances at Tecumseh were of frequent occurrence, due in large measure to its nearness to Topeka, which was a center of the Free-State forces. It appears, however, that there were at least a few Free-Staters in Tecumseh, and on one occasion one of them was held up and robbed by a pro-slavery townsman. The law of force was the only one respected on either side, but some of the Topeka "boys" went to Tecumseh and proposed arbitration in the robbery case. A committee was appointed consisting of the accused and the accuser, with Judge Rush Elmore, a lawyer from Alabama, who had served for a brief period as one of the United States judges. The Free-State man proved the loss of his goods and traced them to the hands of the accused. The burden of the decision fell on Elmore, who avoided the issue by declaring that he "could not tell"—was unable to decide as to the merits of the case. The goods were afterwards seized by the Free-State friends of the accuser and restored to him, those acting announcing their responsibility for the action. Kagi, in a letter describing the incident, said:

President Pierce need not have sought a pretext for dismissing Elmore, on account of his extra-judicial investments, as it was self-evident that a person who could not decide a case when the clearest evidence was given, whether a convicted robber should return stolen goods or retain them, was hardly qualified for a seat on the supreme bench of the Territory.²

1. A copy of this letter from the files of the *Kansas Tribune*, in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, was provided for the author in March, 1939, by the kindness of Helen M. McFarland, librarian.

2. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, pp. 460, 461.

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It was these strictures and perhaps others of like character that infuriated Elmore and led him to attack Kagi. But the stroke of his cane and the bullet from his revolver did not disable Kagi's pen or blunt its point. The same issue of the *Kansas Tribune* (February 2, 1857) that carried the story given above contained the following:

A Card—Rush Elmore, Esq., who attempted to carry matters with such a RUSH day before yesterday, will please accept the compliments of the “d—d abolition reporter,” who is still alive, and who, while he continues to live, will endeavor to devote his humble efforts to the cause of freedom of the Press and speech here and elsewhere, and to Free Kansas. The “abolition reporter” thinks that the occurrence of Saturday has entirely superceded the necessity of his offering any proof in support of his strictures upon the ex-Judge, one of which was to the effect that when asked, as a member of a committee appointed for that purpose, to disapprove of an act of highway robbery upon [a] free State man, he refused to give an opinion, from which but one thing could be inferred, which was that he was unable to judge whether stealing from free State men was right or wrong. Now there is not the least doubt that Mr. Elmore wishes to be considered a brave man, and to act courageously. And his attack upon a man whom he supposed to be entirely unarmed, first dealing him a crushing blow upon the head with a “Bully Brooks” bludgeon, and then dodging behind a pillar of the Court House to draw his revolver, shows that he is deficient in judgment as to what is bravery or cowardice; and from this deficiency it may reasonably be concluded that he MIGHT have erred, or been incapable of judging in the ROBBERY case. The weapons used—cane and revolver—his third shot at a man already twice wounded, and made senseless by the first blow, show too, what the ex-Judge WOULD have done at Lecompton, could he have but once taken his adversary unawares and unarmed.

Very respectfully,

K.³

On May 22, 1856, Preston S. Brooks had seriously beaten Senator Charles Sumner because of remarks he had made regarding Senator Butler, of South Carolina, in a speech on the “crime against Kansas.” This incident gave the basis for Kagi's reference to a “Bully Brooks” bludgeon.

Of the injuries received by Kagi and Elmore, Richard J. Hinton has the following to say:

3. From a file of the *Kansas Tribune* in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, copy supplied by Helen M. McFarland, librarian.

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One ball struck him [Kagi] in the breast, passing through a heavy memorandum book, and glancing made a severe wound in his left arm. The blood streaming from the wound in his head half blinded Kagi, who nevertheless, revolver in hand, advanced steadily on the burly and fugacious Alabamian, dodging round the pillar and firing wildly at his antagonist until the latter's only shot, penetrating the groin, laid him low. The lawyer lived, but the house of Elmore was ended by this incident. Kagi, however, never quite recovered from the effects of the blow on his head.⁴

Franklin Keagy gives the following account:

Elmore was greatly incensed at these comments, and meeting Kägi in Tecumseh, as he was going up the court house steps, he said to him: "Are you the man who writes under the signature of K?" and being answered in the affirmative he immediately struck Kägi over the head with a heavy gold-headed cane, knocking him down. Stunned and half blinded by the brutal blow, he drew his revolver and shot the judge in the groin; the ball could not be extracted and he carried it to his grave. Several shots were exchanged between the parties. A ball from the Judge's pistol struck Kägi in the region of the heart, first passing through his coat and vest, then through a memorandum book an inch thick and glancing on a rib, passed around his body several inches, and lodged in his side. His friends took him to Topeka and there he removed the ball himself with a pen-knife.⁵

Although Kagi was not long disabled by the wounds he received, they may have caused him to give up the trip to Ohio which he contemplated when he wrote his father from Topeka on January 30, 1857, the day before his fight with Elmore. On February 13, writing to his sister, he stated that he expected to leave "next Monday" for Nebraska City—he was not going to Ohio.⁶ However, there may have been other reasons for his change of plans. William Elsey Connelley, in his history of the Lane Trail, recounts an incident of February, 1857, in which Kagi figured rather prominently. During this winter the Lane Trail became the "underground railroad" out of Kansas towards Canada. Early in February John Brown forwarded three slaves, guided by a man named Mills, to John Armstrong, in Topeka. Armstrong and Mills took them in a closed wagon north-

4. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, p. 461.

5. "Kägy Relationship in America," pp. 327, 328.

6. This letter may be seen among the manuscripts of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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ward from Topeka to the vicinity of Tabor, Iowa, *via* Holton and Powhattan, in Kansas, Falls City, Nemaha City, Peru, and Nebraska City, in Nebraska. This, we are told, was the first group of refugees taken out over the Lane Trail, and Kagi had been sent ahead to Nebraska City, where he was awaiting the party. Near there some pro-slavery men halted Armstrong, but the Negroes, who were hidden under a false bottom in the wagon, were not discovered. From Nebraska City Kagi conducted Armstrong and his party up the river to Civil Bend and there aided them to cross over into Iowa. To quote Connelley:

The crossing was a dangerous matter, as ice was running in large pieces. The ferryman had to be persuaded with a Colt's navy before he would undertake the passage. The boat was carried down the river half a mile by the ice, but finally made the east shore in safety. The slaves were delivered to Dr. Ira D. Blanchard, who lived near Civil Bend on the Lane Trail, and a few miles from Tabor, Iowa. Kagi's father lived at the time in Nebraska City [with the Mayhews], and he also aided Armstrong to escape from the town with the slaves.⁷

IN AND OUT OF KANSAS

On March 3, 1857, Kagi wrote to his father from Topeka, reporting that high water in the Kaw (Kansas) River kept him from starting for Nebraska. If he had been at Nebraska City and Civil Bend in February, assisting Armstrong and the fugitive slaves, he had evidently returned to Topeka and was now planning another trip to Nebraska. The distance from Topeka to Nebraska City by way of the Lane Trail is about 120 miles, and winter traveling was more or less difficult. The question naturally arises whether the trek with the slaves might have been made in March instead of in February. Ice might have been running down in the Missouri River in March. At any rate, Kagi was at Nebraska City early in April. This appears from a letter he wrote to his father from Lawrence on April 14 in which he speaks of having been at Nebraska City a week before. In this letter he says: "Lane now has been all over the state with but 3 companions." On May 20 he wrote to his sister from Lawrence.¹

7. "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," Vol. XIII, pp. 269, 270.

1. These letters are preserved in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka.

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Richard J. Hinton states (page 461) that Kagi's "lasting contact with John Brown" did not begin until October, 1857, when they met at Topeka. At that time Aaron D. Stevens (Colonel Whipple) also joined Brown and the party was formed "which went to school at Springdale, Iowa, to Chatham, Canada, back to southern Kansas, thence to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia—and Death." Hinton speaks also of a short visit that Kagi made to his father and sister at Camp Creek, Nebraska, soon after which he joined the command.² This visit must have taken place, according to the foregoing statements, in the autumn of 1857. Uncle Abe (John's father) may have been living at Camp Creek by that time—he had come to Nebraska in the autumn of 1856—and his daughter Mary may have been with him. According to the family tradition, she went from Ohio to Nebraska in 1857 to keep house for her father.³ Mary, in 1862, was married to John O. Davis, but she and her husband appear to have lived with her father at Camp Creek until her death in 1869. Not long after that date Uncle Abe's older daughter, Mrs. Barbara (Mayhew) Bradway, moved in and kept house for him until her death in 1882. Uncle Abe continued to make his home at Camp Creek until 1885, when he moved away and took up a homestead on the prairie in Edwards County, Kansas, where he died in December, 1892.

In December, 1857, John Brown led his "command" over the Lane Trail, by way of Nebraska City, Tabor, Iowa, and other places en route, to Springdale in eastern Iowa, where the majority remained until April, 1858, studying the art of war and engaging in various recreational, literary and political activities. Brown himself, says Hinton (page 155), departed almost immediately for the East, leaving Aaron Dwight Stevens in charge as military instructor. Springdale, located a few miles east of Iowa City, had been settled by Quakers and was intensely anti-slavery. Its lyceums and debating clubs must have afforded pleasing diversions to Kagi, John Edwin Cook, and Richard Realf—perhaps others also—of Brown's party.

Before crossing the Missouri River from Nebraska to Tabor, Iowa, Kagi had stopped at least a short time at Nebraska City, the

2. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, p. 156.

3. "Kagy Relationship in America," p. 325.

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home of his sister Barbara and her husband, Allen Mayhew. This appears from a letter he wrote to his sister (probably Mary) from Springdale on December 29, 1857. He said: "We have had a very long & tedious journey. . . . We should leave here early next week. . . . Do not for your life allow it to be known by anyone where I am, or what my business is, nor even that you know. . . . I rec'd your letter before leaving Neb. City."

When Kagi wrote to his sister (December 29, 1857) "We should leave here early next week," he was expecting that they would take the cars for Chicago. Iowa City at that time was the western terminus of the railroad. But if Brown and others did leave Springdale "next week" it appears that Kagi and most of the party remained. When first assembled at Springdale, according to Hinton (page 155), "the party consisted of John Brown himself, his son Owen, Aaron Dwight Stevens, John Henri Kagi, John Edwin Cook, Richard Realf, Charles Plummer Tidd, William Henry Leeman, Luke F. Parsons, Charles W. Moffett, with Richard Richardson, colored, eleven in all." This list agrees with the one given in his reminiscences by George B. Gill, who was also one of Brown's men, though not at Springdale, or not all of the time. He says that the party wintered at Mr. William Maxon's; that Kagi, Realf and Cook "were more or less addicted to literary pursuits."⁴

Gill says further:

Never before, nor since, has that community been so mentally feasted as they were that winter. Realf, with fiery eloquence, would hold his audience spellbound; Kagi with calm, logical deductions would be invincible, and Cook would hold an intermediate position—comic, poetic, or mirthful, as the occasion demanded.

While not noted in public debates, Owen Brown and Stevens were not to be despised in private discussion. Owen with his calm, orderly, and honest ways, Stevens with his fine, rich voice, and passionate thoughts made life worth living in their boarding house and all around them. Their boarding house would sometimes remind one of a boiling, seething, roaring Vesuvius. A stranger would have supposed a battle imminent, but in a moment there would come a cherry, hearty laugh. They were earnest men, and as liberal towards others as they were positive in their own convictions. . . .

4. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, p. 728.

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It soon became an open secret that these men were waiting and preparing to strike a blow whose rebound would probably be death to the heroes that gave it. . . .

In their home at Mr. Maxon's they amused themselves at intervals in singing. Several of them had superior voices, and when on some patriotic refrain would make the welkin ring. Mr. Maxon lived in the extreme west edge of Iowa Township, in Cedar County, and adjoining Springdale Township. The majority of the people in Iowa Township were as rabidly pro-slavery as they were intensely anti-slavery in Springdale Township. On learning the character of Mr. Maxon's boarders, the pro-slavery citizens of Iowa Township held an indignation meeting and passed resolutions denying the fact of Mr. Maxon being a resident of Iowa Township, alleging that he was a citizen of Springdale Township. Mr. Maxon accepted the change proudly. Brown paid one dollar per week to Mr. Maxon for each man boarded, a rate at which he probably lost money.

The original intention was to familiarize themselves with military tactics and drill, but the instructor [Colonel Hugh Forbes?] that they had expected had proven a failure in all ways. Stevens undoubtedly was very capable of instructing them in drill, but the original programme was never fully carried out, except in a mental way, by reading and discussing. This, however, was very thorough. Not alone, however, in military discipline and strategy, but in all things, theological or philosophical. No question too abstruse, none too prominent. Some genius among them, Owen Brown, whittled out some wooden swords with which they practiced. Whenever any one of them who had been accustomed to manual labor could get work to do, husking corn or similar labor, they would gladly seize hold of it.⁵

Although I have not found Gill listed as one of those present at Springdale, I am of the opinion that he must have been there at least occasionally. His realistic descriptions sound like the words of an eye witness. The vigor, hilarity, and boisterousness of the Springdale conferences are not surprising in view of the youthfulness of most of the enthusiasts. Owen Brown, the oldest, was only thirty-three; Cook was twenty-eight and Stevens twenty-seven; Tidd was twenty-six, Kagi twenty-three, and Leeman only nineteen.

On March 15, 1858, his birthday, John writes from Springdale:

MY DEAR SISTER: I expect to leave this place on the 5th of April next. . . . Fear nothing; but observe care. . . . Only a little while, and success will displace Caution.

5. *Idem*, pp. 729, 730. Hinton states that Mr. Gill's manuscript would be deposited with the Kansas State Historical Society.

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He expressed the belief that things were going well; signed himself "Maurice Maitland," and enclosed an envelope for his sister to use in writing to him. On March 23, place indefinite, he wrote to some one at Springdale.⁶

I quote again from George B. Gill:

In April (1858) Brown returned from the East, and preparations for an advance forward were made, Parsons leaving Springdale in advance of the others in order that Parsons might visit his people, a few days, somewhere in Illinois. I should have said that Kagi and Tidd accompanied Parsons to his home there previous to the balance of the party leaving Springdale. . . . At 11:45 A. M., on Tuesday, April 27, 1858, we left Springdale for West Liberty, where we boarded the cars at three P. M., and crossed the Mississippi, at Davenport, just as the sun was setting. Our company then consisted of John Brown, Owen Brown, A. D. Stevens, Moffett, Taylor, Leeman, Realf, Cook, myself, and Richardson, a colored man. During the process of changing cars at Rock Island some demonstrations were made towards arresting our colored man as a "runaway nigger." We were speedily relieved of this by the conductor taking him by the arm and pushing him into the car and immediately starting the train. We were passing for a company of surveyors returning from the West.

After starting, the conductor came around congratulating himself as to how nicely he had given them the slip. Arriving at Chicago at five o'clock on the morning of the 28th, we stopped at the Massasoit House. We ate our breakfast all right, but just previous to going into dinner the landlord informed the old patriarch that our colored man would have to wait and eat with the servants. The old man would not accept the proposition, but, instead, gave the landlord a little of his terse logic, and left. We dined at the Adams House, where the conditions were altogether suitable, caste and color, accidental and otherwise, not being considered. Leaving Chicago at 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon, we reached Detroit at 6 o'clock A. M. on the 29th, taking up quarters at the villa tavern; Parsons, Kagi, and Tidd arrived next day.⁷

From the foregoing it is evident that George B. Gill joined Brown's party at Springdale at some time before the departure from that place on April 27, 1858. Reference will be made farther on to Kagi's sojourn at the Parsons home in Illinois.

6. These letters are in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka.

7. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, pp. 730, 731.

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THE CONVENTION IN CANADA

After the arrival in Detroit, April 29, 1858, a week or so was spent without any notable action except the sending out of a few notes to various friends inviting them to a convention at Chatham, Ontario. Chatham is almost due east from Detroit, at a distance of about fifty miles. In the early part of April, John Brown had visited St. Catharines, Ingersoll, Hamilton, and Chatham in Canada, preparing his friends in those localities for the convention he proposed to hold before he entered upon his outright work.¹ In and around Chatham were a number of Negroes resident under the British flag, most of whom had been fugitive slaves. By some estimates there were as many as seventy-five thousand such refugees in Canada West at this time. Among them were Martin R. Delany, a physician, editor, and ethnologist; Isaac Holden, a surveyor and civil engineer; Rev. William Charles Munroe; William Perry Anderson, a free Negro, a printer by trade; and Harriet Tubman, the "Moses" of her people, who was very active and efficient in the operation of the "underground railroad," which usually approached Canada by way of Cleveland, Sandusky, or Detroit. Harriet, by John Brown, was termed "General Tubman." Brown was expecting much from the Negroes of Canada when he once launched his open campaign.

A preliminary meeting was held in the home of Isaac Holden in Chatham, and on May 8 the convention was opened in the Baptist Church of which Rev. W. C. Munroe was pastor. Of the forty-six persons present, only twelve were white men. Munroe was made chairman and John H. Kagi was elected secretary. During two days about fifteen hours were devoted to the work in hand, which consisted mainly in discussing and ratifying the "Provisional Constitution and Ordinance for the People of the United States" which Brown and his close advisers had drawn up.²

The journal of the convention, kept and signed by Kagi, shows that Owen Brown was elected treasurer under the constitution, George B. Gill secretary of the treasury, and John H. Kagi secretary of war. The election of a president was postponed. Gill states that John

1. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, p. 170.

2. *Idem*, pp. 178, 179, 619-37.

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Brown was recognized as commander-in-chief and Richard Realf elected secretary of state.³

After the convention adjourned on May tenth John Brown went to New England; Owen Brown went to visit his brother Jason at Akron, Ohio; Cook went to Cleveland and soon thereafter to Harper's Ferry; Realf went to New York and thence to England; Gill and Tidd got employment at or near Lebanon, Ohio; Steward Taylor went to Illinois; Parsons and Moffett spent some time in northern Ohio, then departed for Iowa; Leeman took up some work in Ashtabula County, Ohio. Kagi went to St. Catharines, where he set up the proceedings of the convention, including the commissions, in the printing shop of the Negro, James Bell, Kagi doing the work himself.⁴ He had probably learned something about printing at the office of the *Kansas Tribune* in Topeka.

On May 13, 1858, at St. Catharines, Kagi wrote a letter to his "dear Friend Charlie," saying that he had arrived there "day before yesterday." The letter is signed "Kagi," and it may be seen in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka. A speculation as to who "Charlie" was cannot proceed with much assurance—he may have been Charles Plummer Tidd, Charles W. Moffett, or "Charles Whipple" (Aaron D. Stevens), all of whom had been with Kagi at the Chatham convention a few days before; or he may have been Charles W. Lenhart (Leonhardt), a Polish gentleman from Posen, Prussia, distinguished as a soldier in Europe, who had come to America with Kossuth.⁵

Two days after Kagi wrote the above-mentioned letter to "Charlie," he wrote another one, as follows:

ST. CATHARINE'S, CANADA,
Saturday, May 15th, 1858.

FRIEND ADDA:—

The date of this letter would, no doubt surprise you, had you not ere this received letters from Luke, explaining much, though, perhaps, not all. It was hard for me, as I also know it was for him, to deceive you; but will not the circumstances more than justify us both? I think so; and will doubtless do the same, ultimately, if not now. All

3. *Idem*, pp. 185, 634-37.

4. *Idem*, p. 732.

5. See "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, pp. 253, 254.

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depends upon caution, and how ever cautious you and your friends may have been, yet walls sometimes have ears (on the outside) and therefore communications of that kind made too early, even to the dearest friends, not directly connected therewith, might be followed by deplorable results. How much your brother may have told you I know not,—enough, probably, however, to enable you to know that our destination was not what we professed it to be. Yet why should you mourn? You will see him sooner than if it had been as we represented, and with honors sufficient to recompense you for his absence. He will also pass through less of danger, however daring it may appear to others.

Luke left me while at Chatham, C. W., on Tuesday, and proceeded to Cleveland, O., by way of Detroit. I came on here two days ago. I shall remain until next week sometime, and then pass on by way of Niagara Falls and Buffalo, to join Luke at C. This city is the finest in the Province, and is located 20 ms. [?] from the Falls.

I need not say that I shall be glad to hear from you—any of you, for this is to all.—I will receive any letters addressed to Lindenville, Ashtabula Co., Ohio. Do not take offence when I say that much discretion should be used in writing. All allusions to important matters should be figurative as letters are subject to obstruction from the mails.

With the highest respects to all, together with many thanks to your family for the kind hospitality which they have shown me,

I remain the sincere friend of yourself and brother.

J. H. KAGI.

P. S. I hope Hellen will not forget me, should you write.

K.⁶

The foregoing letter was evidently addressed to a sister of Luke F. Parsons. It will be recalled that Kagi and Tidd had left Springdale, Iowa, in April, preceding, ahead of Brown and the majority of his party, to go with Parsons to visit his family somewhere in Illinois. Adda and Hellen were both probably sisters of Parsons. Parsons, Kagi and Tidd overtook Brown and the others at Detroit on April 30.

Kagi in his letter to "Adda" states that he was going from St. Catharines, by way of Niagara Falls and Buffalo, to Cleveland, Ohio,

6. I am indebted to the kindness of Louise Barry, curator of manuscripts, for a copy of this letter, the original of which is in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka.

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but indicates that he would stop for some time in Ashtabula County, Ohio. Lindenville, in Ashtabula County, is only about fifteen miles from Bristolville, his old home, in Trumbull County. According to the understanding when the Chatham convention broke up, Kagi and Stevens were to wait at Cleveland for Brown, on his return from New England. This they evidently did.⁷ Kagi, in a letter that he wrote from Lawrence, Kansas, on June twenty-eighth, speaks of having recently been at Cleveland.

FINAL OPERATIONS IN KANSAS

It seems probable that John Brown had intended to launch his military adventure at Harper's Ferry soon after the adoption of his constitution at Chatham, but various conditions and incidents induced him to delay. For one thing, there were divisions and disputes among his supporters, especially in New England; but one of the most potent influences came from an incident in Linn County, Kansas: the Marais des Cygnes massacre, which took place on May 19, 1858.

A band of twenty-odd pro-slavery men, under the leadership of three Hamilton brothers from Georgia, came over the line from Missouri, following the south side of the Osage (Marais des Cygnes) River to the ford one mile south of Trading Post, where they crossed the stream. At Trading Post and other places in the neighborhood they collected eleven Free-State men whom they took to a ravine several miles northeast of Trading Post, and half a mile from the State line, for assassination. In the ravine the eleven men were lined up, north and south, facing the east, with their captors in another line close in front of them. Beginning at the north, the victims stood in this order: Charles Snyder, Thomas Stillwell, Patrick Ross, Rev. B. L. Reed, Asa Hairgrove, Amos Hall, William Hairgrove, William Robertson, Austin Hall, William Colpetzer and John Campbell.

Just before Captain Charles Hamilton gave the order to fire, young John Campbell, at the foot of the line, said: "Now, if you will shoot, take good aim." The order was given, fire flashed forth, and all the eleven fell, Thomas Stillwell, Patrick Ross, William Robertson, William Colpetzer and John Campbell killed; Charles Snyder, Asa Hair-

7. Hinton, revised edition, p. 198.

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grove, Amos Hall, William Hairgrove, wounded. Rev. B. L. Reed and Austin Hall were unhurt, but they feigned death. The assassins turned and galloped off a short distance, then several of them came back to take another look at their victims. They seemed anxious to make certain of killing Mr. Reed, but mistook Patrick Ross for him. After one of them had shot Patrick Ross through the brain with a pistol, the whole party rode away.¹

James Montgomery, "the fighting radical of southern Kansas," with several companions, rode hard to overtake the Hamiltons, but without success. No effective measures were taken by the authorities either in Kansas or in Missouri to apprehend them. John Brown felt that his work in Kansas was not done.

Brown, Kagi and Tidd reached Kansas about June twenty-fourth. On the twenty-fifth Brown and Kagi were at Lawrence, so says Hinton. On Monday June twenty-eighth, Kagi wrote from Lawrence to his sister: "I have just arrived—will leave in a few minutes." He had received letters from her and his father while in Cleveland. He continued: "Shall do all in my power to raise some means for father, but I will not raise your hopes to have them fall again. What I have already lost and sacrificed will sometime return to me."²

This letter shows much haste in writing. I heard my father and mother say that Uncle Abe went to California to make money to pay off a debt—sent money back to John to pay the debt; John used the money in abolition activities. His statement in the above letter seems to harmonize with these reports.

Hinton says (page 212) that on June twenty-seventh John Brown and John Kagi left Lawrence for Osawatimie. It was probably on the twenty-eighth, as appears from Kagi's letter to his sister. From Osawatimie Brown went down into Linn County and established a post on the quarter section of land where the massacre of May nineteenth had taken place. Under the name of Shubel Morgan he organized a company of fourteen men, among whom were J. H. Kagi, C. P. Tidd, James Montgomery, Augustus Wattles and William Hairgrove. We are told that Owen Brown, Aaron D. Stevens, William H.

1. "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," Vol. XIV, pp. 208-15; "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, pp. 194-97.

2. See this letter in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka.

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Leeman and George B. Gill were also with him at times.³ Brown most of the time aimed at exercising a protective and reassuring rôle among the excited settlers in the region of the Hamilton (Marais des Cygnes) massacre.

On August 13, 1858, Kagi wrote from Moneka to his "Dear Sister, father, & others." He stated that some had gone to Harper's Ferry and declared, "We are all ready and in good spirits."⁴

Moneka is a village a mile or two northwest of Mound City, the county seat of Linn County, and not more than twelve or fifteen miles from Trading Post and the site of the Hamilton massacre. At Moneka was the home of Augustus Wattles, a native of Connecticut, and now a man of fifty-one. He was a zealous abolitionist and had had a notable career as an educator and colonizer of Negroes in Ohio and other states. In 1854, when Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, he said, "That is to give the South a chance for another slave state. We will go to Kansas." From 1854 to 1856 he and his family lived near Lawrence, then moved to Moneka. In the "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," Vol. XVII, pages 290-99, is an interesting sketch of the life and work of Mr. Wattles by Mrs. O. E. Morse, of Mound City.

Of Brown and his men in Linn County, Hon. Joel Moody wrote:

When the old warrior, John Brown, heard in his quiet retreat in Canada of the Hamelton raid on the Marais des Cygnes, he at once set out for his former field of operations in Kansas. He reached here June 25, 1858. Soon after he visited Osawatomie, his old place of rendezvous, then passed down to Linn County and stayed some time with Colonel Montgomery at his home west of Mound City, and also with Augustus Wattles, about two miles north of Mound City. He had long known Mr. Wattles and frequently communicated with him by letter. He then visited Valley Township and the place of the massacre and soon made up his mind what to do. It was to stay and protect the citizens there who lived in dread and nightly expected to be murdered or driven off. He made a contract with one of the Snyders for the possession of the quarter section of land on which the massacre took place, which was about a half mile from the Missouri state line, and settled there close at the door of the ruffians. Here he erected what is known in history as John Brown's fort, but which

3. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, pp. 212, 644.

4. This letter is in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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he named Fort Snyder, after one of the Marais des Cygnes victims, Asa Snyder. It was the spot where the blacksmith Eli Snyder lived and worked. . . . It was at this time [July, 1858] that John Brown enrolled his company to defend the border.⁵

Mr. Moody then names the members of the "Shubel Morgan" company, as follows: Shubel Morgan, C. P. Tidd, J. H. Kagi, A. Wattles, Samuel Stevenson, J. Montgomery, L. Wiener, Simon Snyder, E. W. Snyder, Elias J. Snyder, John H. Snyder, Adam Bishop, William Hairgrove, John Mikel, and William Partridge. Evidently the membership of this company varied somewhat from time to time. Hinton names Aaron D. Stevens, William H. Leeman and George B. Gill, also, as belonging to the Shubel Morgan company.⁶

On September 23, 1858, Kagi, at Lawrence, wrote to his "Dear Sister and Father." He referred to their "destitute condition," but declared that the success of a "great cause" was drawing near. "I am collecting arms &c. belonging to J. B. so that we may command them at any time. . . . Address me at Moneka, Kansas, care of A. Wattles. I shall leave here [Lawrence] to day."⁷

During the fall and early winter, 1858, Kagi was with James Montgomery a good deal. Montgomery was a native of Ashtabula County, Ohio, which borders on the north the county of Trumbull, Kagi's native county. In Vol. XIII, "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," is an interesting article on "Colonel Montgomery and His Letters." Montgomery in the Civil War commanded a regiment of South Carolina Negroes.⁸ During the border troubles preceding that conflict he was a leading champion of the Free-State men in southeastern Kansas. Several times his cabin was attacked, once in the beginning of November, 1858. This time Kagi was a guest there and assisted in the successful defense.⁹

On December 16, 1858, Montgomery and Kagi participated in a notable incident at Fort Scott, which is located in Bourbon County, the next one south of Linn County. Quoting from Hinton: "The Fort Scott pro-slavery policy culminated on the 25th of November

5. "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," Vol. XIV, pp. 220, 221.

6. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, p. 212.

7. This letter is in the files of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka.

8. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, p. 644.

9. *Idem*, p. 216.

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in the arrest and chaining of a farmer named B. M. Rice, under charge of murder, but whose real offense was giving, as alleged, information to Capt. James Montgomery."¹⁰ On December sixteenth Montgomery, Kagi, and others led a band to Fort Scott to rescue Rice, which they succeeded in doing. A. H. Tannar, of Mapleton, Bourbon County, who was a member of the rescue party, later wrote as follows:

No one would have been hurt except for the foolhardiness of Deputy Marshal John Little. He kept the old sutler's store, and was staying there with George A. Crawford. As the posse passed by his store he opened the door and fired at short range into the crowd with No. 2 buckshot, wounding Ben Seaman and J. H. Kagi, a German military officer, afterwards hung at Harper's Ferry with John Brown. After the shot Little went to a side door and looked out through a transom, and being noticed by a member of the posse, received a bullet from a Sharp's rifle and was instantly killed.¹¹

Edward D. Bartling, of Nebraska City, reports a statement to the effect that the shot which killed Blake (John?) Little was fired by Kagi.¹² The killing of Little was called murder by the pro-slavery folk, by the other side self-defense.

Brown did not participate at Fort Scott, but in the latter part of the same month (December, 1858) and in January following he and his company struck their last blow for freedom on the Missouri-Kansas border. On Sunday following the rescue at Fort Scott, George B. Gill, scouting along the line, met a Negro, Jim Daniels, who, ostensibly, was selling brooms. Finding that Gill was a Free-State man, Daniels told him that he was seeking help. He said that he, his wife, and children were soon to be sold by their owner, Hicklan, over in Missouri. On Sunday night, December twentieth, Brown and Aaron D. Stevens led two small parties over into Missouri and rescued Daniels and his family, with other slaves from different places. A Mr. Cruise, who attempted to shoot Stevens, was shot and killed by the latter.¹³

Eleven Negroes were brought over into Kansas on this raid. They were first brought to the home of Augustus Wattles at Moneka.

10. *Idem*, pp. 216, 217.

11. "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," Vol. XIV, p. 231.

12. "John Henry Kagi and the Old Log Cabin Home," 1940 edition, p. 22.

13. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, pp. 218-21.

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From there the next night they were taken to the home of a Dr. Gilpatrick at Greeley, in the northeastern corner of Anderson County, where they were kept in hiding for a month. A sheriff and posse from Missouri scoured the country from the Osage up to the Kaw, but without finding the fugitives.¹⁴

After the hunt died down, Brown and his men took the Negroes northward through Topeka and Holton to Nebraska City, and thence through Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan to Detroit, whence they were carried to Windsor, Ontario. A few miles above Holton, on January 31, 1859, at Straight Creek, Marshal John P. Wood and a posse confronted the convoy and several spirited skirmishes took place, but Brown and his party succeeded in going ahead. The action at Straight Creek is known in Kansas history as the "Battle of the Spurs," the name being suggested, no doubt, by the fast riding of the participants.¹⁵

Approaching Nebraska City, George B. Gill, one of Brown's party, fell behind and came near to being captured by three pro-slavery scouts. When he reached the town, "Our folks," he says, "had then crossed on the ice and passed on. I stopped over night with Kagi's brother-in-law, Mr. Mayhew."¹⁶ Kagi himself, as will appear below, had a narrow escape at Nebraska City. On February 7, 1859, from Tabor, Iowa, where the party halted from the fifth to the eleventh, Kagi wrote a letter to "Friend Phillips," in which he tells about the "Battle of the Spurs" and of his escape at Nebraska City. "Friend Phillips" was evidently Colonel William A. Phillips, one of Brown's supporters in Kansas, who later placed Kagi's letter (below) in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

We are here [at Tabor] with the fugitives. After I joined J. B. we started North. The posse thought we were going to attack them in their quarters, and took to the crossing of Spring Creek (above Holton) & hitched horses. We came on, and they left; and took up another position, and still another. Finally, finding that we still came on in utter disregard of them, they broke and ran for Mo. We

14. "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," Vol. XVII, p. 298.

15. See "Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society," Vol. XV, pp. 598, 599; "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, p. 224.

16. Hinton, revised edition, p. 225.

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caught five of them and took from them their horses and revolvers, and kept the men until the next day. They thought there had been advantages on both sides—we getting some good horses and arms; and they some *valuable experience*. The N. Dept. Marshal was J. N. O. P. (&c) Wood. One of our men chased six of them 8 m. towards Atchison. The Dept. Marshal for S. Nebraska with a small posse attempted to take me at Neb. City, when alone at my sisters, but couldn't do it. While he was securing a larger posse I escaped.
(Signed) KAGI.

Edward D. Bartling says that at this time Kagi visited his sister (Mrs. Allen Mayhew), and that at some time during the night while he was asleep in the cabin his horse was stolen or seized by officers. Bartling also relates that on one occasion when Kagi was at the Mayhew home officers came to arrest him; that Mayhew went out and they asked him whether Kagi was there. "Yes," replied Mayhew, "he is upstairs in the log house and has a Sharp's rifle and plenty of ammunition. You can take him, but I want you to wait until I get my family away from here, and then you may do as you please." Upon this the officers withdrew—perhaps to get reinforcements.¹⁷ This incident may be the one to which Kagi refers in the above letter to Phillips.

George B. Gill states that while Brown, his men, and the fugitive slaves were stopping at Tabor, Iowa, February 5-11, 1859, meetings were held denouncing Brown, his party, and their actions; at the same time Tabor was the starting-point for Free-State movements in western Iowa and the people there (the majority, probably) continued to give aid to the convoy.¹⁸

Leaving Tabor on February eleventh, Brown and his party set out for Springdale, in the eastern part of the State. About noon on the eighteenth they reached Des Moines, traveling with two teams and several riding horses. In the city they stopped for some time in the streets, and while there Kagi hunted up Editor Teesdale, of the *Register*, an acquaintance of his. He also proved to be an acquaintance (and a friend) of Brown, and paid the ferriage for the party across the Des Moines River. Grinnell was reached on the twentieth. There the party was enthusiastically received and was

17. "John Henry Kagi and the Old Log Cabin Home," 1940 edition, pp. 22, 23, 31.

18. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, p. 225.

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entertained for two days. Two night meetings were held, with a full house each time. Brown and Kagi spoke and were loudly cheered. Memoranda left by Brown show that the whole party and teams were kept for both days free of charge; sundry articles of clothing were given to the fugitives; bread, meat, cake, pies, &c., were prepared to be carried on the journey; and cash contributions amounting to \$26.50 were made up.¹⁹

On the twenty-fifth, Brown and his company reached Springdale, Iowa, and on March twelfth the fugitives were safely carried over from Detroit, Michigan, to Windsor, Canada. Thus ended their long trek from the Missouri-Kansas border.²⁰

It has been said that James H. Lane went to Kansas with the intention of organizing the Democratic party there with a view to receiving political preferment at its hands,²¹ and that the peril of John Brown's sons and their families, together with the growing opportunity for attacking slavery, led him to Kansas.²² Without doubt, many from both camps—anti-slavery and pro-slavery—went seeking objects that were personal: financial profit, political preferment, or what not; but so far I have not found any indication that John Henri Kagi went for any personal benefit that he expected or hoped to receive. In other words, I believe that his motives were chiefly altruistic and patriotic. At the same time he was no doubt attracted to Kansas by the conflict that was being waged there between his friends and their foes—he must have had a good deal of the fighting spirit.

IN NORTHERN OHIO AGAIN

In March, 1859, at Detroit, to which place Brown, Kagi and others had conducted the fugitives from the western border of Missouri, Brown met Frederick Douglass, who was there for a lyceum lecture, and had a conference with him. Then Brown, accompanied by his son Owen, Kagi, Stevens, Leeman, Tidd, Hazlett, Edwin Coppoc, J. G. Anderson and Barclay Coppoc, went to Cleveland, Ohio.

19. *Idem*, p. 226.

20. *Idem*, pp. 226, 227.

21. "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," by W. H. Stephenson, Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. III, 1930, p. 42.

22. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, p. 67.

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Stewart Taylor was working in Illinois and awaiting orders. John E. Cook was already at Harper's Ferry, spying out the land.¹

In Cleveland, on March twenty-third, Brown disposed of his horses and mules, and probably his two wagons, by public sale in the street, he himself acting as auctioneer. From this sale he realized several hundred dollars. The following evening a meeting was held in Chapin's Hall, a small admission fee being charged. To the good-sized audience present Brown explained that he made the charge towards reimbursing him for the expenses of the recent trip from Kansas with the fugitives from Missouri. The speakers of the evening were Kagi and Brown, in this order. Hinton states that he copied his report from the *Cleveland Leader*, which evidently printed a rather full account. Kagi went over in rapid review a history of events in southeastern Kansas of the past few years, emphasizing the border-ruffian outrages of 1856, the persecutions suffered by the Free-State settlers, and the failure of those in legal authority to give protection or enforce justice. His account of atrocities culminated with a description of the massacre in Linn County the preceding May by the Hamilton gang. Hinton says: "Kagi was a strong, logical, convincing, even eloquent, speaker, with a fine presence and a good command of language. He knew the subject, and did not seek either to evade or defend the actions of free-state men. He simply showed what they were and how they came to be, leaving his audience to decide the ethics thereof. Kagi's description of the one-sided fights, ending in the Southerners' flight, was amusing and pleased the audience."²

The "one-sided fights" referred to were probably those in the "Battle of the Spurs," January 31, 1858, which took place as Brown's company was conducting the fugitives northward towards Nebraska.

Brown, in his address, spoke of his various operations and experiences, showing that although he had been much threatened during his recent sojourn in Kansas, he had not been engaged in any fight. He declared that his purpose in liberating the Missouri slaves was to make conditions familiar and to strike a blow at bondage. He considered it his duty to liberate the slave wherever he had an oppor-

1. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, p. 228.

2. *Idem*, pp. 233, 234.

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tunity. He was now an outlaw, with a price on his head, but grimly remarked that if any attempt was made to take him he "should settle all questions on the spot."³

After visiting his son John at West Andover and Jason at Akron, both in Ohio, Brown, with J. G. Anderson, left for his home at North Elba, New York. Other members of the party distributed themselves in various places in northern Ohio and in Pennsylvania. Kagi, during the next two or three months, divided his time at Cleveland, West Andover, and Oberlin, looking after shipments of arms, etc., from Iowa to Conneaut, Ohio, and watching the progress of a case in which a number of prominent persons at Oberlin were involved, they having given protection to Price, an alleged fugitive slave. Several of those charged with having participated in the rescue of Price from the slave-catchers were imprisoned at Cleveland. Kagi and Tidd, with others, planned to take them out of jail, but before they made an attempt to do so the case broke down. Those who came to testify against the prisoners were arrested on the charge that the capture of Price was in reality a kidnapping. The fugitive and the rescuers were discharged and the accusers withdrew.

Kagi at this time was a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and wrote also for the *Cleveland Leader*.⁴

It has been noted that Kagi was occasionally at West Andover. This is a village near the southeastern corner of Ashtabula County, Ohio, and not far from the line of Trumbull County. Aaron D. Stevens was working on a farm for a Mr. Lindsey at or near West Andover. William H. Leeman had a job in a whip factory at Lindenville, which is between West Andover and the Trumbull County line. Thus it will be seen that Kagi was in easy touch with different members of Brown's company.

Inasmuch as West Andover and Lindenville are so near to Bristolville, and Cleveland not far away, we may conjecture that Kagi within this period visited the scenes of his boyhood in Trumbull County. Possibly it was at this time that he learned of the marriage which is said to have wrecked his romance. I quote here from Franklin Keagy:

3. *Idem*, pp. 234, 235.

4. *Idem*, pp. 236, 237.

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After the close of the difficulties in Kansas, John Henry Kagi returned to Bristol, O. He had made the acquaintance of a young lady (a teacher, I am informed), to whom he seemed greatly attached before he went to Nebraska. A correspondence was begun and kept up for some time, but through the changing of his address so frequently the correspondence ceased, and the lady thinking she was forgotten, received the attentions of another man and married him.

When Kagi returned to Bristol and learned that his "sweetheart" was wedded it is said that he was greatly disappointed and declared that "Now he didn't care what became of him." He returned to Kansas and with John Brown engaged in running off slaves from Missouri into Iowa and thence to Canada.⁵

The final sentence above indicates that Kagi was at Bristolville in the spring or early summer of 1858, when he came around Lake Erie from St. Catharines, by way of Buffalo, following the convention at Chatham, Ontario.

The picture of Kagi reproduced herewith represents him and some young lady, supposed to be the sweetheart referred to above. This picture was made, in all probability, in 1854, shortly before Kagi paid his second visit to Virginia, after which he went directly to Nebraska. He was at that time (1854) aged nineteen. What became of the "likeness" that my mother received from him (by mail) on September 10, 1853, I do not know. Another picture of John that I have seen represents him as much older than he appears in this one, and I am of the opinion that the aging is due to some retouching that was done to the original. His age when he was killed at Harper's Ferry was only twenty-four years and seven months.

We may wonder why Brown, a man of fifty-nine, was surrounded in his dangerous undertakings by men who were, in most cases, under thirty, and that he, apparently, gave his fullest confidence to Kagi, who was one of the youngest. Hinton relates how Kagi, in the summer of 1858, under Brown's direction, revealed to him (Hinton) that Harper's Ferry was to be the point of attack. Up to that time, apparently, Brown had told this to no one but Kagi.⁶ John E. Cook, in the statement he wrote out following his arrest after the raid, said that Kagi was next to Brown in command.⁷ Cook was five years older

5. "Kägy Relationship in America," p. 330.

6. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, pp. 670-76.

7. *Idem*, p. 712.

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than Kagi, and a man of ability. Stevens was four years older than Kagi, and had had a rather wide experience in military operations.

We may conclude that Brown recognized his need of youthful vigor and daring in his hazardous enterprise. He did not want to be hampered by the conservatism and protests of older men. He probably depended especially on Kagi because of his unwavering and unquestioning loyalty to him (Brown) and his whole-souled devotion to the cause. Besides, Kagi, of all of Brown's immediate followers, was perhaps the one with the greatest natural endowments and the best educational qualifications.⁸ Kagi, too, was rather familiar with the country at and around Harper's Ferry and the people of the adjacent regions.

IN CHAMBERSBURG

In the latter part of June, 1859, or early in July, when Brown was shaping his plans towards his hazardous attack upon Harper's Ferry, John H. Kagi went to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where he spent most of the time until the last of September, when he joined Brown and the other men at the Kennedy farm in Washington County, Maryland. On April 30, 1932, accompanied by Dr. and Mrs. Henry T. McDonald and their son Frank, of Harper's Ferry, I drove from Harper's Ferry across the Potomac River Bridge, turned to the left, and after going up the Maryland side of the river for a short distance, turned northward up a mountain hollow and followed the country road to the Kennedy farm, which, by the speedometer on the car, is at a distance of about five miles from the Ferry by the winding road, though not more than three or three and a half miles in a direct line, almost exactly north.

Chambersburg, the county seat of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, is about forty-five miles due north of Harper's Ferry, and several miles nearer to the Kennedy farm. If a straight line were drawn from Harper's Ferry to Chambersburg, it would run through the Kennedy farm and also the city of Hagerstown, Maryland, which is about eighteen miles south of Chambersburg.

By a remarkable coincidence we are enabled to get a rather intimate picture of Kagi at Chambersburg. It happened that another

⁸ *Idem*, p. 454; "Captain John Brown and Harper's Ferry," by Boyd B. Stutler, 1926, p. 17.

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young Kagi (Franklin Keagy), later the historian of the family, boarded at the same place with John Henri. The latter gave his name as "John Henri," and Franklin at the time knew him as such, but later learned his real identity. I quote here from Franklin Keagy:

In the spring of 1858 he went with John Brown and others to Chatham, Canada, where was held the Convention of the "Friends of Freedom." Kagi was elected secretary of the Convention and also Secretary of War of Brown's Provisional government. In the following year, sometime about June, in company with Brown, he came to Chambersburg, Pa., and engaged board at the house of Mrs. Mary Rittner, on East King Street, where he remained most of the time until the first week in October, when he and Brown left there for the Kennedy place near Harper's Ferry, Va., and from there to the Ferry on the night of October 16, 1859.

During the time of his stay at the home of Mrs. Rittner, Kagi won the good opinion of the family and boarders by his friendly manner and social disposition. He took a great interest in instructing and pleasing the young folks in the family by engaging with them in social games, etc. All of these young misses have grown to womanhood and now have families of their own, but to this day [1899] speak of the kind conduct of Kagi toward them and sincerely mourn his unhappy fate. He was a fluent talker and freely discussed the questions of the day with the boarders, always using good language that at times sparkled with humorous wit. To the writer of this sketch he appeared more like a divinity student than a warrior.

He was of medium height and build, had large blue-gray eyes, and a somewhat round face, full of expression when engaged in an animated conversation, but somewhat careless in his dress. Several incidents occurred during his stay in Chambersburg that I will relate as told me by Mrs. Rittner and her eldest daughter a short time after they occurred. One day accompanied by one of the eldest of Mrs. Rittner's daughters, he went to a photograph gallery kept by a Mr. John Keagy, who was distantly related to him, though at that time the artist was not aware of it, as John Henri was the name by which he was known at his boarding place. After the negative was taken and John Henri turned to leave the room, the artist, as was usual, asked him his name. He replied John Henri. The artist being an aged man and a little hard of hearing had to ask again, and the third time before he was assured he had the name right. As Henri and his little companion were leaving the room he said to the little girl, "I could have given him a name he will always remember,"

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meaning his full name, which was the same name as that of the artist. . . . The above recited expression is the only one as far as known which he ever made that would indicate a secret mission during his stay here, but in his correspondence with his cousins in Virginia he asked them to direct his letters to "John Henri." . . . This the reader need not be told was for prudential reasons.

I will relate another little incident that occurred during his stay in this place, which will show his skill as a marksman. A near neighbor of Mrs. Rittner's named Gross, a man of rough, uncouth habit, one who had won the unenviable name of a "Slave Catcher," had a worthless dog that annoyed the neighbors by running over and destroying their gardens. As Mrs. Rittner's lot adjoined the Gross property she was the most annoyed, and all her requests to the dog's owner to abate the nuisance were treated with scorn. Indeed Gross rather delighted in annoying her because he knew she was a woman of pronounced anti-slavery sentiments, and for every slave that Gross captured and returned to his master she aided a score to freedom and liberty. The daily depredations of the dog were exceedingly provoking and became so frequent that she expressed a wish some one would shoot him. The room occupied by John Henri was on the first floor adjoining the dining-room and a window opened out toward the garden. The weather being warm, Mr. Henri sat near the open window engaged in writing when his attention was directed to the garden by Mrs. Rittner (who was in the dining-room and from the open door saw the dog leap the fence and commence his foray among her vines and vegetables), exclaiming: "Oh, there is that hateful dog again." She had scarcely uttered the words when the sharp report of pistol rang out and ere she could turn around the dog fell over dead shot through the heart. The distance was at least fifty yards. The dog was left there until evening when some one threw him over the fence into his master's lot, where he was found the next day. The owner swore terribly, declaring he would shoot the person, if he ever discovered who did it. He never attempted to avenge it, for if he had it would have insured his speedy exit out of the world and ended his dastardly slave-catching proclivities, as his character in this respect was well known to Brown and his men.

The life and conduct of John Henri during his stay in Chambersburg was most exemplary. The greater part of his time was spent in reading and writing. His was a strong social nature and he no doubt would have made a model husband. He frequently engaged in reading aloud to Mrs. Rittner while she was engaged at her work, sometimes from newspapers, histories, or poetry. Sometimes he would go away for a few days and then return again. At the time

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that the celebrated Frederick Douglass came to Chambersburg, Pa., to meet Brown, John Henri was present at the meeting, which took place in an old stone quarry near the creek south of town. This occurred Aug. 19, 1859, or about nine weeks before the raid upon the Ferry. . . . Kagi had become a scientific military officer and brilliant hopes were formed for his future by the friends who knew him best. He was a young man of clear, logical intellect, but wholly unlike his leader, Brown, he was skeptical in religious matters, and engaged in the military anti-slavery movement rather from a haughty sense of duty to a friendless race, and in obedience to the teachings of Virginia's greatest statesmen. His talents, natural ability and acquirements would have enabled him to make his mark in any society.¹

It happens (entirely by an accident) that I am able to supply a few additional and definite facts about the Keagy photographer in Chambersburg to whom John Henri did not tell his real name. In 1934, looking over the old marriage records of Rockingham County, Virginia, I found entry of the marriage, on April 18, 1855, of James Keagy, aged thirty-three, single, "photographist," son of John and Jane Keagy, born in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, to Martha Clementina Conrad, aged twenty-seven, single, daughter of George and Susan Conrad, in Harrisonburg, Virginia; minister, Rev. John L. Clark. In all probability this James (not John) Keagy was the photographer in Chambersburg to whose studio John Henri and the little Rittner girl went. If so, he was at the time only thirty-seven—not very "aged," though he might have seemed so to the younger men, John and Franklin. However, it is possible that the photographer in question may have been the father of James. His name was John, and he would have been a rather aged man in 1859.

And I am wondering about Kagi's alleged "correspondence with his cousins in Virginia" while he was in Chambersburg. As shown in earlier chapters, he had carried on frequent correspondence with his cousin Anna Kagey and other members of her family from 1853 to 1855, and occasionally for a year or two later, but I doubt whether there was any communication from Chambersburg in 1859. My mother's (Anna Kagey Wayland's) diary covers the period day by day, and in earlier years she always recorded when a letter was

1. "Kägy Relationship in America," pp. 330-33.

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received from John, or his father, or his sister Mary, or from his sister Barbara, but I have found no entry relating to any exchange of letters with any of them in 1859. As a matter of fact, my mother did not know anything of John's whereabouts in 1859 until she heard of his death at Harper's Ferry in October, and I doubt whether any of the other Virginia Kageys knew where he was prior to that event, unless, possibly, it was my uncle Abe, Anna's brother. He was almost as outright an abolitionist as was John, though he was not disposed to resort to armed force in any liberation movement. But, as I say, he may have had some correspondence, secretly, with John while the latter was in Chambersburg. Uncle Abe was living when Franklin was assembling his materials for his history of the family, and I know that he spent some time at my uncle's house in Shenandoah County, Virginia. It may be that Uncle Abe gave him information on which he based the statement quoted above.

While Kagi was in Chambersburg he no doubt looked after shipments of pikes which were sent there to "Isaac Smith & Sons." These weapons reached the Kennedy farm late in September, along with consignments of Sharp's rifles. Before "Isaac Smith & Sons" rented the Kennedy farm, as it appears, Kagi went down from Chambersburg and remained with them two or three days at Sandy Hook, near the Kennedy farm.² However, Hinton's statement that Kagi's likeness to the "Virginia 'Keagys' as his uncle's family were called in the neighborhood, compelled him to make a quick retreat to Chambersburg," is all imagination.³ The Virginia Kageys were not called "Keagys," and they did not live in the neighborhood. My grandfather, Jacob Kagey, lived seventy miles up the valley from Harper's Ferry, and the others, John's near relatives, lived still farther up the valley, southwest from Harper's Ferry.

Hinton's statements about Mrs. Rittner and Kagi's sojourn at her house are probably more reliable. I quote:

Kagi remained at Chambersburg, under the name of "John Henri." He boarded at the house of Mrs. Rittner, the widow of a famous ex-governor of Pennsylvania, known in State history as being a sturdy man of anti-slavery sentiment and the first organizer of free

2. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, pp. 239, 246.

3. *Idem*, p. 246.

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or public schools, also as an early friend and political associate of the "great commoner." Thaddeus Stevens, "Isaac Smith," and his sons also stopped at Mrs. Rittner's. Occasionally Tidd, Merriam, and one or two others stopped there; Mrs. Virginia Cook, also most of the men, as they arrived, went to Bedford or Hagerstown. The colored men were chiefly booked at Chambersburg by Henry Watson, a trusted colored agent of the "underground railroad."⁴

It has been noted that John Edwin Cook went to Harper's Ferry soon after the Canada convention. According to a recent writer, "On the fifth of June, 1858, a stoop-shouldered, fair-haired, blue-eyed, young man of twenty-eight years alighted from a train at Harper's Ferry. He was a person of pleasing address and intelligent appearance. He gazed for a short time at the beautiful view before him and then directed his steps to the widow Kennedy's boarding house located on a quiet street not far from the United States Armory and Arsenal."⁵ This was Cook. He posed as a book agent, historian, and prospector; is said to have taught school for a while. In the meantime he became acquainted with the lay of the land and many families of the neighborhood. On April 15, 1859, he married Mary Virginia Kennedy, the daughter of his landlady.⁶ He and his wife probably continued to live at Mrs. Kennedy's.

In November, 1859, while he was on trial at Charles Town, Cook wrote out and signed a lengthy statement of his connections with John Brown. In this he says that a few days before the raid at Harper's Ferry, Captain Brown and his son Watson took his (Cook's) wife and child to Chambersburg, and that Brown on his return told him that he had got her (Mrs. Cook) a good boarding place in Chambersburg, at Mrs. Rittner's.⁷

One of the letters that Kagi wrote not long before he left Chambersburg to go down to the Kennedy farm, which must be clearly distinguished from the home of Mrs. Kennedy in Harper's Ferry, has been preserved. It is as follows:

4. *Idem*, p. 249.

5. "A History of Jefferson County, West Virginia," 1941, by Millard K. Bushong, p. 109.

6. Jefferson County marriage records, of the date.

7. "John Brown and His Men," by Richard J. Hinton, revised edition, pp. 707, 708.

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CHAMBERSBURG, PA.,
Saturday, Sept. 24, 1859.

MY DEAR FATHER & SISTER:

I am sorry that I could not write you before, and that I have not heard from you for a long time. I can only say a few words to you now.

My business is progressing finely—I could not ask for better prospects. My *partners* are all about 60 miles this side of Uncle Jacobs—and enough of them to put the business through in the best of style. Our freight is now all on the ground with them in safety, and we are now only waiting a *few* DAYS for two or three more hands, not so much because we *want* them, but because they want a share themselves.

So that in a *very* few days we shall commence—You may even hear of it before you get this letter. Things could not be more cheerful and more certain of success than they are. We have worked hard, and suffered much, but the hardest is done now, and a glorious success is in sight.

I will say—can say—only a word more now. I will write soon after we commence work. When you write give me all the news—for I shall here after have only three correspondents in all—you, Mr. Dana of *The Tribune*, and Mr. Phillips of Lawrence, so that I shall look to you for all news about our friends and acquaintances. Direct the letters like this H. K. and put them in *another envelop*, and direct it as follows.

MRS. MARY W. RITNER, Chambersburg Pa.

But let no one else know how you send them.

Be cheerful my dear father and sisters—don't *imagine* dangers, all will be well. My love to Allens.

Affectionately,
your Brother,⁸

[Signature torn off]

AT HARPER'S FERRY

In 1794 the Federal Government purchased 125 acres of land at Harper's Ferry for the establishment of a national armory. The

⁸ This letter is preserved in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society. Louise Barry, curator of manuscripts, has kindly supplied me with a copy.

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tract lay alongside the Potomac River and extended from the confluence of the rivers for some distance up the Potomac. Water power was provided by a canal which was brought down from a dam some distance up the stream. For many years after the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was built it ran up alongside the Potomac, between the armory and the river. At the southwest end of the bridge over the Potomac (Harper's Ferry end) the railroad made a sharp righthand turn to go up the river, and at this point the railroad to Winchester branched off to the left. The latter ran up the Shenandoah for several miles, then went up a ravine to Halltown, Charles Town, and so on. In 1817 John H. Hall, an inventor and gunsmith from Maine, began to work in the armory, and later two buildings were erected for his use in making breech-loading rifles. These stood beside the Shenandoah River and the Winchester Railroad at a distance between a quarter of a mile and a half-mile above the confluence of the rivers. These were the rifle factory that Brown ordered Kagi and others to defend in the raid. Harper's Ferry at that time was a prosperous town of two or three thousand inhabitants.¹

Sunday night, October 16, 1859, Brown and his party came down from the Kennedy farm on the Maryland side and crossed the bridge to Harper's Ferry. Cook and Tidd cut the telegraph wires. Kagi and Stevens led the march and were the first to cross the bridge. Williams, the watchman at the bridge, was captured without disturbance. The watchman at the armory made an outcry, but was soon taken. The two prisoners were placed in charge of Jeremiah Anderson and Dauphin Thompson. Watson Brown and Stewart Taylor were placed out as guards, and the engine house was occupied. Stevens, with Hazlett and Edwin Coppoc, took charge of the armory, while Kagi, Copeland, and others went up to Hall's rifle factory. The first man shot was Heyward Shepherd, a free Negro of means and good standing, who acted as a porter and baggage master at the railroad station. He ran and failed to halt when ordered to do so.

Most persons in the town knew nothing of the raid until the next morning, then the news flew over the countryside like wildfire. Groups of citizens and several militia companies came in and Brown and

1. "Captain John Brown and Harper's Ferry," by Boyd B. Stutler, 1926, p. 18; "A History of Jefferson County, West Virginia," by Millard K. Bushong, 1941, pp. 77, 78.

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his men were besieged. There was much firing and a few men on both sides were killed. Before night (Monday) Kagi and the half dozen men with him were hotly pressed at the rifle works and all or nearly all were killed while trying to escape across the Shenandoah. A high bluff rises precipitously along the river at this point and afforded an excellent vantage ground for those attacking the rifle factory, which stood in the low ground between the bluff and the river. On the opposite side of the river is a wooded mountain known as Loudoun Heights.

Sunday night, after coming to the Ferry and getting control, Brown sent Stevens, Cook and others out to bring in some of the leading men of the neighborhood as hostages, among them Colonel Lewis W. Washington, whose home was near Halltown, about four miles away. Washington's large wagon and horses, with some of his slaves, were also brought to the Ferry. This team was used to bring additional arms down from the Maryland side. In this proceeding Cook remained on the Maryland side and later escaped, for the time being. Brown finally, with a few of his followers and the hostages, was besieged in the engine house.

Late Monday night Brevet Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived at the Ferry with a detachment of ninety United States Marines sent out from Washington. With Lee was Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, later the distinguished Confederate cavalry leader. On going to the engine house to summon a surrender, Stuart recognized John Brown, who at once admitted his identity. In the morning, after Brown's refusal to surrender, the door of the engine house was broken in and the defenders, who were still alive, were taken prisoners. Trials and executions shortly followed at Charles Town.

Opposed to Brown, those killed were Heyward Shepherd, Mayor Fontaine Beckham, G. W. Turner, from the neighborhood; Thomas Boerly, a merchant and grocer; Private Luke Quinn of the marines. Jim, a slave belonging to Dr. Fuller, but hired to Colonel Lewis W. Washington, was drowned while trying to swim the river. About ten were wounded. Of those with Brown, the following were killed: Jeremiah G. Anderson, Oliver Brown, Watson Brown, John Henri Kagi, Lewis S. Leary, William H. Leeman, Dangerfield Newby, Stewart Taylor, Dauphin O. Thompson and William Thompson.

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John Brown and others were wounded. Those at once captured and later hanged at Charles Town were John Brown, John A. Copeland, Edwin Coppoc, Shields Green and Aaron D. Stevens. John E. Cook and Albert Hazlett, who escaped from the raid, were soon captured in Pennsylvania,² taken to Charles Town, and there tried, convicted and hanged. Osborne P. Anderson, Owen Brown, Barclay Coppoc, Francis P. Merriam and Charles P. Tidd escaped and were not captured.³

As to Kagi's expectations in the Harper's Ferry venture, Hinton's statements do not appear altogether consistent. I quote from him the following:

It was John Henri Kagi whom Brown permitted to tell me fully in the summer of 1858, as to his startling design, and who replied to me when I involuntarily exclaimed that all would be killed, "Yes, I know it, Hinton, *but the result will be worth the sacrifice.*"

Hinton then continues:

I recall my friend as a man of personal beauty, with a fine, well-shaped head, a voice of quiet, sweet tones, that could be penetrating and cutting, too, almost to sharpness. The eyes were remarkable—large, full, well-set beneath strongly arched brows. Ordinarily they wore a veiled look, reminding me of the slow-burning fire of heated coals, hidden behind a mica door. Hazel-gray in color, iridescent in light and effect. The face gave you confidence in the character that had already wrought it into a stern gravity beyond its years. One would trust or turn away at once, according to the purpose sought. Kagi was not a man of expressed enthusiasms; on the contrary, he was cold in manner, and his conclusions were stamped with the approval of his intellect. Mentally, he was the ablest of those who followed John Brown to Harper's Ferry. In the best sense, too, he was the most scholarly and cultured.⁴

In another connection Hinton writes the following:

With some manuscript letters of Kagi, filed by the late Col. William A. Phillips, of Kansas, in the State Historical Society's Library, there was attached a note in which he described briefly Kagi's fate, and says that "he was not hopeful of the result of the attack, but

2. A graphic and detailed account of the capture of Cook may be found in "Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times," by A. K. McClure, 1892, pp. 307-26.

3. See "Captain John Brown and Harper's Ferry," by Boyd B. Stutler, p. 23.

4. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, pp. 453, 454.

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accompanied Brown." There is no justification for the remark in any extant letter or writing left by John Henri Kagi. On the contrary, he always wrote hopefully, cheering every one addressed.⁵

This declaration seems to me to be justified by the expressions in Kagi's letters that I have examined, quotations from the copies of which are given in preceding pages. Reference may be made especially to the letter he wrote to his father and sister from Chambersburg on September 24, 1859. It may be said, of course, that in these letters to members of his family he was trying to reassure them and keep them from worrying. But if he had ever given any sign of doubt or hesitation we may wonder whether John Brown would have trusted him so fully and given him a place next to himself in the hazardous enterprise. He seems to have followed Brown devotedly and without wavering, almost blindly. The only instance of which I have found any evidence in which Kagi even suggested a change in Brown's plans was in his message to Brown at noon on Monday, at Harper's Ferry, urging that the rifle works be abandoned and forces joined at the engine house to fight a way out.⁶

If Kagi was cold in manner, it seems hard to believe that he "was not a man of expressed enthusiasms." On the contrary, I believe that we may say that he not only was tremendously enthusiastic in the abolition cause, but also manifested his enthusiasm in his letters, if not in his conversations. Indeed, he was not cold and calculating enough. His convictions and impulses are not to be credited to Brown—he had them before his association with Brown; but in the latter he found a man after his own heart and joined him without any reservation.

One of the deputy sheriffs of Jefferson County and the jailer at Charles Town was John Avis. For many years his son, James L. Avis, was a leading druggist in Harrisonburg, and was familiarly known as Dr. Avis. In August, 1916, I had several long talks with Dr. Avis about the raid at Harper's Ferry and made notes at the time of what he told me. So far as I have been able to check up on his statements they were accurate, with one exception. He thought that John Henri Kagi had been killed in the Potomac River, but this

5. *Idem*, p. 463.

6. *Ibid.*

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evidently was a mistake. Kagi and his comrades were killed in the Shenandoah River, which was right alongside the rifle factory. The latter was nearly or quite half a mile from the Potomac.

Dr. Avis said that his father went from his home in Charles Town to the Ferry, seven or eight miles, on Monday morning, October seventeenth, having learned of the trouble there from an Irishman who had stayed over night at or near the Ferry, and who had hurried to Charles Town early in the morning. The Irishman had seen Brown's men bringing in prisoners from the neighborhood, but did not know who the marauders were. The impression seemed to prevail that they were Mexicans and Indians. Avis was a veteran of the Mexican War. He and the men with him were in a building very near to the engine house—they could hear Brown and his men cutting portholes through the walls. At first those in the "fort" had been able to fire out at only one place, the door. Captain Avis and his men would have broken into the engine house before Lee and his marines arrived had it not been for conflicting orders from various militia officers present. Dr. Avis at the time was a boy of fourteen or fifteen, and was with his father at the scene of the fight. He told me that whenever a shot was fired it was easy enough to tell from which side it came, since the reports of the Sharp's rifles used by Brown and his men made a different sound from those used by the besiegers.

One of the men with Sheriff Avis was Richard Blackburn Washington (1822-1910), a kinsman and neighbor of Colonel Lewis W. Washington. When Turner was shot, Avis told Washington to shoot the Negro who had killed Turner. This Washington did. The Negro was probably Dangerfield Newby. "Colonel Dick Washington," Dr. Avis said, "was a famous squirrel hunter and a crack marksman."

Dr. Avis said that many of the men who worked in the shops at Harper's Ferry were from the North, and he was of the opinion that they were in sympathy with Brown and had probably promised to help him, but failed him in the pinch. A number of them, he said, left Harper's Ferry after the raid. These statements he handed on from his father, who drew his conclusions from what he saw and from what he learned from inside sources.

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As jailer at Charles Town, Captain Avis was considerate of Brown and the other prisoners and shielded them as much as possible from the taunts and insults of hostile visitors. Dr. Avis himself, then a boy, was often in the jail with Brown for hours at a time. One day he took in for Brown a pan of baked apples, for which Brown gave him a gold dollar. Taking a fancy to the boy, Brown willed him his Sharp's rifle and his pistol. The rifle young Avis later carried in the Civil War. The pistol he had after he came to Harrisonburg, then gave it to his younger brother, who was a lieutenant in the regular army. It was finally lost, Dr. Avis told me, along with Lieutenant Avis' fine library, in the foundering of a Mississippi River steamboat.

After the raid at Harper's Ferry many stories were told of mysterious strangers who had circulated around in various communities in the Shenandoah Valley and elsewhere. One was to this effect, that two men came one evening to the home of a Mr. Walker on the Shenandoah River, asking to stay over night. They were hospitably entertained. The next day when a couple of the young Negroes of the household went down to a garden patch by the river to get some vegetables for dinner they saw the two strangers beckoning to them. They were offered guns and other weapons with which to fight for their freedom. Just then the boys heard their mammy calling them: "Come on hyah wif dem taters an' cohn, you rascals, oah I'll break yo' backs." Fear of the old woman outweighed every other consideration, and back to the house they hurried.

My mother always believed that John Kagi was at her house. She had not seen him since he had left Virginia for Nebraska in March, 1855, and in the meantime she and my father had moved from her father's to the house on the hill at Woodlawn. One day when she was at home with her small children a "tramp" called at the door, begging money and clothing. She was on the point of exclaiming, "How are you, Cousin John!" but inasmuch as he pretended to be an utter stranger and perhaps not too "bright," she refrained. After the raid was reported and it was learned that John was one of the raiders, she was satisfied that he had been her mysterious visitor. Hinton says that Kagi, at the time of his death, wore a short, full, dark-brown beard.⁷ A beard may have been part of his disguise at

7. "John Brown and His Men," revised edition, p. 453.

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Woodlawn, if he really was there. Nobody there, unless it was my mother's brother Abe, had heard from John for some time, and the only entry in my mother's diary under date of October 16, 1859, was this brief sentence: "The Abolitionists seized upon Harpers Ferry," written in, no doubt, a day or two after the event. Under date of October twenty-third appeared this: "We were down at Father's awhile. I read the particulars of Harpers Ferry."

There are conflicting statements as to what became of Kagi's body. Hinton says:

The bodies of Kagi, Leary, and Wm. Thompson were taken out of the river on the 18th, and buried in shallow holes upon the river bank, where the dogs soon rooted them out. They were partly destroyed before the Winchester doctors took the remains away for dissection."⁸

Other accounts have it that the bodies of Kagi and others lay buried by the Shenandoah River until August, 1899, when they were exhumed and carried for reinterment beside John Brown at North Elba, New York.⁹

8. *Idem*, p. 312.

9. "Captain John Brown and Harper's Ferry," by Boyd B. Stutler, p. 17; "Kägy Relationship in America," p. 334.

NOTE: This is part of a longer and liberally illustrated study of John Henri Kagi by Dr. Wayland, for which future publication is planned.—ED.

The Salmon Fishery of Oregon, Washington and Alaska

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INCE the days of the fur-traders and earliest settlers, salmon has held a prominent place in Oregon, Washington and Alaska both as a savory food and as an article of commerce. The history of the fishery is the story of rapid developments in methods of taking and handling fish, of threatened depletion and conservation measures, of changing labor relations and increasing legal supervision. In fact, that history is the record, not only of one industry's growth, but also of the development of modern technology and, in part, of the social evolution of the Northwest Coast.

Among the natives of this region salmon was the staple item of diet. The yearly run, when the fish literally choked the streams, was the occasion for celebration and unwonted labor. The Indians harvested the streams; the fresh-caught fish were gorged in festivals, and dried or smoked, the catch of the fall provided food for the following months. Salmon was also a major trade article among the natives.

Many of the explorers, from curiosity or necessity, lived for a longer or shorter period upon this native food, although not all found the crudely cured fish as palatable a dish as it was healthy. The fur-traders of the early 1800s adapted Indian methods of fishing to their better tackle and adopted salt-curing as a means of making the rivers and sea furnish them with a year-round supply of valuable and nutritious food. With the settlement of this region after 1840, and especially after 1870, the industry was revolutionized: canning was introduced, the fishing grounds were extended and almost every operation was converted into a mechanized process. The social changes

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that accompanied the rise of modern industry and business, and the general economic development of the region, most strongly felt after 1880, gave the fishery its present status and are determining its future growth.

Species; Relative Commercial Importance; Spawning "Runs"—Of the Pacific salmon there are five species, differing in size, color of flesh, oil content and a few other biological characteristics.

The largest of these species is *Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*, which is known by several names: Chinook on the Columbia River; Spring, King, Tye and Blackmouth in Puget Sound and Alaska. This salmon is the most widely distributed, being found along the coast from Monterey, California, north to the Yukon. It weighs an average of twenty-two pounds and as much as one hundred pounds, its flesh ranges in color from a deep red to almost pure white. Much of this species is mild cured, frozen or sold fresh, no more than half the catch being canned.

O. nerka is known by different names in different localities, as are all the salmon; in Alaska it is called Red, in Puget Sound Sockeye and in the Columbia River Blueback. Also a red fleshed salmon, its average weight is seven pounds. Commercially it is the most important of all the species.

The salmon commonly called Silver, or in Alaska, Coho, is the species *O. kisutch*. It weighs usually from six to eight pounds and may reach thirty; a fish of medium red flesh, its general characteristics place it between the pink and red salmons.

O. gorbuscha is the Pink or Humpback salmon, weighing on an average of four pounds and constituting the most numerous species. *O. keta* is a white-fleshed fish weighing on the average nine pounds, and is known as the Chum or Dog salmon.

On the Columbia River the Steelhead trout, *Salmo gairdneri*, is commercialized; as packed it is called "fancy salmon." While this fish is allied to the Atlantic salmon, it differs from the Pacific species in that it does not, as a rule, die after spawning. It averages about ten pounds in weight.

The relative economic importance of each species is shown in the following table of the average pack in cases and value for the ten-year period 1931-40:

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TABLE I

PACIFIC SALMON: AVERAGE PACK IN CASES AND VALUE, TEN-YEAR AVERAGE, 1931-40

		<i>Columbia River</i>	<i>Puget Sound</i>	<i>Alaska</i>
Chinook ...	Cases	239,377	14,155	51,105
	Value	\$3,096,439	\$145,304	\$420,012
Silver	Cases	63,591	57,111	190,886
	Value	\$560,073	\$496,488	\$1,268,359
Red	Cases	6,839	133,244	1,935,901
	Value	\$111,782	\$1,703,033	\$15,715,565
Pink	Cases ....	.....	223,908	3,144,650
	Value ....	.....	\$1,008,491	\$13,057,380
Chum	Cases	21,059	51,870	745,244
	Value	\$82,657	\$185,679	\$2,864,022

The above table does not include the value of salmon—mostly Chinook and Silver—which was sold in other forms than canned, a sum which cannot be exactly calculated, but which may be closely estimated at between three and three and one-half million dollars.

Also not included in the above table is the small catch in the coastal streams of Washington and Oregon, which in 1940 amounted to 12,097 cases. Table II gives the number of cases by species and state:

TABLE II

PACIFIC SALMON: COASTAL CATCH IN CASES, BY SPECIES AND STATE

	<i>Chinook</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Red</i>	<i>Chum</i>
Washington	23	504	138	9,142
Oregon	647	643	...	1,000

The Columbia River Steelhead trout catch averaged for the ten-year period, 1931-40: Cases, 16,664; value, \$184,187.¹

The fish that make this economic activity possible are biologically unique; their life history and the drama of the "run" is as fascinating to the layman as it is important to the fishermen.

Although it is a marine fish, the salmon breeds in fresh water. The life cycle of the different species is similar, but their life span

1. All foregoing figures are from the *Pacific Fisherman*, 1941 Year Book Number.

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varies: the Chinook lives four to six years, the great majority being four year fish; the Red also lives from four years in the Columbia River district to six years in Alaska waters; the Pink lives two years, the Coho three years, and the Chum from three to five years.

At the breeding season adult salmon return from the sea to the streams in which they were hatched, swimming in myriads up rivers and creeks, flopping over shallows, leaping over falls, in the narrow upper channels becoming a seething mass—a river of flesh moving against the flow of the stream. When the spawning ground is reached the fish pair off, for the salmon is monogamous; the female scoops a nest out of the gravel of the stream bottom and deposits thousands of eggs. The male, swimming alongside the female with just enough force to remain stationary in the current, fertilizes the eggs as they are laid by emitting a stream of milt over them, and then covers the nest with the gravel the female scooped out—this to protect the eggs against the trout and other fish that follow the salmon upstream. For a few days the parents hover over the nest, weaken, for they have not fed since starting their journey to the spawning ground, and float down stream dying.

The eggs hatch in from forty to forty-five days, the fish remaining for a comparable period attached to the egg-sac. After living from a few weeks to a year and a half in fresh water, depending on the species, they swim down to the sea. There they grow rapidly until maturity, when they in their turn make their way to the fresh-water spawning grounds and death.

Salmon caught any time before spawning are palatable, but after spawning the flesh becomes soft and inedible. The natives and early settlers fished the streams from the sea to the spawning grounds, as do sportsmen today. Commercial fishing is now, however, restricted to salt water, with the exception of a few of the largest rivers, in which gill netting is permitted within the mouth of the stream.

The runs, and consequently canning activity, cover the seven-month period from May 1 to November 30. The earliest run is in the Columbia River, beginning in May and continuing heavy until August, consisting largely of Chinooks. From the middle of May on, all species are running; by July or August the fisheries of all districts swing into full activity, traps, nets and canneries sometimes operating twenty-four hours a day.

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Indian Fisheries; Fur-Trade and Pioneer Periods—The Indians of the Northwest Coast had only primitive gear with which to catch salmon; but that gear was highly efficient, and especially so on streams tributary to the larger rivers. They used weirs, nets, spears and hooks.

The weir was used in most places where the width and depth of the stream permitted its construction. Essentially a fence across the stream, it was made of flexible branches woven together and supported by poles. It served to halt the fish so that they might be taken in dip-nets or speared, or to lead them into basket traps placed above openings in the weir.

Nets were used where weirs were impractical, in all details except size being very like those in use today—and some of these native nets were eight feet deep and three hundred feet long. They were woven of spruce root fiber, Indian hemp and other fibers which could be twisted into twine; weights were strung along the bottom and light wooden floats along the top. In use, one end was held by Indians on the bank while others in a canoe swung the free end around the running salmon, making a circle of net about the fish; the net was then hauled in and the fish pulled out on the land.

Spearing was practiced in the main at the foot of falls and rapids or around weirs, where the fish were slowed down sufficiently to enable the spearman to hit them. Spear-heads were barbed and either fastened to the shaft or, more commonly, set on the shaft so as to come off when the fish was hit, being attached to a cord which served as a fishline. Hooks were made of bone and were used in trolling or angling.

Fresh salmon was prepared in several common ways by the Indians of all localities, by baking, broiling, roasting and boiling, this last method providing in addition to the flesh a rich soup. In drying salmon the fish was split down the back in such a manner that the head, backbone and tail were easily separated from the rest of the body, which was then laid open. The head and tail were also strung together for drying. These prepared portions were hung on scaffolding or on poles near the roofs of dwellings, there drying and at the same time being smoked. This dried or smoked salmon was then stored in baskets for future use or barter. Another method of

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preparing fish to keep was to partially boil and then dry it; the flesh was then again mixed with a small amount of water and pounded and squeezed until it became a sort of meat dough, which was dried in the sun and stored until wanted. Salmon eggs also were dried and stored.

The first white men to make their residence in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest were fur-traders. In Alaska, agents of the Shelikof-Golikof Company founded a post on Kodiak Island in 1784; after the creation of the Russian American Company in 1799 the half dozen Russian establishments on the mainland were maintained in a state of precarious existence until Alaska was purchased by the United States in 1867. In the Columbia River region, agents of the North West (fur) Company built Spokane House, near the present city of Spokane, in 1810; John Jacob Astor's partners established Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia in Oregon, in 1811, and the Hudson's Bay Company erected many posts after founding Vancouver (Washington) in 1824. On Puget Sound the first white establishment was Fort Nesqually, a Hudson's Bay Company post built in 1833.

These fur-traders lived in large measure off the land, and along the coast bartered with the natives for such food as they needed to supplement their stores; in their journals, and in those of such early explorers as Lewis and Clark, Thompson, and Rezanov, are many references to the native fisheries and to the salmon as a food. The fur-traders, especially those on the Columbia River, also initiated the commercial fishery, although with a necessarily crude product, and for the most part as a subsidiary activity to meet their own needs. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, carried on a small export trade throughout the period of its operations in the region, from 1824 to 1846.

Probably the first independent fishery venture was that of Captain John Dominis of the brig *Owyhee*. In 1831 he carried fifty or more hogsheads of salt salmon to Boston, where the fish sold for ten cents a pound. The American, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, in 1834, tried to establish a fishery business, but could not compete with the Hudson's Bay Company. American interests were established in 1840, when John H. Couch started a trading post on the Willamette River and opened a fishery at Pillar Rock on the Columbia. After the

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determination of the United States-Canadian boundary in 1846 the British retired and American settlers arrived in ever larger numbers. Between the date of the Couch enterprise and the establishment of the first cannery in 1866, the fishery on the Columbia River steadily advanced, with Americans shipping increasing amounts of salt salmon. Traps were in use in the late 1850s, and by 1865 more than two thousand barrels of salmon were salted.

The salmon fishery on Puget Sound lagged behind that of the Columbia River. Population on the Sound was small; lumbering was the most immediately profitable enterprise, and secured the added advantage of cleared land. There were a few scattered and ineffectual efforts to salt salmon in the 1850s, but not until 1873—seven years after the first cannery on the Columbia—was there a plant in operation large enough to salt as many as five hundred barrels of salmon in a season. The first cannery on the Sound was built in 1877 at Mukilteo.

In Alaska the fisheries had been even more slowly developed by the Russians, who were neglected by the Russian Court much of the time and able barely to keep alive under their local mismanagement. Even after the purchase of the country by the United States, a decade and more passed before a cannery was established at Klawak in 1878 and, in the same year, a second at Sitka.

Modern Fisheries and Canneries—The “modern” period of the salmon fishery of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska opened in 1866, when William Hume constructed the first cannery in the region—and second in the United States—at Eagle Cliff, on the Washington side of the Columbia River about forty miles from its mouth. This cannery was supplied with fish by six or seven men using small seines, gill nets and traps, and in its first year of operation packed four thousand cases of forty-eight cans each.

The success of this venture, and the seemingly inexhaustible supply of salmon, quickly led others into the field: within ten years there were thirty-eight more canneries in operation on the river and the pack had increased to four hundred fifty thousand cases. Of these early operators, the Hume brothers—William, G. W., Joseph, and R. D.—played a dominant rôle, owning a fourth of the canneries on

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the river and others in Oregon and Washington. Other pioneers who contributed to the advance of the industry included F. M. Warren, inventor of a packing machine; J. G. Megler, who introduced the soldering machine, steam box and lacquering machine; J. O. Hanthorn, inventor of a rotary can washer; and perhaps the most noted of all these operator-inventors, Mathias Jensen, whose numerous inventions included can-filling and topping machines.

After this first decade of booming growth several factors brought about a decline in the number of canneries in the Columbia River. First among these was the diminishing margin of profit: the cost of fish rose from fifteen cents to twenty cents a salmon by 1876, and to seventy-five cents in 1882; the price declined from \$16 a case in 1866 to \$4.50 in 1876. Second, many canneries were built in the late 1870s, and its salmon rivers were the nearest of any to the large in Alaska; the competition of these, added to that of the river plants, further tended to depress the market and to raise the price of fish. Third, the improvement of cannery equipment, which promoted efficiency, brought a great increase in the capital investment needed to start or modernize a plant capable of competing on the market, with the result that small canneries closed and only well-financed operators remained or entered the industry.

The first of the canneries to be built on Puget Sound was the one at Mukilteo, constructed in 1877 by Jackson, Meyers & Company, a firm of Columbia River packers. The first year's pack of this plant was five thousand cases. The cannery, shortly owned solely by George T. Meyers, was destroyed by a heavy snow in 1880 and moved to Seattle; burned in 1888, it was then moved to Milton; two years later the plant was again burned and again moved to Seattle; sold in 1901 to the United Fish Company, it ceased operation around 1905. Only one other cannery was built on the Sound before 1891, by a man named Bigelow, also at Mukilteo in 1878.

On the Washington coast another Columbia River packer, B. A. Seaborg, established two plants: one on Grays Harbor at (now) Aberdeen, in 1883, and one on Willapa Harbor in 1884.

The Oregon coast was relatively well settled by the middle 1870s, and its salmon rivers were the nearest of any to the large California market. Both Columbia River and California operators

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were quick to see and seize the fishery opportunities offered there. No less than sixteen canneries were started on Oregon rivers before 1890. By years, these were: 1877, on the Rogue River, R. D. Hume established a cannery that continued in operation under his ownership or his estate until 1908; Hume secured the monopoly of the stream by purchasing the banks a distance of twelve miles up from the sea and several miles of coast at the mouth. In 1878 four canneries were started, two on the Siuslaw River and two on the Umpqua River, the latter two by G. W. Hume. In 1883 a plant was built on the Coquille River, two other plants being located on that stream in 1886 and 1887. In 1886, in addition to the cannery noted, a plant was opened on Tillamook Bay and another on Alsea Bay, with two more being located at the latter place by 1888. In 1887 six more canneries were started on the coast, one on the Nehalem River, one on the Nestucca River which packed fish until 1919, two on Yaquina Bay and two on Coos Bay.

The Alaska fisheries once started were developed with great rapidity, by 1890 producing close to one-third more canned salmon than all the Columbia River, Puget Sound and coast canneries combined. One reason for this growth was, of course, the abundance of fish in Alaskan waters. A more important reason, however, was the early entrance of large concerns. The difficulties and expenses of erecting plants many hundreds of miles from markets and supply centers, and the costs of transportation, could be met only by operators of relatively large capital.

First of the canneries in Alaska was one built in 1878 at Klawak on Prince of Wales Island by the North Pacific Trading & Packing Company; this plant, modernized, still continues in operation. For the two years 1878-79 a cannery was operated at Sitka by the Cutting—now the Sanborn-Cutting—Packing Company. A plant built in 1882 at Chilkat Inlet by M. J. Kinney changed hands several times, but made a pack every year but one before it was destroyed by fire in 1892. Another cannery built at Chilkat Inlet in 1883 by the Northwest Trading Company also changed hands several times during its operation until 1908. From 1883 to 1886 M. J. Kinney ran a cannery at Boca de Quadra; for two years thereafter the plant, moved to Ketchikan, was operated under the name of the Tongass Packing Company. A cannery which began packing at Yes Bay in 1889 under

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the name of the Boston Fishing & Trading Company, operated each year until the 1920s under the ownership of the Yes Bay Canning Company and the Alaska Pacific Fisheries. The plant opened in 1889 on the Stikine River by the Aberdeen Packing Company put up a pack yearly until closed in 1926. One of the largest canneries in Alaska, at Loring, was built in 1888 by the Alaska Salmon Packing & Fur Company and operated every year for four decades. In 1888 and 1889 five other canneries were started, none of which long continued to pack.

The salmon pack of the region for the first quarter century of canning is shown in the following table:

TABLE III

CANNED SALMON PACK 1866 TO 1891 BY LOCALITIES, IN CASES²

<i>Year</i>	<i>Columbia River</i>	<i>Puget Sound</i>	<i>Alaska</i>	<i>Coast</i>
1866.....	4,000	.....	.....	.....
1867.....	18,000	.....	.....	.....
1868.....	28,000	.....	.....	.....
1869.....	100,000	.....	.....	.....
1870.....	150,000	.....	.....	.....
1871.....	200,000	.....	.....	.....
1872.....	250,000	.....	.....	.....
1873.....	250,000	.....	.....	.....
1874.....	350,000	.....	.....	.....
1875.....	375,000	.....	.....	.....
1876.....	450,000	.....	.....	.....
1877.....	380,000	5,500	.....	7,804
1878.....	460,000	238	8,159	32,354
1879.....	480,000	1,300	12,530	8,571
1880.....	530,000	5,100	6,539	7,772
1881.....	550,000	8,500	8,977	12,320
1882.....	541,300	7,900	21,745	19,186
1883.....	629,400	1,500	48,337	23,156
1884.....	620,000	5,500	64,886	27,876
1885.....	553,800	12,000	83,415	41,610
1886.....	448,500	17,000	142,065	109,847
1887.....	356,000	22,000	206,677	73,996
1888.....	372,477	21,975	412,115	152,363
1889.....	309,885	11,674	719,196	98,800
1890.....	435,774	8,000	682,591	47,009

2. Figures in Table III are from John N. Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*.

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Growth of the Last Half Century—By 1891 the salmon industry was established in every locality in the region with the exception of the coastal streams of Washington, which were not fished until after 1910. After a quarter century of commercial canning the pattern of operation had been set, most of the future problems were becoming apparent, if not pressing, and the industry's place in the region's economy was set. Before discussing these developments, however, the record of production with its fluctuations in localities and species should be presented to illustrate the general expansion of the industry, and to serve as reference for the discussion of non-statistical aspects which the increase in production underlay or caused.

The following tables³ present the total pack and value by localities, and the specie pack by the same localities:

3. Figures in Tables IV and V are from Cobb, *idem*, for 1891-99, and from the *Pacific Fisherman*, Year Book Numbers for 1941 and 1942.

TABLE IV
 CANNED SALMON PACK, BY CASES AND VALUE, FOR LOCALITIES, 1891-1940

Year	Columbia River		Puget Sound		Alaska		Coast	
	Cases	Value	Cases	Value	Cases	Value	Cases	Value
1891	398,953	.....	20,529	.....	801,400	.....	33,000	.....
1892	487,338	.....	26,426	.....	474,717	.....	114,000	.....
1893	415,876	.....	89,774	.....	643,654	.....	90,973	.....
1894	490,100	.....	95,400	.....	686,440	.....	91,315	.....
1895	634,696	.....	179,968	.....	626,530	.....	111,927	.....
1896	481,697	.....	195,664	.....	966,707	.....	138,075	.....
1897	552,721	.....	494,026	.....	909,078	.....	111,583	.....
1898	487,994	.....	400,200	.....	965,097	.....	116,729	.....
1899	332,774	.....	919,611	.....	1,078,146	.....	127,595	.....
1900	358,772	\$2,282,296	469,450	\$1,940,925	1,548,139	.....	69,337	.....
1901	390,183	1,942,660	1,380,590	.....	2,016,804	.....	134,118	.....
1902	317,413	1,644,509	581,059	3,094,445	2,536,824	.....	115,238	.....
1903	339,577	1,777,105	478,498	1,929,546	2,246,210	.....	60,751	.....
1904	395,104	2,242,678	291,488	1,295,328	1,953,756	.....	152,833	.....
1905	397,273	2,237,571	1,018,641	5,615,433	1,894,516	\$6,304,671	126,055	.....
1906	394,898	2,149,062	430,602	2,481,336	2,219,044	7,896,392	143,772	.....
1907	324,171	1,763,490	698,080	2,642,146	2,169,873	8,781,366	107,094	.....
1908	353,341	1,380,708	448,765	2,669,095	2,606,973	10,185,783	118,451	.....
1909	274,087	1,760,088	1,632,949	7,917,608	2,305,477	9,438,152	91,629	.....
1910	391,415	2,544,198	567,883	3,143,256	2,413,054	11,086,322	171,605	.....
1911	543,331	3,052,164	1,557,021	7,727,524	2,820,966	16,198,833	258,015	.....
1912	285,666	2,319,856	416,125	2,679,457	4,060,129	16,890,229	179,423	.....
1913	266,479	2,012,387	2,583,463	13,329,168	3,746,493	13,859,478	83,561	.....
1914	454,621	3,595,989	792,860	5,095,839	4,067,832	19,719,942	177,347	.....
1915	558,534	4,305,292	1,269,206	4,675,418	4,489,341	19,930,010	166,068	.....
1916	547,805	4,361,075	707,278	3,437,944	4,919,589	23,823,428	176,590	.....

1917	555,218	6,530,939	1,921,554	16,159,699	5,922,320	51,850,017	148,874	.....	1917
1918	591,381	7,466,924	624,198	5,837,677	6,677,569	52,877,823	150,772	.....	1918
1919	580,028	7,490,920	1,295,626	12,257,785	4,592,201	45,552,714	139,650	.....	1919
1920	481,545	6,198,617	166,520	2,571,385	4,395,937	37,050,212	22,012	.....	1920
1921	323,341	4,203,649	653,490	4,983,511	2,604,973	20,470,043	29,420	.....	1921
1922	392,174	5,206,993	248,729	2,209,143	4,501,428	31,006,027	70,980	.....	1922
1923	480,925	6,730,924	758,138	4,696,997	5,063,340	33,909,428	103,823	.....	1923
1924	500,872	6,219,404	317,649	2,777,557	5,305,923	34,581,689	125,816	.....	1924
1925	540,452	7,468,468	911,670	7,820,169	4,450,898	33,802,839	126,246	.....	1925
1926	479,723	6,744,064	310,425	2,650,026	6,652,882	46,080,004	55,059	.....	1926
1927	519,809	7,028,705	892,244	7,957,339	3,566,072	31,441,534	86,347	.....	1927
1928	446,646	5,903,462	325,376	3,154,024	6,070,110	45,624,968	46,487	.....	1928
1929	422,117	5,905,024	1,131,844	9,238,306	5,370,242	41,672,456	.....	.....	1929
1930	429,505	5,658,177	572,606	6,795,318	4,988,987	29,884,813	.....	.....	1930
1931	353,699	4,191,000	948,881	4,842,446	5,432,535	29,696,636	.....	.....	1931
1932	296,191	2,474,586	310,911	1,782,912	5,260,488	20,449,405	.....	.....	1932
1933	336,711	3,329,178	771,776	4,660,910	5,226,698	29,406,294	.....	.....	1933
1934	362,721	3,462,919	500,093	4,493,834	7,470,586	37,040,830	.....	.....	1934
1935	322,739	3,405,282	516,727	3,066,991	5,155,826	26,009,934	.....	.....	1935
1936	316,445	3,833,055	182,561	1,472,528	8,454,948	44,079,213	.....	.....	1936
1937	416,830	5,437,294	441,874	3,094,274	6,654,038	45,028,418	13,444	.....	1937
1938	307,990	3,893,755	159,943	1,996,783	6,791,544	36,547,250	.....	.....	1938
1939	322,472	4,666,141	398,263	2,839,573	5,242,211	35,110,571	.....	.....	1939
1940	386,999	5,379,826	121,428	1,502,526	5,028,378	31,828,451	12,097	1940
1941	513,712	7,727,984	341,087	4,146,922	6,906,503	57,466,702	36,352	1941

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TABLE V

CANNED SALMON PACK BY SPECIES, IN CASES FOR LOCALITIES,
FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS, 1890-1940

	<i>Alaska</i>	<i>Puget Sound</i>	<i>Columbia River</i>
CHINOOK—			
1890.....	.....	1,000	335,604
1895.....	.....	1,524	444,904
1900.....	37,715	22,350	262,392
1905.....	42,125	1,804	327,106
1910.....	40,221	10,064	244,285
1915.....	85,694	28,466	406,486
1920.....	110,003	25,846	420,267
1925.....	50,774	29,061	350,809
1930.....	64,560	29,378	281,346
1935.....	36,475	9,243	205,870
1940.....	22,303	1,674	244,570
SILVER—			
1890.....	.....	3,000	.....
1895.....	.....	50,865	99,601
1900.....	50,984	128,200	44,925
1905.....	67,394	79,335	26,926
1910.....	114,026	162,755	68,922
1915.....	126,570	180,783	33,336
1920.....	192,085	24,502	27,024
1925.....	164,199	173,215	113,554
1930.....	329,988	122,691	110,430
1935.....	188,918	70,514	95,184
1940.....	284,130	231,878	59,737
RED—			
1890.....	.....	.....	.....
1895.....	.....	65,143	.....
1900.....	1,197,406	228,704	13,162
1905.....	1,574,428	847,122	7,768
1910.....	1,450,267	248,014	6,234
1915.....	1,922,296	64,584	5,459
1920.....	1,500,000	62,654	2,617
1925.....	1,065,290	112,023	5,650
1930.....	848,787	352,194	9,823
1935.....	823,175	51,714	1,302
1940.....	953,381	62,748	23,974

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PINK—

1890.....
1895.....	62,556
1900.....	232,022	*252,733	†20,597
1905.....	168,597	70,992	9,822
1910.....	554,322	108	5,436
1915.....	1,870,373	583,649	20,723
1920.....	1,593,120	4,669	12,645
1925.....	2,105,240	553,904	14,637
1930.....	3,150,652	3,712	16,535
1935.....	3,254,528	369,620	14,888
1940.....	2,908,025	2,947	33,436

CHUM—

1890.....	.....	4,000	.....
1895.....	.....	38,785	22,493
1900.....	30,012	89,100	17,696
1905.....	41,972	41,057	25,751
1910.....	254,218	146,942	66,538
1915.....	484,408	411,724	86,530
1920.....	1,033,517	48,849	18,792
1925.....	1,065,395	43,345	55,812
1930.....	596,000	64,234	11,371
1935.....	852,730	15,636	15,495
1940.....	860,539	114,798	25,282

Revolutionary changes in canning equipment and operation, and in fishing methods, made possible this expansion of the industry.

In the earliest canneries the entire process of preparing the fish, and of making and filling the cans, was carried out by hand. The bodies of the cans were cut out with squaring shears and shaped on a piece of wood; the seams and ends were soldered with a handiron. Not only was the manufacture of cans slow; it was also imperfect, a large percentage of the cans coming unsoldered. The salmon were cleaned with a butcher knife and cut into sections to fit the containers, the length of fish being measured with a stick. After cooking, the cans were painted, usually red. In the canneries that depended upon

*This figure is for 1899, no statistics for 1900 being available; the extraordinary variation in the figures in this column illustrate the alternate large and small runs of the Pink salmon in Puget Sound.

†This tabulation is for the Steelhead Trout, which is commercialized only on the Columbia River, where Pink salmon do not run in numbers large enough to be significant in the fishery.

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such procedure a pack of 150 cases a day was high and of two hundred cases was exceptional.

Improvements in cannery machinery and methods came in every department at about the same time: innovations and experiments of the 1880s resulted in efficient tools and processes at the turn of the century. Since 1915 canning has been almost wholly mechanized, and machinery used has been largely automatic in its operation.

In the region's salmon industry the earliest effort to replace can making by hand with machine manufacture was made by R. D. Hume. In 1877 he imported machines to solder can-ends, using them in his Rogue River plant. In 1883 the Pacific Can Company began to manufacture lock-seam cans, selling its entire first year's output to the Alaska Packing Company. Ten years later the can company built a factory at Astoria to supply the fisheries, producing fifteen million cans in eight months. By 1910 the American Can Company and Axel Johnson had independently designed machines which made double-seamed, solderless cans; these cans eliminated the necessity for venting cans, saving the oil of the fish and preserving its flavor. After that time most operators purchased their cans, although a few continued to make their own for some years.

During the period when can manufacturing was being mechanized, methods of butchering the salmon and of putting them into containers were also being improved. R. D. Hume and John West, in 1880, made a machine which automatically filled cans. Three years later Mathias Jensen invented his automatic filler, which was the first of the modern type. Another filling machine was offered in 1902 by the Bellingham, Washington, firm of Letson & Burpee. Currently, in the American Can Company and the Continental Can Company faster fillers are in general use. The speed of these newest machines has brought about a speeding-up of the whole canning line.

Possibly the most revolutionary change in canning procedure was effected by the introduction, in 1905, of the "iron Chink," so called because the workers it displaced were principally Chinese. An automatic dressing, or butchering and cleaning machine, it did the work of a gang of fifteen or twenty men, removing the heads, fins and tails, opening and cleaning, and preparing the salmon for cutting into pieces for the cans.

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Accompanying these advances in can manufacture and fish-dressing were improvements in cooking. Until around 1910 containers were freed of air by immersing them, after they had been filled with fish, in boiling water to within half an inch or so of the top; a hole in the top, through which the air and steam escaped, was then closed with a drop of solder. With the introduction of double-seamed cans, air was exhausted from the containers by heating them with live steam and then crimping the tops on. Within the next fifteen years vacuum-pump machines were adapted to this process, and are now generally in use. Cooking at first was simply a matter of boiling the sealed cans for an hour at approximately 230° Fahrenheit. A step toward the modern method was taken in 1874 when the Warren & Company plant at Cathlamet inaugurated dry-steam, or retort, cooking. Today this method, improved and scientifically controlled, is almost exclusively employed.

Finally, in the canneries, mechanical means for conveying the fish and filled cans, for labeling and packing, have been substituted for hand work.

By far the greatest proportion of the salmon catch is canned, but a fair proportion is mild cured or pickled, and frozen, while a small part of the offal goes into fish oil and meal. A very small part is smoked, or "kippered."

Salting was practiced long before canning, dating from the fur-trade period. After the introduction of canned salmon, however, the sales of salted salmon declined to a small amount. No lasting change was made in the salting process until 1906 when, to meet a growing European demand for "pickled" fish, mild-curing was developed. This method consists of packing prime salmon and salt in alternate layers, approximately one pound of salt to nine of fish, then filling the barrel with a ninety per cent. saturate solution of brine and keeping it twenty to ninety days in cold storage. After the storage period the fish is thoroughly washed and again put in brine, being then ready for market. At all times during the curing and shipping the fish must be kept in cold storage. The amount of salmon salted or mild cured has varied from a high of twenty-two million pounds in 1913 to an approximate average of thirteen million pounds since 1930.

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There is no record of salmon being frozen for any except the local market before 1888, when F. W. Schmidt built a freezing plant at Portland. The completion of the transcontinental railroads in the 1880s and the construction of refrigerated ocean freighters made possible the shipment of frozen fish to the Eastern States and to Europe. By 1910 the frozen salmon industry was solidly established, since 1930 freezing from eight million to twenty-eight million pounds of fish.

During the last ten years the canned salmon pack has run approximately three hundred fifty million pounds.

As early as 1873, J. West, on the Columbia River, was manufacturing oil from the refuse of canneries, and by 1880 fish meal was added to oil production. This branch of the fishery has continued small in proportion to canning, and has hardly trebled during the seventy years since it was begun.

In fishing for salmon, gear and practices have been changed in ways comparable with canning methods; they have been improved and, with the introduction of power-boats, tremendously increased in efficiency and scope.

The net, which is intrinsically a moving trap, has always been the main gear of the salmon fishery, and of nets, the gill net is most in use. This net is usually woven of linen twine, with meshes which have a stretch of four to ten inches, and with floats strung along the top and weights along the bottom to keep it suspended upright in the water. It is an entangling net, not a sweep net. As early as 1853 gill nets were in use on the Columbia; by the late 1870s, when the fishery spread to Puget Sound and Alaska, they had been enlarged until some were close to half a mile in length and twenty feet deep. There are several varieties of the gill net: by use, "drift," "set" and "diver"; by construction, "web," "trammel," a combination of these two, and "apron."

In using the drift net, one end is fastened to a buoy; a boat then pulls across the stream or tidal current until better than half of the net is paid out, then swings down current so that the net forms a rough letter "L" in the water. Net, buoy and boat drift with the current, sweeping a section of the stream or sea. At the end of the fishing period, usually a few hours, the net is pulled into the boat,

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where the fish are disentangled. Set gill nets are smaller than the drift variety and are fixed in one place. The "diver" gill net, which was introduced around 1900, is a drift net sunk by heavy weights to the bottom. It is employed with marked success where the bottom is even and the water free of débris.

The "trammel" net, which was also introduced around the turn of the century, in addition to the regular net, has nets of much larger weave hung on one or both sides of it. The fish, by pushing the gill net through the larger mesh become all the more entangled and less able to escape. The combination net has only the bottom portion trammed. The "apron" net, first used about the year 1915, is a gill net with another net attached to the top so that it hangs over the main net like an awning with side flaps; this "apron" serves to direct the fish into the main net, and sometimes also serves as a trammel net.

Other types of nets which were once widely used in the salmon fishery may be briefly noted. The dip net was, as the name indicates, a net with a long handle, in which fish were dipped out of the water. It was used by natives and whites until after 1880. The reef net was adopted from the Indians and used on Puget Sound until the 1910s. It is used in shoal water, somewhat as a long, narrow blanket might be. Stretched across the shoal, one side is held above water, the other stretched out under water down current; when the salmon are within the lower side it is elevated, forming a trough in which are the fish.

Seines are another kind of net in general use throughout this region, the modern varieties being but improvements on the Indian gear, with the principal changes being an increase in the size of the seine and the utilization of power boats in their manipulation. There are two kinds of seines: the haul seine and the purse seine. The haul seine is used in the shallower water of the Columbia River and some sites in Alaskan waters; the purse seine is used in the deeper water of Puget Sound and Alaska.

In haul seining, the net—from one thousand to two thousand five hundred feet long and thirty to forty-five feet deep—is held at one end on shore while the other end is swung by boats so that it makes a circle in the water, the net then being hauled to shore, frequently by horses. Purse seining is similar, except that the net is anchored to a

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skiff while the free end is carried around a school of fish by the seiner, which is a power boat; when the encirclement is completed the bottom end of the seine is gathered, or puckered together, by a line strung through rings, thus making a "purse," or pocket. The seine is then gradually hauled in and the fish dipped out of the constricting net into the boat.

Nets and seines have accounted for approximately half of the catch in the last sixty years, from the Columbia River to Alaska.

Modern traps, which were evolved from Indian weirs, are constructed of net or wire webbing and wood, and are fixed or floating. In their general plan all traps are similar, consisting of the "lead," the "heart," the "pot" and the "spiller." The lead is an obstruction reaching, in fixed traps, from the shore to the heart, and in floating traps extending outward and forward from the heart; it serves to direct the fish into the corralling heart. From the heart a tunnel, or opening, leads the salmon into the pot, which is a smaller corral or cage from which in turn, in many traps, another opening leads into the spiller. From the pot or spiller the fish are dipped into a tender.

Traps were in use in the Columbia River as early as 1853, and became increasingly popular after the introduction of canning. The period of their evolution extends, in its major changes, throughout the 1870s and 1880s, modern traps being generally in use by the middle of the 1890s. On the Columbia River traps have averaged approximately one-fourth of the catch, in Puget Sound and Alaska nearly as much. In Washington traps were prohibited by law after 1935.

No type of fishing gear is more ingenious than the wheel, which was invented and patented in 1879 by A. W. Williams, a Columbia River operator. It may be fixed in a stream or built on a scow, which is moved wherever fishing seems best. Constructed like a water wheel, the fish wheel is placed facing down current; as it is revolved by the flow, the paddles, to which shallow dip nets are attached, lift the fish from the water and spill them into a chute, which on shore wheels leads to a bin and on scow wheels leads into the scow. Although they are perhaps the most novel of fishing gear in this region, they have never been of more than minor importance commercially, and are not at present being used.

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Trolling, although the latest method adopted in this region, has in a few districts become a major type of fishing. The natives all along the coast engaged in trolling, but not until 1905 did white fishermen employ the method, trying it with marked success in Alaska that year. While still mainly practiced in Alaska, since 1912 trolling has been extensively carried on off the Columbia River. The introduction of power boats, from which as many as seven lines can be let out—although three to five is the usual number; the relatively small amount of capital needed; and, since most commercial trolling is outside the three-mile limit, exemption from paying a license fee, have promoted this type of fishing.

Boats are as integral a part of the fisheries as nets, and the motorization of the fishing fleet has contributed, probably, more than any other development to the expansion of the industry. Row boats and skiffs were used from the very first, through successive decades undergoing small change beyond insignificant alterations of design to meet local conditions. The earliest use of internal combustion engines in fishing boats in this region seems to have been around 1897, when a few boats on the Columbia River were equipped with one and one-fourth horsepower gas motors. In 1903 the first motor-powered boat operated in Puget Sound and, apparently, in 1904 in Alaskan waters. In the latter year not more than one out of fifty fishing boats was power driven; by 1910 approximately one-third were motor boats, and after 1915 all but very few were equipped with engines.

The effects of this development were immediate. Purse seining increased in proportion to other modes of fishing. The range of the boats and the size of the areas fished were greatly increased, with a corresponding increase in the amount of the catch. The enlarged catch aggravated some natural conditions, such as the threatened depletion of the salmon runs, and further increased international disagreement over fishing grounds. The industry, already "Big Business," became bigger; lines were more sharply drawn between operators and employees, and between fishermen and canners; labor relations became a troublesome problem, and inter-cannery coöperation through associations became more common; national and state laws were passed, and international agreements were made in efforts to regulate the industry.

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In short, after the installation of the "iron Chink" in canneries and the conversion of rowboats and skiffs into motor boats, the history of the salmon fishery becomes increasingly a history of "social" as opposed to "technical" developments.

Problems of Preserving the Salmon Fishery—Within thirty years after the beginning of canning—even before the complete mechanization of the salmon industry—the large number of fishing craft and the great amount of gear in use were reducing the size of the runs in every locality. On some streams a very small proportion of the fish escaped the fishermen, and throughout the entire region more fish were being caught than were being spawned. With the building along the streams of industrial plants which dumped their waste into the water and made it uninhabitable for fish, with the construction of dams which hindered or stopped salmon on their way to the spawning grounds, with the digging of irrigation ditches into which millions of newly hatched salmon were diverted and spread over fields and orchards, the depletion of the runs was inevitable unless conservation measures were adopted.

In adopting those measures several problems had to be solved: the technique of artificial propagation had to be improved; ways to get fish over dams, and to keep them out of ditches, had to be devised; appropriate laws and international agreements had to be framed and enacted, often with little public support and at times against the opposition of some groups; it was necessary to secure a measure of coöperation among individuals and groups in an intensely competitive industry. These problems have not yet been perfectly solved, but much has been done, and today the salmon fishery, insofar as its operation depends upon preserving the runs, is on a relatively stable base.

Because the salmon breed exclusively in streams, and return almost without exception to the streams in which they were hatched, they must have free access to their spawning grounds, and through streams suitable by their purity, food supply and temperature, to support the young fish. When such access is not free to a sufficient number of spawning adults, whether because of obstructions such as dams or because of too intensive fishing, the salmon in that stream die out.

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To counteract such destructive forces hatcheries have been maintained by State or Federal governments since the 1890s.

Hatcheries are located on salmon streams and the eggs handled in them are taken from fish caught in those streams. The eggs and milt are "stripped" from the female and male by hand, somewhat as milk is stripped from a cow's udder, and placed in germinating basins. Upon hatching, the fish are scientifically cared for until the egg-sac is absorbed, when feeding begins. The baby fish "fry" and "fingerlings" are then planted in the streams. In conjunction with other conservation practices, artificial propagation has helped to maintain the salmon population of most streams and in some instances to restore declining runs.

Two private hatcheries seem to have been opened in this region before any official effort was made: one on Grays Harbor sometime during the early 1870s and another on the Columbia River in 1876. Since the successful operation of hatcheries depends upon control of conditions beyond private authority or resources, artificial propagation could not be permanently introduced into the fishery except by a governmental agency. The State of Washington pioneered, in 1896, establishing two hatcheries on streams tributary to the Columbia. That number had been increased to fifteen within five years and to thirty-six by 1940. The United States Bureau of Fisheries opened a hatchery in Washington in 1890 and now operates twelve. During the half century of hatchery operation methods have been consistently improved, the average hatch for the past decade being: State hatcheries, one hundred thirty-one million five hundred thousand fry; Federal hatcheries, one hundred fourteen million.

The history of artificial salmon propagation in Oregon has been similar to that in Washington. After some early experimentation by individuals the State undertook the work of conservation. The first hatcheries in the State, including experimental stations, were constructed between 1899 and 1902, four hatcheries being in operation by the latter year. A decade later the number had been increased to fifteen, with twenty being the average number of fish culture stations working during the last decade. Release of fry for each of the last ten years has been approximately: State hatcheries, seventy million fry; Federal hatcheries, two million five hundred thousand. Three Federal hatcheries are now being operated in Oregon.

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In Alaska, which is still a Territory, Federal activity and legislation cover much fishery practice that in Washington and Oregon is under State supervision. Hatchery work was first undertaken there in 1896, following investigations of the salmon fishery made by the government between 1890 and 1893. The Kodiak Island hatchery, the earliest constructed, liberated two and one-half million fry in the first year of operation. By 1912 hatcheries had been increased to six in number, and the release of fry raised to seven hundred sixty-five million. Other conservation methods, such as control of catch and stream pollution, have replaced hatchery operation, with no Federal hatcheries being operated after 1935.

The establishment and operation of hatcheries illustrated two new trends in the salmon fishery: the beginning of conservation practices and of governmental supervision and regulation. In good measure, the laws governing the fishery have been enacted for the benefit of the industry, having for their primary purpose the preservation of the salmon population. The fish production of the hatcheries could not, however, and cannot now, alone preserve the fishery; the size of the catch must be restricted to approximately the size of the escapement, and conditions of streams must be controlled to keep them habitable for the fish.

Very early the government of Washington began to take regulatory measures intended to protect the fishery. In 1877—twelve years before Washington became a State—the Territorial Legislature created a commission to try to preserve the fishery of the Columbia River. The authority and effectiveness of these efforts were small; it was not until the creation of the State in 1889 that the industry was brought under comprehensive regulation. The first State Legislature created, in 1890, a State Fish Commission headed by a State Fish Commissioner, and enacted a fishery code which prohibited the pollution of streams, forbade the use of explosives in fishing, provided for the construction of hatcheries and of fishways around obstructions, and specified the kind of gear and the conditions under which it might be used. License fees were collected from fishermen after 1893.

In Oregon State supervision of the fishery began later than in Washington, the office of State Commissioner of Fisheries being cre-

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ated in 1887 and the first regulatory statutes enacted in 1899. In that year a Department of Fisheries was created by the Legislature, money was appropriated for the construction of hatcheries, a licensing system was inaugurated, laws were passed which set closed seasons, specified permissible gear and fishing areas, and brought most phases of the industry under a measure of control. In 1920 the Fish Commission of Oregon was created with the duties of enforcing the fishing laws, operating hatcheries and carrying on research in methods of preserving and rehabilitating the salmon runs of Oregon streams.

The Federal Government first attempted to regulate the fisheries of Alaska in 1889, when the obstructing of streams was forbidden. The one agent appointed to enforce the law throughout the entire Territory and to gather biological data was unable to accomplish anything toward conserving the runs. New laws passed in 1896 and 1899 were enforced little better. Not until well into the 1900s were the statutes enforced that controlled methods and locations of fishing, stopped stream pollution and obstruction, and protected specified spawning grounds. In addition to operating hatcheries as a part of the conservation effort the government allowed subsidies to operators who undertook such work privately. By the end of the World War of 1914-18 the all but free exploitation of the Alaskan salmon fishery had placed the industry in a critical condition, and in 1924 Congress passed the White Act to meet that crisis. This law, with a few changes, is in force today and is ably administered by the U. S. Fish and Wild Life Service under the Secretary of Interior. Its regulations are localized to meet conditions in each area; it fixes the kind of gear that may be used, limits the catch, protects the streams and spawning grounds, and provides for scientific biological control of the salmon runs. Operators and fishermen were put under license in 1921.

In addition to the problems of conservation and control within each of the two states and the Territory, the question of inter-state and international regulation was early raised on the Columbia River, in Puget Sound and in Alaskan waters. Oregon and Washington met this problem in 1918 by a Federally approved compact which provided that the laws of each State should have concurrent jurisdiction

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over Columbia River fisheries where the river is the boundary between the two states.

The dispute between the United States and Canadian governments over the Puget Sound Sockeye run continued for a quarter of a century, during which time the run was almost destroyed by exploitation and accident. The Sockeye salmon, which holds a major place in the Puget Sound fishery, spawn in the Fraser River of British Columbia. To reach that stream they must pass through American waters, and there American fishermen were intensely active in taking as many as possible of the Canadian-spawned fish. An effort was made to adjust this competition in 1908, when the two national governments appointed a commission to study the problem and to make recommendations. A treaty was drawn but not ratified, and the fishing continued on an even more exploitive scale. In 1913 a rock slide on the Fraser River blocked the stream and prevented full spawning that year, which happened to be a "big" year in the Sockeye cycle of three light years and one heavy year. This accident and the excessive fishing brought a decline in the run from an average in the 1890s of around five hundred thousand cases for light years and one million five hundred thousand cases for heavy years to approximately one hundred ten thousand cases for light years and one hundred eighty thousand for heavy years after 1913. A second effort to save the fishery was made in 1917-18, and also failed; but in 1930 the United States and Canadian governments reached agreement, made effective by treaty in 1937, and began effectual efforts to rehabilitate the run. The result has been that the decline has been halted, although no increase has yet been brought about.

Serious friction over salmon fishing in Bristol Bay, Alaska, has existed, with temporary easement, between the United States and Japan for several years. The continental shelf of North America in that bay stretches twenty, thirty or even more miles out into the sea toward Japan. Much of the bay lies, consequently, outside the international limit of territorial waters, and inasmuch as it is seldom more than one hundred fathoms deep it can be fished on a very large scale. In 1936 the Japanese began a "scientific investigation" of the salmon resources of the bay, the investigating consisting of intensive fishing operations. Under the protest of the United States Government the

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Japanese Government agreed in 1938 to discontinue the investigation. However, that government did not admit that the authority of the United States extended beyond the three-mile limit. The matter of the Bristol Bay fishery has not been settled.

In another move to put an end to alien fishing in the bay Congress in 1938 passed an Act prohibiting commercial fishing there except by citizens of, or persons owing allegiance to, the United States.

In addition to the threat carried in unregulated, exploitative fishing, which is apparently being countered by conservation measures, the salmon industry is faced with dangers attaching to certain industrial and agricultural developments. Such conditions as pollution in the streams in the form of sawdust or chemical waste from mills, irrigation and power dams which obstruct the fish in their runs up-stream to spawning grounds, and open irrigation ditches in which young fish on their way to the sea are lost, were among the first concerns of salmon fishermen and governmental agencies. Today most of these dangers, also, are being brought under control.

The control of stream pollution was attracting the attention of Oregon and Washington fishermen as early as the 1870s, and by 1877 the Washington Territorial Legislature passed a law forbidding the dumping of sawdust and sawmill waste into fishing streams. A few years later washings from coal mines, and after the turn of the century chemical refuse from factories were the subjects of prohibitory legislation in both Washington and Oregon.

Recently the construction of dams, especially the great Columbia River dams, has raised severe problems and brought ingenious answers. The first danger to the industry which dams create is that of obstructing the salmon running to the spawning grounds. This is a more intense form of the difficulty which was met in the 1880s by legislation requiring the maintenance of "runways" around the dams of that period, and has been met with apparent success by the construction of "fish ladders" and "elevators." The "ladders" consist of a trough, or channel, leading in an S-like curve from the water above the dam to the river below. The ladder is constructed in a series of compartments, like square tubs, each a few feet lower than the one next above it. The salmon swim up this ladder with relative ease. The elevators are, as the name indicates, cages which are

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placed at the foot of the dam where they serve as traps for the running fish, and are then raised to the top of the dam and their catch emptied into the river above it.

Another problem created by dams, and also by irrigation ditches, is the destruction of fry swimming down stream from the spawning grounds to the sea. The young fish will, unless prevented, be diverted in large numbers from the river into irrigation ditches or at the dam into the turbines, in both instances being destroyed. Large dams are thus a double threat to the salmon fishery of the rivers. During the last twenty years screens have been placed at the intakes of most irrigation ditches, and as the dams have been constructed have been made a part of the structure at the turbine tunnels. More recently "electric" screens have been developed with success. These "screens" consist of current flowing at right angle to the stream across its entire breadth, from bottom to surface between positive and negative poles—usually wires strung across the stream. This screen of electricity shocks the fish sufficiently to keep them from passing through it. The major advantage of the electric screen is that it does not collect débris or obstruct the river flow.

Still another adverse condition created by dams is the effect which they sometimes have of making spawning grounds unfit. The warmer temperature of the slower moving water back of dams, the food which gets into that water and the quality of the water itself may impede or prevent the growth of fry.

Intensive fishing, stream pollution and obstruction, and the use of spawning-ground waters for other commercial purposes have in the past threatened, and in a lesser measure still threaten, the salmon fishery. However, progress is being made in the solution of all the problems presented, and the profitable continuation of the industry, insofar as it depends upon the control of destructive practices, would seem at this time to be assured.

Internal Relations of the Industry—The internal relations of the salmon fishery in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska have been typical of those which distinguished most of American industry of the last two generations; in a few phases, due to local conditions, the salmon fishery has developed regional characteristics.

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Labor relations have been determined until recently by two major factors: the work is seasonal and the workers were—and in large proportion still are—immigrants. The season for both fishermen and cannery workers averages about five months, although in some localities fishermen may work sporadically throughout the year. Fishermen have been throughout the history of the industry predominantly Scandinavian. In Washington and Oregon fishermen have always been for the most part independent operators, in Alaska they are mostly cannery employees. In the canneries also immigrant laborers have been in the majority. The Chinese were the first of these, and were employed in large numbers after 1880. For twenty years Chinese almost exclusively cleaned the fish and prepared them for the cans—it will be remembered that the automatic dressing machine was called the “iron Chink.” At the turn of the century Japanese, who were flocking to the Pacific Coast as the Chinese had forty years before, began to displace other laborers, soon filling the majority of skilled and unskilled cannery jobs. After another twenty years, when the Japanese had been restricted in their immigration, Filipinos began to fill the canneries. Currently, Filipinos represent approximately half of cannery labor except in Alaska. There natives constitute about the same number of workers, together with the Filipinos accounting for close to two-thirds of cannery labor.

Earnings of independent fishermen have varied according to the catch and the scale of prices for fresh salmon. In that respect they are somewhat like farmers, enjoying good and enduring bad years. Although their earnings for the last fifteen years have run somewhat higher than the sixty-year average, a season—five month—earning of around \$1,750 is close to the average. Fortunate fishermen will make up to \$3,000 and less lucky ones as little as \$500. It must be kept in mind that these sums represent not only the fisherman's wages, but also the returns on his investment in boat and gear, which is often as much as \$15,000. Fishermen employed by the cannery companies are paid on a scale approximating that of cannery labor itself; for the past several years in Alaska those wages have varied from between \$350 for apprentices to \$2,000 or better for trap and expert cannery men, and in other regions have run somewhat higher. Alaska wage rates are net; workers are furnished transportation, housing and food without charge.

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In the earlier days of the salmon fishery wages were low—as they were elsewhere in American industry and to immigrant labor. Labor troubles were, however, relatively infrequent, mainly because of the Oriental personnel, and unionization was slow. The Alaska Fishermen's Union was organized in 1902, yet union forces were not powerful until after 1933, when the Cannery Workers Union was organized. Since that year strikes have been called twice, once over wages and once in a jurisdictional dispute. The industry is now completely unionized; the other unions, CIO and AFL, are: Columbia River Fishermen's Protective Union, Deep Sea Fishermen's Union of the Pacific, Pacific Coast Fisheries Union, Salmon Purse-Seiners Union of the Pacific, United Fishermen of Alaska. Regional associations of fishing vessel owners—of independent fishermen—which often function as unions, are: Fishing Vessel Owners Association, Purse Seine Vessel Owners Association, Pacific Coast Purse Seiners Association, Alaska Trollers Association.

As the salmon fishery expanded into a "big business" between 1890 and 1910, groups of canners formed several types of associations to further the interests of the industry. The Association of Pacific Fisheries, formed in 1914, in its purposes and work is the most comprehensive of all such groups. The Association inaugurated cannery inspection in 1919, carrying on that service for several years and since 1933 carrying on inspection of the finished pack. This activity, which is wholly voluntary, is supported by almost all operators, and has been one of the strongest forces in raising the quality of canned salmon. Other efforts of the association have been to help secure the passage of the Federal Fisheries Act of 1924, and the scientific study of fishing and canning processes. Another type of organization is the Canned Salmon Industry, founded in 1937 to advertise canned salmon. Both these associations have better than ninety per cent. of the operators for members. A third type of organization is the Pacific Canned Salmon Distributors Association.

Place of the Salmon Fishery in the Regional Economy—It is difficult to indicate the place of the salmon fishery in the region's economy. It contributes more to the economy of Alaska and Washington and Oregon than the value of its product or the amount of wages

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paid: for example, in part it supports the shipping, can-manufacturing, boat-building, retail trade and general commerce of all the coast cities.

On an average the industry has for many years provided direct employment for sixteen thousand persons in Alaska and for eight thousand in Washington and Oregon combined. Indirectly, approximately twelve thousand more workers are dependent upon the fishery. In Alaska the salmon fishery supplies close to two-thirds of the revenues of the Territorial government; the \$43,000,000 which is the yearly value of the salmon pack is more than twice the Territory's yearly mineral production. In Washington and Oregon, where agriculture and lumbering are leading economic activities, the salmon fishery is not so dominant a factor. Even in those states, however, the salmon fishery falls but slightly behind mining in value of product, and is a major industry of Pacific Coast, Puget Sound and lower Columbia River cities.

The salmon pack of Alaska alone is greater than that of the rest of the world; with the pack of Washington and Oregon it amounts to two-thirds of the world total.

One of the most colorful of the region's industries, the salmon fishery in its long period of slow founding, exploitative expansion and stabler production has contributed much to the economic development of the Pacific Coast communities and to the economic advantage of the interior areas. Under conservation practices, the fishery can contribute much to the future prosperity of the states of Washington and Oregon and the Territory of Alaska.



Daniel Campbell

Daniel Campbell

Salmon Packer

BY J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



THE salmon industry of the Pacific Northwest numbers among its leading figures Daniel Campbell, who has been identified with its development for more than forty years and as a founder and president of Astoria and Puget Sound Canning Company of Bellingham, Washington, supplied the courage and enterprise which are necessary in the building of every large business. His career as a captain of industry, his support of other business enterprises outside the salmon industry and his fine civic spirit have meant much to Bellingham, a community which has shared largely in the constructive influences marking his life.

Mr. Campbell was born at Moose River, Nova Scotia, on June 18, 1866, son of Donald and Ann (Munro) Campbell and a descendant of the ancient Scottish Highland clan whose name he bears. His grandfather, who was the founder of the line in the New World, was born at Inverness, Scotland, and came to Canada in early life. Receiving a royal grant of land in Nova Scotia, he settled at Moose River, Pictou County, and died there in December, 1875. He married, at Inverness, Scotland, Anna McMillan, who died at Moose River. Donald Campbell, father of Daniel Campbell, was the fifth of their nine children. Born at Moose River in 1830, he was a life-long resident of that community, which remained his home until his death in 1916. He married, about 1854, Ann Munro, of Moose River, born in 1827, died in 1915, and they became the parents of five children.

Daniel Campbell was the youngest child born to his parents. He spent several of his early years in Nova Scotia and, in 1889, went to Astoria, Oregon, working first in a lumber mill and later entering the fuel business. He returned to Nova Scotia for a visit, but the Pacific Northwest, with its wide horizon and wider opportunities, continued to exercise a powerful appeal for him. Accordingly, he

DANIEL CAMPBELL, SALMON PACKER

again came to Astoria and in 1899 moved to Bellingham, Washington. Since that time the interests of his own career and the development of the city have been closely interwoven. In that year, 1899, he took a hand in the formation of the Astoria & Puget Sound Canning Company, which he organized with several associates. He was elected vice-president of the new enterprise, while M. J. Kinney became president and George M. Hawes, of Portland, acted as secretary. The plant of the Bellingham Bay Canning Company on Chuckanut Drive was taken over and the company embarked on operations which were carried forward on a steadily expanding scale for more than thirty years. Mr. Campbell early purchased the stock interest of his partners and has since controlled the business, directing its operations as executive head, formulating the policies which brought a world-wide market for its products, working out his program of expansion step by step. In 1908 he extended the company's operations as far north as Alaska, and has operated a cannery there. These steps greatly increased the scope of the business, and notable, also, was his acquisition of the Ainsworth & Dunn Packing Company, at Blaine, Washington, with its cannery, traps, boats and pile-drivers in 1923.

The Astoria & Puget Sound Canning Company has maintained a large fleet of fishing boats and scows, and has shipped its products, long famous for quality and flavor, all over the world. The Bellingham plant, enlarged from time to time, has a capacity of four thousand five hundred cases of salmon per day, and the Alaska plant a capacity of six thousand cases per day. At the peak of its operations the corporation employed some three hundred persons. Since the enactment of new restrictive legislation in 1934, the company has been obliged to curtail its operations on Puget Sound, but the record of its growth is a bright chapter in the history of the salmon industry in the Northwest and its success was an important factor in establishing Bellingham as the salmon center of the world. In 1936, Mr. Campbell purchased an interest in the Friday Harbor Cannery Company, and has been president and manager for several years.

Mr. Campbell has also been active in other business enterprises. In 1917, with several associates, he established the Royal Dairy Products Company, which installed the first powdered milk plant at Bellingham, and acted as director until the business was sold in 1923.

DANIEL CAMPBELL, SALMON PACKER

He has been a director of the First National Bank of Bellingham for many years and is chairman of the board of the recently organized Bellingham Plywood Corporation. He is an influential member of the Bellingham Chamber of Commerce and by his support and personal effort has furthered every movement designed to promote the growth and progress of the city. He was elected a member of the old city council and served at the time of the consolidation of Fairhaven and Whatcom when the name was changed to Bellingham. He carried into public life the vision combined with sound judgment which have distinguished his business career. Mr. Campbell's election some years ago as president of the Pacific Fisheries Association reflects his standing in the industry. He is affiliated fraternally with the Masonic Order, in which he is a member of all higher Scottish Rite bodies, including the thirty-second degree of the Consistory, the Commandery of the Knights Templar and the Temple of the Mystic Shrine. He is also a member and for fifteen years served as president of the Bellingham Golf and Country Club. In politics he is a Republican. During the last World War, Mr. Campbell served as chairman of the Salmon Division of the United States Food Administration for the State of Washington under Charles Hebbard. He remains today one of Bellingham's first citizens, honored for the positive accomplishments of his career and for his fine example as a citizen and community builder.

On December 25, 1896, at Bellingham, Washington, Daniel Campbell married Susanna Barbara Roberts, who was born in Scott Township, Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, daughter of James Edward and Eleanor Jane (White) Roberts and a great-granddaughter of Edward Roberts, a pioneer settler in western Pennsylvania, who was born in North Wales in 1770, crossed the Allegheny Mountains in 1807, and died in Shenango Township, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, in 1854. Mr. and Mrs. Campbell are the parents of one daughter, Marjorie Eleanor, born August 12, 1902. She was married on December 2, 1925, to Aldwin Randolph Walker, and has four children: Donald Campbell, born September 22, 1927; Robert Randolph, born January 16, 1931; Susannah Marjorie, born May 30, 1934; and James Munro, born January 2, 1942.

Charles A. Burckhardt

Man of Affairs

BY J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



IN the Pacific Northwest, Charles A. Burckhardt is widely known for his thirty years of leadership in the salmon canning industry, during which he pioneered in the development of Alaskan interests, built and successfully operated a large organization and made his influence effective in many ways to promote the interests of the industry as a whole. Although he has now disposed of his canneries, he continues to be active in the management of large affairs and in the general life of the Seattle area, which owes much to his enterprise and useful citizenship.

Mr. Burckhardt was born in Portland, Oregon, on September 19, 1868, son of Adolph and Amelia (Logus) Burckhardt. His father, who came to Portland in 1863, was engaged in the meat business for many years and later was one of the organizers of the Union Meat Company.

Charles A. Burckhardt received his education in Portland schools, attending both public and private institutions. Entering the employ of the Union Meat Company, he filled various positions in the organization and eventually was transferred from the home office in Portland to the managership of the Seattle branch, continuing in this capacity until 1895, when he returned to Portland. For a time he was supervisor of several meat markets until these were sold in 1896. From 1896 to 1898 he was engaged in the insurance business. In the meantime he entered politics, serving as assistant county recorder of Multnomah (Oregon) County, as chief clerk in the county assessor's office and finally, from 1901 to 1905, as assistant postmaster of the city of Portland.

From childhood, however, Mr. Burckhardt had been interested in the canning industry of the Northwest. In his youth he spent a number of summers at a cannery in Astoria in which his uncle was



Charles A. Duncanson

CHARLES A. BURCKHARDT

interested. When the opportunity offered, therefore, it was not unnatural that he should be eager to enter the industry. In 1906 he purchased a cannery at Yes Bay, Alaska, situated about forty miles from Ketchikan. This step largely determined the course of his activities during the next thirty years. They were devoted to the salmon industry and the expansion of his interests as a packer. In 1910 Mr. Burckhardt bought another cannery at Chilkoot, Alaska, and with his two plants as a nucleus, organized the Alaska Pacific Fisheries. A third plant was then erected at Chomly, on Cholmondeley Sound, Alaska, and operations were continued without change until 1921.

In the fall of 1921 he consolidated the three canneries operated by his company, the Alaska Pacific Fisheries, with the three canneries owned by the Bank of California, forming the Alaska Consolidated Canneries, Inc. These were successfully operated by Mr. Burckhardt until 1928, when the Alaska Consolidated Canneries, Inc., sold their properties to the Alaska Pacific Salmon Company. Keeping his place in the industry, Mr. Burckhardt purchased still another cannery at Burnett Inlet in 1929, kept it in operation until 1931, and finally sold it in 1936. Mr. Burckhardt pioneered the development of salmon canning in Alaska and always thoroughly enjoyed it. As a business builder his efforts were important to the industry for many years. As a leading figure in the industry, his vision benefited all. Working through the Association of Pacific Fisheries, he proposed and carried through many measures of constructive value to the industry. He was one of the first to suggest that the association advertise fish and in throwing his weight behind this movement, whose success is a matter of record. His election as president of the Association of Pacific Fisheries was merited recognition of the place he filled in the industry and his forceful and successful administration put the industry still further in this debt. When he retired as president of the association upon the completion of his term, he was presented with a gold watch, one of his cherished possessions, which bears the following inscription:

To Charles A. Burckhardt, A deserved token, in sincere appreciation for work well done.—Association of Pacific Fisheries, September 17, 1927.

CHARLES A. BURCKHARDT

Although incidental to the development of his canning business in their original state, Mr. Burckhardt has made several ventures in the shipping industry which developed large importance in their own right. During the First World War he built several ships for the use of his canneries and had a shipbuilding plant on what is known as the West Waterway in Seattle. At the same time he organized the Independent Navigation Company, a subsidiary of Alaska Pacific Fisheries, and engaged in the general freight and passenger service from Seattle to ports in southeastern Alaska. He became president of this corporation at its organization and filled that position until 1928. In 1923 Mr. Burckhardt organized the Lake Washington Shipyards, a company of which he became the first president, holding the office continuously to date. The original plan was to use the yards principally for the repair of the ships of his canneries, and today the Lake Washington Shipyards are a substantial industry. Greatly enlarged, they are doing tremendous quantities of navy shipbuilding. The supervision of these operations has taken up Mr. Burckhardt's time since he sold his canneries. Although he has passed his seventieth year he is still a hard worker, showing the vigorous and decisive leadership which made his name a byword in the canning industry through some three decades. While this is a review primarily concerned with Mr. Burckhardt's career as it has been identified with the fisheries industry, we add a few lines about his contribution to the present World War effort.

In the Lake Washington Shipyards, of which he is president, they employ over seven thousand men and at this writing have built and are constructing ships for the United States Navy valued in excess of one hundred million dollars.

Mr. Burckhardt is a Republican in politics and is a member of the Rainier Club of Seattle, as well as the Multnomah Athletic Club of Portland.

He married, on February 10, 1892, at Portland, Oregon, Phœbe Ann Williams, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Warren H. Williams, her father a prominent architect of Portland, Oregon. Mrs. Burckhardt has been his constant partner, helper, and inspiration, and they are the parents of one daughter, Nan, wife of William H. Dills.



Simpson

Simpson and Allied Families

BY J. C. FOX, DALLAS, TEXAS



IMPSON, also spelled Simson, as well as its variants, Sim, Simes and Simms, are of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of Simon" from the nickname Sim. Several families of the name are listed in early records as follows: Thomas Symme, Johannes Symmeson and Johannes Symson, all in the Poll Tax, West Riding of Yorkshire, 1379, and Christopher Sims in County Berks in 1594.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Arms—Argent, on a chief indented vert, three crescents of the first.

Crest—A crescent or.

Motto—*Tandem implebitur.*

(Arms in possession of the family.)

I. *Dr. William Simpson* was born in Ireland, died in Madison County, Alabama, about 1816, and was buried at Hobbs Island, in Madison County. He served as a surgeon in the War of 1812. In October, 1813, he joined General Coffee's regiment, as it passed through Madison County, Alabama, many recruits joining as volunteers at this time and place. In the records of the probate office of Madison County, Alabama, appears an account of the sale of the personal property of William Simpson. Practically all household goods, farm implements, etc., were purchased by Margaret Simpson; Thomas Austin purchased "a pair of tooth drawers"; Joel Wallace, one spring lancet; Doctor Heathcock, one set of instruments and one pair small scales; John Wyche, "Bell on Surgery"; Thomas Fearn, a mortar, knife and all the medicine. This document was signed by Louis Winston and Hopkins Lacy, administrators, and the sale was held July 26, 1816. A petition of George Simpson stated: "On the 3rd day of September, 1809, a settlement took place between your petitioner and his brother William Simpson late of said county deceased relative to an account current between them." William Simpson had entered the northeast quarter of Section 17, Township 5, Range 1

SIMPSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

East, and contracted to make deed to his brother George, but died without having done so, the petition was for completion of title, and recited that "on the days of 1816 the said William Simpson departed this life without having first made his last will and testament and at May term 1816 of your Honorable Court letters of administration on the estate of said William were granted to Louis Winston and Hopkins Lacy."

Dr. William Simpson married Mary, who was born in Ireland, but whose surname is not known. Children: 1. John, of whom further. 2. Mary, married, May 22, 1822, George McLeod.

("Records of National Society Daughters of 1812," National No. 4156. "Records of the Probate Office of Madison County, Alabama. Records of Madison County, Alabama," Deed Book X, pp. 45, 403; "Marriage Records," No. 3, p. 330.)

II. John Simpson, son of Dr. William and Mary Simpson, was born about 1800. According to the 1850 census record, he was born in Madison County, Alabama, but this is probably not correct, as this county was not entered by whites before 1804. He died before December 3, 1877, on which date J. W. Morton made personal application to be appointed administrator of the estate of John Simpson, deceased. On April 6, 1831, John Simpson, George McLeod and Mary, his wife, of Madison County, Alabama, deeded to James Finley the south half of the southwest quarter of Section 20, Township 5, Range 1 East, "containing 80 acres, more or less." In "Deed Book X," of Madison County, Alabama, appear the following interesting records:

TITLE BOND—Whereas George McLeod did on the 24th day of December last execute a title bond to Fred. Jones as guardian for his children for a tract of land containing one hundred and nine acres adjoining the Tennessee River and the lands of the estate of Richard Burdine dec'd. and the lands of Hopkins Lacy, dec'd, and the land of Colonel James White the said tract of land of one hundred and nine acres being a legacy to myself and my sister, the present Mrs. George McLeod, from my father's estate, the late Dr. William Simpson. And whereas I am desirous to secure to said Jones a guardian for his children the title to said tract of land, know all men by these presents that I, John Simpson, of Madison County and State of Alabama.

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This was dated March 6, 1834, was signed by John Simpson and was witnessed by John Hardie and J. B. Turner.

Whereas George McLeod and John Simpson, of Madison County, in the State of Alabama, did on the 24th day of December 1833 sell to Frederick Jones of said County as guardian for his children one hundred nine acres adjoining the village of Whitesburg and lying on the Tennessee River therefore this indenture made this first day of February, 1849, between the said George McLeod, John Simpson and his wife Margaret Simpson, of the one part and the said Frederick Jones guardian for his children on the other part one hundred and nine acres lying and being in said county and state aforesaid, it being part of the southwest quarter of Tract Section Nineteen of Tract Township five of Range 1 East patented in the name of the late Thomas Austin dec'd, and bounded south by Tenn. River, and the lands of the late Colonel James White, west by the lands of the late Richard Burdine (now Theophilus Lacy) north by the lands of the late Hopkins Lacy now the estate of Albert Russel dec'd, formerly the lands of the said Hopkins Lacy.

(Signed) GEORGE MCLEOD
JOHN SIMPSON
MARGARET A. SIMPSON.

On January 31, 1835, an indenture was made between John Simpson, George McLeod and Mary McLeod of the county of Madison and the State of Alabama of one part and John F. Hobbs of the other part, concerning the southeast quarter of Section 8, Township 5, Range 1 East.

In the 1850 census record of Madison County, Alabama, John Simpson is listed as follows:

Simpson, John, aged 50, born in Alabama
" Margaret A., aged 34, born in Tennessee
" Alexander H., aged 9, born in Alabama
" William, aged 5, born in Alabama
" Namon E. M., aged 4, born in Alabama
" Mary E., aged 2, born in Alabama
" Henry C., aged 6 months.

On October 21, 1879, Marion E. Simpson, residing in Texas, deeded to Arthur M. Simpson and Henry C. Simpson, of Madison County, Alabama, "his undivided interest in the estate of his father John Simpson deceased lying and being in the County of Madison and

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State of Alabama containing six hundred and fifty acres more or less. . . ."

John Simpson married, November 18, 1840, Margaret A. Dickson or Dixon, who was born in Tennessee about 1816. Children, born in Alabama: 1. Alexander Heath, of whom further. 2. William, born about 1845. 3. Namon (Marion) E. M., born about 1846. 4. Mary E., born about 1848; married, January 12, 1870, John Alexander Steger. (Steger IV, Child 4.) 5. Henry C., born about 1849-50. 6. Arthur M., married Lura D.

("Census Record of Madison County, Alabama," 1850. "Records of Madison County, Alabama, Deed Book X," pp. 45, 130, 403; "Book DDD," p. 445; "Book N," p. 414. "Probate Minutes, Book XVII," pp. 171, 172, 298, 621; "Book XVIII," p. 91. "Administrator's Settlements," Book II, p. 496. "Marriage Records," No. 4, p. 550; No. 5, p. 1694. "Records of National Society Daughters of 1812," National No. 4156. Family data.)

III. Alexander Heath Simpson, son of John and Margaret A. (Dickson or Dixon) Simpson, was born in Huntsville, Madison County, Alabama, October 4, 1841, and died in 1919. He moved to Mississippi, where he became a cotton planter. During the Civil War he served in the Confederate Army and was standing within a few feet of "Stonewall" Jackson when General Bernard E. Bee made the famous remark: "There stands 'Stonewall' Jackson."

On September 3, 1883, Alexander H. Simpson and Helen Simpson, his wife, of the county of Clay, State of Mississippi; Arthur M. Simpson and Lura D. Simpson, his wife; Henry C. Simpson and Emma B. Simpson, all of the county of Madison, State of Alabama, deeded to Albert G. Procter and Zuma (Zenia-Zinnia) Procter of the county of Madison, State of Alabama, their undivided interest to the southwest quarter of Section 18, Township 5, Range 2 West. On September 4, 1883, Albert G. Procter and Zenia M. Procter, his wife, of Madison County, Alabama, to Alexander H. Simpson, of county of Clay, State of Mississippi, Arthur M. Simpson, Henry C. Simpson and Emma B. Simpson deeded "their undivided interest, claim and title to a tract or parcel of land situated in the county of Madison, described as the northeast quarter of Section 18, the southwest quarter of Section 17 and 115 acres off the west side of the north-

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west quarter of Section 17, all in Township 5, Range 1 West containing 435 acres, more or less."

Alexander Heath Simpson married, February 5, 1868, Helen Grey Steger. (Steger V.) (John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XLII.) Children: 1. Laura May, married Samuel Allen Wilkinson. 2. Mary Kennon, married Joseph C. Trent, a wealthy merchant of Okmulgee, Oklahoma; their son, Josephus, married Mary Duke Biddle, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 3. Helen Grey, married Barney E. Eaton, of Gulfport, Mississippi. 4. John Russel, of whom further.

("Records of Madison County, Alabama, Deed Book UUU," p. 344; "QQQ," p. 340. "Marriage Records," No. 5, p. 951. Family data.)

IV. John Russel Simpson, son of Alexander Heath and Helen Grey (Steger) Simpson, was born at Tibbee, Clay County, Mississippi, April 13, 1884. He received his earliest instruction under private tutors on the cotton plantation which was his boyhood home, and had reached the age of ten when he removed with his parents to McAlester, in the Indian Territory. Subsequently, he attended the famous Webb Brothers Preparatory School in Bellbuckle, Tennessee, and from that institution went on to Tulane University in New Orleans, where for a year he pursued studies with the intention of entering the medical profession. He soon decided, however, that he preferred to come to grips immediately with the world of business and affairs, and returned to Okmulgee, in the Indian Territory, where he became associated with the Parkinson-Trent Mercantile Company. After some four years as a clerk and salesman, he went to Seminole as personal representative of O. D. Strother in purchasing farm lands in the Seminole country for later development as oil properties. Mr. Simpson was so engaged until 1911, acquiring many holdings which he helped to improve and oversee.

In the latter year Mr. Strother, his father-in-law, began to give his entire attention to the management of his own Seminole property interests and Mr. Simpson now entered the lumber business, organizing the Seminole Lumber Company, of which he was president and largest stockholder. Under his guidance this enterprise was immediately successful and for the next six years he devoted himself with-

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out interruption to its development. When the United States entered the World War, Mr. Simpson responded to his country's need and offered his services in any capacity in which he might be useful. He was appointed chairman of the local Exemption Board under the Selective Service Act, and at once found himself the center of violent uprisings and disturbances. At that time Seminole County was a stronghold of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose members in a body opposed his efforts to enforce and support the Nation's laws. Many no doubt did so conscientiously, but violence was a part of their creed and they did not hesitate to resort to it on every possible occasion. Their animus was directed particularly against Mr. Simpson, who patriotically held to his course in spite of threats and so brought upon himself very real dangers.

"'Get Simpson!'"—to quote a graphic account of the period, "was the battle cry of a thousand armed Industrial Workers of the World—better known as the I. W. W.'s—who swept Seminole County, Oklahoma, in August, 1917, in order to evade officers of the law and reach at the same time John Russel Simpson, Chairman of the Council of Defense for Seminole County that had to do with the registration and drafting of soldier-material.

"It took the county sheriff, assisted by a host of deputies, a regiment of the Oklahoma National Guard and a body of Federal troops to protect Mr. Simpson and quell the uprising. In clashes with the authorities several of the conscientious objectors were slain. Bridges were burned by the insurgents and the Seminole County sheriff had his horse shot from under him."

But in the end, 125 of the I. W. W.'s were taken in chains to McAlester County Penitentiary, and the revolt against governmental authority was curbed.

Late in 1917, his duty done at Seminole, Mr. Simpson removed to Miami, Oklahoma, where he founded the Simpson Lumber Company and became its president and general manager. The original Seminole yard became the property of the new company and with the rapid expansion of its business, additional yards were opened at Stroud, Kellyville, Slick and Nuyaka, Oklahoma, as well as at Miami. Mr. Simpson, as president of the company, was entirely responsible for its success. He became known as one of the leading business men of this section and in spite of the fact that his own duties were heavy,

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he also played a conspicuous part in civic affairs. Sensible of the obligations of his position, he assumed the responsibilities of leadership in many community causes, and during his stay in Miami was largely influential in its development. From 1919 to 1926 he was commissioner of finance for the city and was one of the group most active in obtaining a Carnegie Library there.

With the death of his father-in-law, O. D. Strother, in March, 1926, Mr. Simpson disposed of his holdings in the Simpson Lumber Company and returned to Seminole to take over his duties as executor of the Strother estate. He was elected president of the Home-Stake Oil & Gas Company to succeed Mr. Strother, whose dream of a vast oil field in the Seminole County—a goal toward which he labored for so many years—was richly fulfilled a few short months after his passing.

When the Seminole discovery well was brought in, in July, 1926, the O. D. Strother estate owned the lease which was a diagonal offset to the one on which the discovery well was drilled. On this property the Pure Oil Company "A"—Strother No. 2—well was drilled in on October 21, 1926, and in rapid succession thereafter sixteen other wells were sunk on the same lease. In the spring of 1928, the headquarters of the Home-Stake Oil & Gas Company were moved from Seminole to Tulsa and on January 21, 1929, the Home-Stake Royalty Company was also formed. The Home-Stake companies today are large leaseholders in one of the richest oil fields in the world, and Mr. Simpson is known as one of the chief independent oil producers of the State. Since 1926, his companies have paid several thousand dollars in cash dividends and other thousands of income have been invested under his direction, in new royalty interests to increase the company's assets and prolong its life.

When the first Seminole oil wells were brought in, recognizing that the city stood at the threshold of a remarkable period of development, Mr. Simpson initiated measures to prepare for the boom. He opened up the Strother Town-Site Addition for home-builders, organized the Seminole Chamber of Commerce, of which he served as secretary for a year and a half, without salary, and started the movement which resulted in a new Rock Island Railroad station at Seminole. When the offices of the Home-Stake Oil & Gas Company were moved to Tulsa, he also established his residence in this city and

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brought to bear upon its progress the fine energy and talents which distinguished his earlier efforts at Seminole. He is today one of Tulsa's chief business leaders, a man whose citizenship has meant much to the community and whose contributions to its welfare have been numerous. In addition to his connection with the Home-Stake companies, he is now chairman of the board of directors of the Royalty Corporation of America, which he entered at its formation in November, 1926; chairman of the board of directors of the Hanna Lumber Company of Tulsa, with which he became associated in January, 1928; and a director of the Tulsa Home Building & Loan Association, which he joined in 1928. He has also been active in the promotion of Hickory Manor, a sub-division of the city of Tulsa.

Mr. Simpson has many connections with Tulsa's civic institutions and enterprises, and has given his active support to every worthy movement in the public interest. He is a Democrat in politics, although not of the office-seeking type, and is affiliated fraternally with the Free and Accepted Masons, in which he is a member of the Miami Blue Lodge, a member of all higher bodies of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, including McAlester Consistory, thirty-second degree, and a member of Akdar Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine in Tulsa. He is one of the most prominent laymen of the Southern Methodist Church in Tulsa and is chairman of the finance committee and of the board of stewards of the Boston Avenue Church. Mr. Simpson is a member, in addition, of the Southern Hills Country Club, the Tulsa Club, and the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce. He is fond of outdoor sports, particularly fishing, but his favorite avocation has been the collecting of Indian relics and trophies. He possesses a wide knowledge of Indian culture, and his large and very valuable collection of trophies, each piece stamped with the traditions and historical associations of the past, is housed in a beautiful museum in his Tulsa home.

John Russel Simpson married, at Mexico, Missouri, June 28, 1905, Susan Alberta Strother. (Strother IX.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XLIV.) Children: 1. Ella Alberta, was born November 17, 1906, in Shawnee, Oklahoma. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Oklahoma University in 1929, and her Master's degree from George Washington University in Washington, District of Columbia, in 1931. She

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majored in Spanish, which she reads and speaks fluently. Miss Simpson also attended Miss Semple's Finishing School in New York City. On October 28, 1928, she married George E. Norvell, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, now city attorney at Seminole, Oklahoma; children: i. Russel Simpson Norvell, born in Washington, District of Columbia, September 6, 1930. ii. Helen Grey Norvell. 2. John Russel, II, born in Seminole, Oklahoma, September 17, 1908. Received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Oklahoma, and his Master's degree in Business from Harvard University in 1932. He married, July 5, 1932, Louise Milburn, of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; children: i. John Russel, III, born in Springfield, Massachusetts, April 6, 1934. ii. Lee Milburn, born in 1940. 3. Oscar Strother, born in Seminole, Oklahoma, June 17, 1910; was graduated from Webb School in Bellbuckle, Tennessee, in June, 1930. His father was also graduated from the same school. In June, 1933, he received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Oklahoma, and in the fall of 1933 he entered Harvard Law School, where he received his Bachelor of Laws degree in June, 1936. He married, June 24, 1931, Cordelia Cunningham, of Miami, Oklahoma; children: i. Oscar (2) Strother, born in Boston, Massachusetts, April 19, 1935. ii. George Russel, born at Houston, Texas, September 26, 1937. iii. John Grey, born in 1939. 4. Mary Sue, born in Seminole, Oklahoma, November 8, 1912; was graduated from the University of Oklahoma in June, 1933; she married, June 28, 1933, Reuben K. Sparks, an attorney of Woodward, Oklahoma; children: i. Susan Alberta Sparks, born in Woodward, Oklahoma, October 5, 1934. ii. Reuben Kenneth Sparks, born in Woodward, Oklahoma, March 24, 1936. iii. John Othel Sparks, born April 7, 1939. 5. Helen Grey, born in Miami, Oklahoma, February 20, 1919, attended the Holland Hall School for Girls, and is now attending Briarcliff Junior College, Briarcliff Manor, New York.

(Family data.)

(The Steger Line)

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, azure, a lion or, armed and langued gules; 2d and 3d, azure a river proper in bend sinister bridged or. Helmet crowned.

Crest—A pair of wings conjoined, azure and or, the dexter wing charged with a bend sinister and the sinister wing with a bend, each charged over all with three estoiles counterchanged. (Rietstap: "Armorial Général.")

Besides Francis George Steger, earliest known ancestor of the Alabama Stegers, there was a Heinrich Hans Steger, a contempo-

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rary, who lived near him. Although they may well have been relatives, no proof of kinship is found. It is stated that in Amelia County, Virginia, which joins Powhatan, Stegers owned land prior to 1732. Land there was deeded to Heinrich Hans Steger in 1750. "He left valuable bonds and papers in a bank in Southwark, Surry County, England. He owned a number of houses in St. Anne's Lane in ye Parish of St. John. . . . Henrich Hans Steger married Tralucia Ginn in England. This is all recorded in Amelia. Tralucia Ginn was the daughter of William Ginn of St. Anne's Lane; that is the way they got the houses. Henrich Hans Steger and Tralucia had two children, William Hans and Tralucia. Tralucia married Greensword and was a widow before her father's death. It is about fifteen miles over into Powhatan to where Francis George Steger settled." (Letter from Isaac Allen Steger, of Richmond, Virginia.)

Heinrich Hans Steger left a will, dated Amelia County, March 6, 1761, proved November 27, 1761, in which he mentioned his wife, Tralucia, daughter Tralucia Greensword, and son Hans William Steger.

One Hans Steger was recommended as second lieutenant in Powhatan County, Virginia, December 18, 1777.

Traditions handed down in some branches of the family, as well as circumstantial evidence, suggest that Francis George Steger, above mentioned, was a son of Hans William Steger, and a grandson of Heinrich Hans Steger, mentioned above. An aged descendant said:

"Hantz Steger married Lucy Ginn and had children by two marriages she thinks. His son Hantz Steger married Ann Perrott and ran off with her to America, his father already there. The family was Alsatian, all merchants, and went to Holland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, thence to England." Commenting on the above, the compilers of the "Genealogy of Harris and Allied Families" say: "We have absolute proof" (of the descent from Heinrich Hans Steger through Hans William Steger to Francis George Steger) "except that Francis Steger was a son of Hantz (*i. e.*, Hans William) Steger and wife Ann Perrott. We believe that he was, because:

"1. The continued recurrence of the name Perrott and Hantz or Hance in the family, even to the present generation.

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"2. There is a tradition in every branch of the Steger family that a Steger in England married an heiress against her father's will and that she was a Perrott; they then came to Virginia. . . . One descendant . . . stated that the old family silver is said to have been engraved with a parrot. . . . The original home of the Stegers in Virginia was called 'Parrot's Nest.'

"3. Dates make this theory a possibility."

(Pauline M. Jones and Kathleen P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," pp. 87-92. "The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XIV, p. 92. "William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine," Vol. VIII, Series 2, p. 116. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

I. Francis George Steger, earliest proven ancestor of the Alabama Stegers, was born, probably about 1720, or possibly earlier, and died presumably in Virginia, in January or February, 1769. He received a land grant February 12, 1742, of four hundred acres on Muddy Creek in what was then Goochland County, now Powhatan County, Virginia. A later record shows that "400 acres in Goochland County, at the head of Muddy Creek, adjoining the lands of Jacob Winfrey, William May and Samuel Nuckolls, granted February 12, 1742 to Francis Stegar, and by him assigned to Philip Poindexter," is now granted to said Poindexter. The land of "Francis Stego" is mentioned as adjoining certain land "in Henrico on the Falls Road" which was deeded May 16, 1754, by John Oakley and wife Elizabeth to Jacob Valentine.

On April 4, 1757, Francis George Steger, of Cumberland, planter, deeded to Jacob Valentine, of King William, planter, for and in consideration of a tract of eighty-five acres in Henrico County adjoining the lands of Jacob Valentine, Alexander Robertson, Philip Mayo "and part of the Oakley tract which said Jacob purchased of John Oakley which the said 85 acres of land was surveyed and laid off by the said Philip Mayo"—in exchange for this tract as aforesaid the said Steger deeded to the said Valentine seventy acres in Henrico which was granted unto the said Steger by patent bearing date at Williamsburg, June 30, 1755, and which is adjacent to the lands of John Oakley, Isaac Breeding, the branch of Gilley's Creek, and Robertson's.

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Francis G. Steger's land is mentioned as adjoining an estimated four hundred-acres in Cumberland County which Jacob Mosby, guardian of Jacob Mosby the younger, deeded October 23, 1764, to Poindexter Mosby; grantor and grantee being of said county.

On June 13, 1755, John Wayles turned over to Francis G. Steger his land grant of two acres or four lots in the town of Richmond, Henrico County, Virginia. On the same day he also assigned an island in the James River, opposite Coles Warehouse. The family finally acquired some fifteen or twenty thousand acres of land in Powhatan and Cumberland counties, up to the year 1800.

Francis Steger, of Cumberland County, in his will, dated January 14, 1769, proved February 27, 1769, mentioned his son Samuel, wife Anna Jannett, daughter Keturah King Mariana, son John Parrott (Perratt) Steger and son Thomas and son Hance.

Francis George Steger married Anna Jannett. Children: 1. John Perratt, of whom further. 2. Thomas Hales, and his brother Hance were "Lieutenants in the War of 1776 under Captain Mayo." 3. Hance. 4. Samuel. 5. Keturah King Mariana.

(Pauline M. Jones and Kathleen P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," pp. 88, 90, 91. "The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XIX, p. 326. "The Edward Pleasants Valentine Papers," pp. 835, 2084, 2085.)

II. John Perratt (1) Steger, son of Francis George and Anna Jannett Steger, married Sarah Harris. (Eppes VI.) (John Russell Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXXIX.) Children: 1. John Perratt, of whom further. 2. Isham, born March 29, 1778, died June 17, 1845; married (first), October 10, 1803, Locky Boatwright; (second) Frances Marryman; children of the first marriage: i. Daniel. ii. John P. iii. Rhoda, who married a Mr. Meador. iv. Sarah, who married James Cook. v. Jane. Children of his second marriage: vi. Frances, who died unmarried. vii. Martha, who married Mr. Wilkinson. viii. Thomas Hales, born September 14, 1824; married (first) Marion Sanderson; (second) Sarah I. Webb. ix. Leigh, who married Mr. Sanderson. 3. Hance. 4. Benjamin. 5. Thomas Hales.

(Pauline M. Jones and Kathleen P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," pp. 5-8, 20, 89, 90.)

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III. John Perratt (2) Steger, son of John Perratt (1) and Sarah (Harris) Steger, was born probably in Powhatan County, Virginia, December 22, 1769, and died in Madison County, Alabama, October 6, 1830. He removed to Madison County, Alabama, where he made his will, September 17, 1830, proved November 2, 1830. He bequeathed to his son Benjamin the northeast quarter, and to his son, Allen, the southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 3, Range 1, East, where they respectively resided. He bequeathed negro girls to his daughters, Pamela Scruggs, Ann Steger, Sarah Cawthon, Martha, and Mary; and negro boys to his sons Kennon and Francis. To his wife Rebekah, he bequeathed the use, "during her natural life or widowhood," of "the tract of land and plantation whereon I now live"; after her death it was to go to his son Francis. As executors he named his wife Rebekah, and his son Benjamin.

John Perratt (2) Steger married, in Powhatan County, Virginia, May 11, 1796, his first cousin, Rebekah Macon Harris. (Eppes V, Child 2.). In her will, dated January 14, 1851, she made bequests to her sons Benjamin, Allen, Kennon H., and Francis E. H., to her daughter Sally R. Cawthon; to a daughter of her daughter Martha Nash; to the three children of her daughter Mary P. Roach, deceased; to the children of her daughter, Pamela Scruggs; to her daughter Ann M. Stephenson. As executors, she appointed William R. Patton and William Acklen. Children: 1. Benjamin, born in Virginia, April 13, 1797, died in 1854; married (first), November 22, 1820, Agnes Hawkins Meux; (second), January 11, 1827, Mary Harris Wisdom. 2. Pamela H., born in Virginia, in December, 1798, died April 4, 1840; married, March 17, 1821, Edmond Logwood Scruggs. 3. Allen, born in Virginia, September 15, 1801, died October 22, 1872; married (first), October 1, 1829, Matilda William; (second), May 16, 1836, Penelope Driver. 4. Ann Macon, born in 1803; married, in 1844, John Stephenson. 5. Kennon Harris, of whom further. 6. Martha Harris, born in 1808, died about 1843; married, July 16, 1842, John C. Nash. 7. Francis Eppes Harris, born October 4, 1810, died January 3, 1907; married, February 25, 1841, Mary Elizabeth Maddin. 8. Sarah Rebekah, born about 1812; married, March 25, 1829, Thomas Henry Cawthon. 9. Mary Perratt, born March 7,

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1815, died June 28, 1843; married, March 27, 1833, John H. Roach.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 9, 11, 21, 24-26, 69, 90, 116, 117. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. Kennon Harris Steger, son of John Perratt (2) and Rebekah Macon (Harris) Steger, was born in Powhatan County, Virginia, January 23, 1806, and died in Madison County, Alabama, July 12, 1892. A deed from Kennon H. Steger to F. E. H. Steger, trustee for their sister, Sarah R. Cawthon, is recorded in Madison County, Alabama, October 15, 1849.

Kennon Harris Steger married, in Madison County, Alabama, December 12, 1838, Mary Elizabeth Wall, who was born August 9, 1821, and died June 6, 1899, daughter of Alexander and Mary (Cooper) Wall. Her father and mother came to Alabama in 1819 from Buckingham, Virginia. Children: 1. Mary Ann, unmarried. 2. Cornelia Conrad, unmarried. 3. Helen Grey, of whom further. 4. John Alexander, born December 7, 1846; married Mary E. Simpson. (Simpson II, Child 4.) 5. Laura Augustus, unmarried. 6. Sallie Lucy or Lacey, died young. 7. Olivia James, married John Watson Nelson. 8. Bettie Ross, married Virgil Homer Ryland. 9. Fanny Rebecca, married Rev. William Wallace Dorman. 10. Lucy Allen, unmarried. 11. Carrie Deloney, born in Madison County, Alabama, September 30, 1863; married (first) Robert Elmore Short; (second), January 17, 1917, John H. Ray. The "Dictionary of Alabama Biography" lists this child as Carrie De Lancy, who married R. E. Hurst.

(Pauline M. Jones and Kathleen P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," pp. 24, 31, 32. S. J. Clarke: "Dictionary of Alabama Biography," pp. 16, 18-19.)

V. Helen Grey Steger, daughter of Kennon Harris and Mary Elizabeth (Wall) Steger, was born in Huntsville, Alabama, September 3, 1843, and died December 16, 1898. She was buried at McAlester, Oklahoma, then Indian Territory. As a "young girl of Alabama," she wrote to her classmates in the year 1862, an essay entitled "An Hundred Years Hence," which is, in part, as follows:

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An hundred years hence, the present generation will be removed from this field of action; every living thing that now exists will disappear. These mighty armies that are now eliciting the applause and admiration of all the world will be remembered only in history. The scenes of life and intelligence that are now before us will be changed, and the great and wonderful inventions that have confounded the most powerful genius of the present day will be laid aside for those of more modern date. Each succeeding century will bring in its turn changes like those of the past. It is thus our beautiful world retains its beauty and purity. The changes of a year are the same as those of a century, only on a smaller scale. Our mountains and forests are clothed each year in a new verdure. . . . It is thus that year succeeds year, century succeeds century and the earth is still as new, as fresh, as beautiful as ever. . . .

Let us look back into the darkened ages of the past . . . when . . . learning had no printing press, writing no paper, and paper no ink. . . . Now, see the present! . . . We have the telegraph wire, the railroad car, the printing press, the ship—guided by the compass and magnetic needle. . . .

One hundred years hence, and what will be the changes? No one is able to conceive, we have only to be governed by the past. The future is as a sealed book, all things of which will be revealed as it opens itself to our view.

Helen Grey Steger married Alexander Heath Simpson. (Simpson III.)

(Pauline M. Jones and Kathleen P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," p. 31. "Diary of Professor French Strother.")

(The Eppes Line)

Arms—Per fesse gules and or, a pale counterchanged, three eagles displayed of the last.

Crest—On a chaplet vert flowered or, a falcon rising of the last.

(W. A. Crozier: "Virginia Heraldica," p. 91.)

The surname Eppes, with its variants Ebbs, Epps, Eppson, Epper-son and Epp, is of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of Ebb." The parent of this surname was "Ebb," which was the nickname for Isabella. This was very popular in its day.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Lieutenant-Colonel Francis (1) Eppes, in early records often referred to as Captain Eppes or Epes, came to America, evidently about 1623-24. Hotten's list of the living and the dead in Virginia

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as of February 13, 1623, which list purports to include all settlers in Virginia in the latter year, does not include the name of Francis Eppes. Had he been in the colony at that time his name would have been included, especially as he was prominent enough to become a member of the House of Burgesses in 1625. The logical inference, therefore, is that he came some time in the latter part of 1623 or 1624, as he must have been a resident some while before entering office. Circumstances indicate that he returned to England, where he married and had children and again returned to Virginia in 1631, when he was again made a member of the Assembly. The "Sainsbury Papers," composed of various records relating to the early colonial history of Virginia, compiled in the London office by William Noel Sainsbury, show that Francis Eppes was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1625 only, and not again until the year 1631-32. He settled on the south shore of the James River near the mouth of the Appomattox. Henrico and Charles City counties were on both sides of the James River, and Colonel Eppes acquired extensive estates in each county. On August 26, 1636, he obtained a grant of land in Charles City County, Virginia, for the transportation of himself, his three sons, John, Francis and Thomas, and some thirty servants into the Virginia Colony. On April 30, 1652, he became a member of the Colonial Council, and died in 1655.

Mr. Stanard, in his "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," states that Francis Eppes, son of Francis, the immigrant, was born about 1628. He, too, must have been an immigrant, else he could not have land claimed for him, as above stated. Thomas, son of Francis Eppes, is listed as probably the youngest son, therefore, born after 1628. The following, which is the result of an exhaustive search among the English vital records, gives the date of his birth, as well as the first name of his mother: "Thomas, son of Francis and Marie Eps, born September 18, 1630." ("Register of St. Olave Church," London, 1563-1700, p. 40, in "Harleian Society Publications," No. XL.) County Kent, England, where the Eppes family had been long domiciled, lies directly adjacent to Middlesex, which includes London. Francis Eppes, therefore, was evidently temporarily living in London just prior to his second venture to Virginia. It is evident, too, from the fact that no land was applied for in her name, that Marie, his wife, died in London soon after the birth of Thomas.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Francis (1) Eppes married, in England, Marie, whose surname is unknown, and who must have died shortly after 1630. Children: 1. John. 2. Francis, of whom further. 3. Thomas, born September 18, 1630.

(“Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,” Vol. III, pp. 281, 393-94. Pauline M. Jones and K. P. Jones: “Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families,” p. 3. “Register of St. Olave Church,” London, 1563-1700, p. 40, in “Harleian Society Publications,” No. XL. “William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine,” Vol. V, pp. 142-43.)

II. Lieutenant-Colonel Francis (2) Eppes, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Francis (1) and Marie Eppes, was born about 1628 and died in 1678, from a wound inflicted by the Indians. He was lieutenant-colonel of the county militia and, in 1677, commissioner. The inventory of his estate, recorded in April, 1679, amounted to £313-17-10, and there was also a large amount of property, store goods, not appraised. His son, Francis, was administrator of the estate.

Lieutenant-Colonel Francis (2) Eppes was twice married, but the name of his first wife is not known. He married (second) Elizabeth (Littlebury) Worsham, widow of William Worsham, of Henrico County. Child of the first marriage: 1. Francis, of whom further. Children of the second marriage: 2. William, born in 1661. 3. Mary, born in 1664; married, in 1685, Lieutenant-Colonel John Hardiman. 4. (Lieutenant-Colonel) Littlebury, of Charles City County, Virginia, died in 1746.

(Pauline M. Jones and K. P. Jones: “Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families,” p. 3. “Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,” Vol. III, pp. 393-94. “William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine,” Vol. V, pp. 142-43.)

III. Colonel Francis (3) Eppes, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Francis (2) Eppes, was born in 1659 and died about January, 1718-19, and his will, dated January, 1718-19, was proved in Henrico County, Virginia, in 1720. He was sworn a justice of Henrico County, June 1, 1683; was sheriff in 1685-86, 1691, 1698, 1710, 1711; and burgess in 1702-03 and April, 1704.

Colonel Francis (3) Eppes married, in 1685, Anne Isham. (Isham—American Line—II.) (John Russel Simpson Royal Descent

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from Charlemagne XXXVI.) Children: 1. Francis, of whom further. 2. Captain Isham, died unmarried, in 1717. 3. William, married, in or before 1728, a daughter of John Worsham. 4. Anne, married William Kennon. 5. Elizabeth, married Henry Randolph. 6. Mary. 7. Sarah, born in 1702, died in 1750; married Colonel William Poythress.

(Pauline M. Jones and K. P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," p. 4. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. III, pp. 394-95. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLIV, p. 94. B. H. Blacker: "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Vol. IV, p. 127. Lineage of Mrs. Samuel Allen Wilkinson [Laura May Simpson] for the Order of the Crown of America.)

IV. Colonel Francis (4) Eppes, son of Colonel Francis (3) and Anne (Isham) Eppes, died in 1734, and his will, dated November 7, 1733, was proved in Henrico County, Virginia, in December, 1734. He was a man of considerable wealth and his will disposed of thousands of acres in neighboring sections as well as Henrico County, and mentioned his "silver hilted sword, washed with gold," slaves, cattle and personal property.

Colonel Francis (4) Eppes married Sarah, whose surname is unknown. Children: 1. Francis, died unmarried in 1737. 2. Richard, of Chesterfield County, born in 1715, died in 1765; married Martha Bolling. 3. William, of "Longfield," Henrico County. 4. Ann, of whom further. 5. Martha, married (first) Llewellen Eppes, who died in 1743; (second), in 1746, John Wales, and they had Martha, who married (second) Thomas Jefferson, later President of the United States.

(Pauline M. Jones and K. P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," p. 4. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. III, p. 396. B. H. Blacker: "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Vol. IV, pp. 127-28.)

V. Ann Eppes, daughter of Colonel Francis (4) and Sarah Eppes, was of Southam Parish, Cumberland County, Virginia. Her will, dated May 15, 1779, was probated November 15, 1787. It throws some light on her life and family affairs. She must have been in comfortable circumstances, since she left her son, Joseph, four

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hundred acres of land; Benjamin two hundred acres; Francis two hundred acres, and several hundred acres to other children. The will mentions her slaves, negro Peter, to be given to son Joseph; and negro Cesar, to be the property of son Edward; Francis was given negro boy Ludlow; and Richard received a negro boy Jerry. To her daughters she also gave negro women slaves. Horses and crops were equally divided among her children.

Ann Eppes married Benjamin Harris, of the Parish of Southam in Cumberland County, Virginia, whose will was dated September 4, 1757. Children of Benjamin and Ann (Eppes) Harris: 1. Joseph Harris, born in Cumberland County, Virginia; will dated August 20, 1791; married, February 6, 1766, Rebekah Howard, of Goochland County, Virginia. 2. Francis Eppes Harris, born in Virginia, about 1750, died in Madison County, Alabama, in December, 1828; married Mary Macon, daughter of Gideon Hunt and Priscilla (Jones) Macon, and granddaughter of Gideon Macon, who was born about 1650 and died at his home, "Prospect Hill," about 1702. He was of French Huguenot descent and came to Virginia in the middle of the last half of the seventeenth century, and resided in Middle Plantation, New Kent County, Virginia, after 1675. In 1680 he was a vestryman in St. Peter's parish. In 1696 he was a member of the House of Burgesses for New Kent County, and he was a vestryman of Bruton Church at Williamsburg. There is a memorial to him at this church, erected by some of his descendants. He was secretary to Governor William Berkeley. He married Martha. His eldest son, William, inherited his estate, and a younger son, Gideon Hunt, moved to North Carolina about 1730-40, and built "Macon Manor," near Chocco Creek. Rebekah Macon Harris, daughter of Francis Eppes and Mary (Macon) Harris, was born in Virginia about 1780, died in Madison County, Alabama, August 18, 1857; married John Perratt (2) Steger. (Steger III.) (John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XL.) 3. Edward Harris. 4. Benjamin Harris, said to have died unmarried. 5. Richard Harris, married Judith W. Sims. 6. Mary Harris. 7. Martha Harris. 8. Tabitha Harris, married John Peyton Powell. 9. Sarah Harris, of whom further. 10. Ann Harris.

(Pauline M. Jones and K. P. Jones: "Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families," pp. 5, 7-8, 9, 20. Colonial Dames of America

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Papers, No. 1050, of Mrs. Samuel A. Wilkinson. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

VI. Sarah Harris, daughter of Benjamin and Ann (Eppes) Harris, was mentioned in her mother's will, dated May 15, 1779, in this manner: "To my daughter Sarah and son Benjamin I have given no negroes because they already have some under gifts—which put them on an equal footing with their brothers and sisters."

Sarah Harris married John Perratt (1) Steger. (Steger II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Isham Line)

Arms—Gules, three piles meeting in the fess point and a fess wavy argent.

Crest—A demi-swan, wings endorsed argent, guttée de larmes.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Isham, sometimes corrupted to Isom, is a surname of locality origin, from the parish of Isham in Northamptonshire. At Isham, written Ysham, Hysham and Hicham in eleventh century records, the manorial family of Isham has lived ever since the Domesday Survey, and is one of the oldest of Northamptonshire houses. A short distance to the north is the parish of Pytchley, where the Ishams have held lands since the thirteenth century, and within ten miles is their ancient dwelling of Lamport.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom," Vol. I. O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," p. 141. "The Victoria History of the County of Northampton," Vol. IV, p. 188. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the Ishams in England and America," pp. 6-12.)

(The Family in England)

I. Thomas de Isham, a descendant of Henry de Isham, the Domesday tenant, and described in the ancient manuscript pedigrees at Lamport as the younger son of Henry de Isham, Lord of Isham in the reign of Henry III, is the first ancestor of the line from whom the descent can be traced with certainty. He was the father of: 1. Robert (1), of whom further.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," p. 141. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the Ishams in England and America," p. 12. W. Betham: "The Baronetage of England," Vol. I, p. 298.)

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II. *Robert (1) de Isham*, son of Thomas de Isham, held lands in Isham in 1261. His son was: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Henry de Isham*, son of Robert (1) de Isham, was living in 1329, in which year he was impleaded by William, son of John le Wylies. He was the father of: 1. Robert (2), of whom further.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," pp. 141, 143. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the Ishams in England and America," p. 12. W. Betham: "The Baronetage of England," Vol. I, pp. 298-99.)

IV. *Robert (2) de Isham*, son of Henry de Isham, was living about 1375. He married Julian, whose surname is not known. Son: 1. Robert (3), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Robert (3) Isham*, son of Robert (2) and Julian de Isham, died March 31, 1424, the inquisition *post mortem*, taken May 14, 1425, showing that he held for life the manor of Hamme in Buckinghamshire. In 1486-87 his grandsons, as executors of their father's will, brought suit for debt against a London citizen and described their grandfather as Robert, son of Robert and grandson of Henry de Isham. He was probably the Robert Isham who was Escheator of Northamptonshire in 1391-92, and the Robert Isham to whom the King, on November 22, 1403, granted the custody of the manor of Cranford in Northamptonshire. As Robert Isham of Pytchley he executed a deed on August 24, 1413, and is often named in commissions of inquiry of that period. Son: 1. Robert (4), of whom further.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," pp. 141, 143, and pedigree following p. 166. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the Ishams in England and America," pp. 13-14. W. Betham: "The Baronetage of England," Vol. I, p. 299. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XVIII, p. 87.)

VI. *Robert (4) Isham*, of Pytchley, son of Robert (3) Isham, was born about 1402, being aged twenty-two years and more at his father's death, and is said to have died in 1475. Like his father, he was Escheator for Northamptonshire in 1438-39, and seems to have

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been a zealous Yorkist, appearing in commissions of the peace for Northamptonshire during the first ten years of the reign of Edward IV. He was an attorney of the King's sister Anne, Duchess of Exeter, in 1466, and on March 9, 1466-67, had a grant of the important office of Controller of the Great Custom in the Port of London. On August 18, 1473, he was appointed a commissioner in Northamptonshire to inquire into the rents of certain crown lands.

Robert (4) Isham married, according to the old pedigrees at Lamport, Elizabeth Aston, of Knuston in Irchester, a statement supported by the fact that his descendants inherited lands in that hamlet. Sons: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Robert, Prebendary of Lincoln from 1467 to 1501. 3. Richard, of Clipston, Northamptonshire, died May 9, 1491; married Alice. 4. John, of Broughton, Northamptonshire, said to have married Jane Kynnesman, daughter of Robert and Isabel (Fazakerley) Kynnesman, of Loddington.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," pp. 141, 143-44, and pedigree following p. 166. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the Ishams in England and America," pp. 14-15. W. Betham: "The Baronetage of England," Vol. I, p. 299. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XVIII, p. 87.)

VII. William Isham, of Pytchley, son of Robert (4) and Elizabeth (Aston) Isham, died June 13, 1510. The inquest, taken at Kettering, October 2, 1510, states that his father, Robert Isham, whose heir he was, being seized of messuages and lands in Pytchley, Scaldwell, Knuston, Irchester, Irthlingborough, Barton Segrave, Thorp Malsor, Broughton and Kettering, had enfeoffed Robert, Richard and John Isham, with others, in this property, and that the feoffees, at the instance of William Isham, had granted the lands in Knuston and Irchester, by deed of May 11, 1485, to Thomas Isham, son and heir of William, and to Ellen his wife. He was one of the gentlemen of Northamptonshire to whom Richard III sent a letter requesting a loan of £40.

William Isham married Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Branspeth, of Glooston, in Leicestershire. She died September 20, 1478. Son: 1. Thomas, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

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VIII. Thomas Isham, of Pytchley, son of William and Elizabeth Isham, was born about 1456, being aged twenty-two years and more at his mother's death, and fifty years and more at his father's. He was a witness, on January 2, 1492-93, to the will of his brother-in-law, Henry Vere, of Addington.

Thomas Isham married, about 1485, Elena or Ellen Vere. (Vere XIV.) (John Russel Simpson *Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXX.*) Sons: 1. Euseby, of whom further. 2. John, living in 1558.

(*Ibid.* R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, p. 51. W. C. Metcalfe, ed.: "Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1564 and 1618-19," p. 181.)

IX. Euseby Isham, of Pytchley, son of Thomas and Elena or Ellen (Vere) Isham, died in 1546, leaving a will dated August 16, 1546, and proved December 11, 1546. He lived at Ringstead nearly all his life upon a leasehold farm of the Mordaunts.

Euseby Isham married Anne Pulton or Poulton, daughter of Giles Pulton, of Desborough, Northamptonshire, and his wife Katherine Lovett, daughter of Thomas Lovett, of Astwell. Their son John's monument states that they had twenty children, of whom the following ten have been identified: 1. Giles, of Pytchley, died August 31, 1559; married Mary Watts, of Knotting, Bedfordshire. 2. Robert, parson of Pytchley and chaplain to Queen Mary, died May 5, 1564. 3. Gregory, of whom further. 4. John, of Lamport, Northamptonshire, born about August, 1525, died March 17, 1595-96; married Elizabeth (Barker) Barker, daughter of Nicholas Barker, of Sonning, Berkshire, and widow of Leonard Barker. 5. Henry, of London, living May 12, 1595, ancestor of the Ishams of Barby, Willey and Barwell; married Joan Brisley, daughter of Edward Brisley. 6. Katherine, dead in 1564; married, before 1546, Richard Pagitt or Pagett, of Cranford. 7. Ellen, died at Pytchley in 1602-03; married, after 1546, Thomas Hoyses. 8. Elizabeth, married Henry Bellamy. 9. Edith, buried at Braunston in 1599; married Richard Slatier, of Braunston, Northamptonshire. 10. Isabel, married Thomas Barker, of London.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," pp. 144-45, 150, 155, and pedigree following p. 166. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey

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of the Ishams in England and America," pp. 17-19. W. Betham: "The Baronetage of England," Vol. I, pp. 299-300. R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, p. 51. W. C. Metcalfe, ed.: "Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1564 and 1618-19," p. 181. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XVIII, p. 87.)

X. Gregory Isham, of Braunston, Northamptonshire, son of Euseby and Anne (Pulton or Poulton) Isham, died September 4, 1558, aged thirty-eight, and was buried two days later at Braunston. His will of September 3, 1558, was proved November 16, 1558, by his four brothers, his executors. He purchased an estate at Braunston with lands in Farthingstone, Crick, Creaton and Old, and the inquest *post mortem* states that he died seized of Rose Manor in Braunston, of the manor of Braunston Newsted, and of the advowson of Braunston, all of which he bought of Henry, Earl of Rutland. He was at some time a merchant in London and reckoned his merchandise in London and beyond the sea as part of his personal estate. Since he left £20 to the Mercers' Company for two dinners, he must have been a citizen free of their guild.

Gregory Isham married Elizabeth Dale, daughter of Matthew Dale, of Bristol; she married (second) William Rosewell, of Ford Abbey, Solicitor-General to Queen Elizabeth. Children: 1. Euseby, of whom further. 2. Thomas. 3. Mary, died April 4, 1589; married Thomas Andrew, son of Sir Thomas Andrew, of Charwelton. 4. Elizabeth, buried at Old Warden, November 15, 1630; married Henry Cave, of Ingarsby, Leicestershire.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," p. 146, pedigree following p. 166. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the Ishams in England and America," pp. 21-22. W. Betham: "The Baronetage of England," Vol. I, p. 300 and footnote. R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, p. 51. W. C. Metcalfe, ed.: "Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1564 and 1618-19," pp. 181-82. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. XVIII, p. 87. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 270.)

XI. Sir Euseby Isham, of Pytchley and Braunston, son of Gregory and Elizabeth (Dale) Isham, was born February 26, 1552-53, died June 11, 1626, and was buried on June twelfth in the church of Pytch-

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ley. His will was dated June 7, 1626, and administration was granted on July 10, 1626, to Dame Anne Isham, the widow and residuary legatee. In 1559 he succeeded his uncle, Giles Isham, at Pytchley, and built the famous old mansion there. In 1584 he served as High Sheriff of Northamptonshire, and was knighted by King James on May 11, 1603.

Sir Euseby Isham married Anne Borlase, whose will, dated December 3, 1627, was proved January 1, 1627-28, daughter of John Borlase, of Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire. Children, order of birth not known: 1. John, of Pytchley and Braunston, died December 11, 1626; married (first) Anne FitzWilliam, daughter of Sir William and Winifred (Mildmay) FitzWilliam; (second) Elizabeth Dunch, daughter of Edmund Dunch, of Little Wittenham, Berkshire. 2. Euseby, baptized at Braunston, March 20, 1586-87. 3. William, of whom further. 4. Gregory, baptized July 26, 1593, at Pytchley, probably died young. 5. Thomas, of Radclive, Buckinghamshire, and Wheatfield, Oxfordshire, baptized December 20, 1600, died February 6, 1669-70; married Elizabeth Denton, daughter of Sir Thomas Denton, of Hillesden, Buckinghamshire. 6. Anthony, baptized December 30, 1603, at Pytchley, buried January 26, 1603-04. 7. Anne, baptized February 18, 1582-83, at Braunston, buried there June 2, 1583. 8. Mary, baptized May 24, 1584, at Braunston; married (first) Edward Reade, of Cottesbrooke; (second) Sir Fleetwood Dorner, of Lee Grange and Shipton Lea. 9. Anne (again), married, May 24, 1613, Edward Glover. 10. Sarah, baptized January 16, 1592-93, at Pytchley, died June 10, 1627; married, June 22, 1614, Henry Turvile, of Thurlaston, Leicestershire. 11. Susan, married (first), at Pytchley, December 20, 1616, John Faldo, of Goldington, Bedfordshire; (second), about 1626, Thomas Threlfall, of Goldington. 12. Elizabeth, buried August 3, 1623, at Pytchley.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," pp. 146-48 and pedigree following p. 166. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the Ishams in England and America," pp. 32-34. W. Betham: "The Baronetage of England," Vol. I, p. 300 and footnote. R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, p. 51. W. C. Metcalfe, ed.: "Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1564 and 1618-19," p. 182. "Virginia Maga-

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zine of History and Biography," Vol. XVIII, p. 87. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 270.)

XII. William Isham, son of Sir Euseby and Anne (Borlase) Isham, died in 1631. He had a legacy of £200 under his mother's will of 1627, which gave his wife Mary a "border of goldsmiths work."

William Isham married, at Toddington, Bedfordshire, August 15, 1625, Mary Brett, sister of Sir Edward Brett, of Bexley, in Kent, Sergeant-Porter to the King. Children: 1. Euseby, baptized June 7, 1626, at Pytchley, died January 30, 1653-54. 2. Henry, of whom further. 3. Anne, baptized at Braunston, April 26, 1629; married a Mr. Walthew.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. Captain Henry Isham, of Bermuda Hundred on the James River, Henrico County, Virginia, son of William and Mary (Brett) Isham, died in Virginia about 1675, a receipt from the executors of Captain Henry Isham, deceased, being on file at Henrico, dated September 11, 1677. He came to Virginia about 1656, when he had a grant of land. As Captain Harry Isham of Bermuda Hundred he is named in the will of John Smith, of Bristol, in 1676, and the will of Sir Edward Brett, dated December 22, 1682, proved March 17, 1683, bequeathed £200 apiece to the daughters of his nephew Henry Isham late of Virginia, deceased, by Katherine his wife. Since the records of Henrico County previous to 1677 have been destroyed, we know little of his life in Virginia.

Captain Henry Isham married Katherine (Banks) Royall, daughter of a Mr. Banks, of Canterbury, and widow of Joseph Royall or Ryall. Her will, dated August or October 10, 1686, proved in Henrico, December 1, 1686, made her son-in-law, Francis Eppes, executor. Children: 1. Henry, of Henrico County, Virginia, died at sea while returning from a trip to England, his will being proved in Virginia on February 1, 1678-79, and in London on June 5, 1680. 2. Mary, married, about 1678, William Randolph, of Turkey Island, on the James River, Henrico County, Virginia. 3. Anne, of whom further.

(O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," pp. 146-47 and pedigree following p. 166. H. W. Brainard: "A Survey of the

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Ishams in England and America," pp. 50-55. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. IV, pp. 123-24; Vol. XVIII, pp. 86, 87. "Isham Family: Henrico County Records," in "The Edward Pleasants Valentine Papers," Vol. II, pp. 619-22.)

II. *Anne Isham*, daughter of Captain Henry and Katherine (Banks-Royall) Isham, married Colonel Francis (3) Eppes. (Eppes III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Vere Line)

Arms—Quarterly, gules and or, in the first a mullet argent.

(G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. I, p. 29.)

De Vere or Vere, as a surname, originated from *Ver*, a commune and chateau in the canton of Guvray (now arrondissement of Coutances), department of La Manche, Normandy, France. Alberic de Vere is in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge, Baldwin de Ver in those of County Oxford, and Henry de Ver in those of County Suffolk.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *Alberic (1) de Vere*, a person of ancient and noble descent, is listed in several counties in Domesday Book. In the county of Cambridge he held lands at "Sextone now Saxham," a hamlet of Wood Ditton, which remained in the possession of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, until the reign of Henry VIII. Their lands in Great Abington (Abintone of Domesday) remained in their possession until late in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Alberic de Vere also had lands in Middlesex, Huntingdon, Essex and Suffolk. He had fourteen manors in Essex as tenant-in-chief, most of which he owed to his succession to a certain Wulfwine, who was also his predecessor in all his Cambridge estates and in four manors in Suffolk. Castle Hedingham appears to have been his chief seat, but his lands were much scattered. He later became a monk. About twenty-seven years after Domesday he is mentioned in the Cartulary of Abingdon Abbey and is described as Alberic de Vere, Sr.

Alberic (1) de Vere married Beatrice, whose surname is not known. Children, named in Cartulary of Abingdon Abbey: 1. Geof-

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frey, died before his father. 2. Alberic (2), of whom further. 3. Roger. 4. Robert. 5. William, died soon after his father.

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, pp. 582-83. F. F. Law: "The Parish Church of St. Andrew's Shalford," pp. 31-32. H. Ellis: "General Introduction to Domesday Book," Vol. I, pp. 498-99. "Victoria County History, Essex," Vol. I, pp. 343, 532-36. J. H. Round: "Geoffrey de Mandeville," pp. 388-89. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VI, p. 161.)

II. Alberic (2) de Vere, son of Alberic (1) and Beatrice de Vere, is named in the Cartulary of Abingdon Abbey as "junior." He was chamberlain to Henry I. Among the charters in the British Museum is one in which he mentions a son, Rev. William.

Alberic (2) de Vere married Adeliza de Clare. (John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XIX.) Her son William named her in a tract, "De miraculis S. Osythae," dated about 1163, which also states that his father died in 1141. Children: 1. Alberic, first Earl of Oxford, born about 1120, died in 1194; married (first) Beatrice; (second) Euphemia de Cantelupe; (third) Lucy, daughter of Henry of Essex. 2. William, described as "reverend" in a charter of his father; as "presbyter" witnessed a charter of his brother Alberic; received a clerical post in a charter of the Empress Matilda in which she mentioned "Comitis Alberici," his brother, and also provided for Geoffrey and Robert, also brothers; he was Canon of St. Osyth's Priory in Essex. 3. Geoffrey, named in a charter of the Empress Matilda. 4. Robert (1), of whom further. 5. Adeliza, mentioned as sister by William in "De miraculis S. Osythae" and described there as "of Essex"; the Chronicle of Walden Abbey mentions her as having married (first) Robert of Essex, while the Lansdowne MSS. mention her second husband, Roger FitzRichard, who according to J. H. Round, was the ancestor of the Claverings. 6. Rohesia, married (first) Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex; (second) Pagan Beauchamp; in the Colne Cartulary she gave a rent-charge to the Priory for the souls of her father, Alberic de Vere, and her husband, Geoffrey, Earl of Essex; her son William mentions Adeliza of Essex as his mother's sister. 7. Juliana, married, as his first wife, Hugh Bigod, first Earl of Norfolk.

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, pp. 582-83. F. F. Law: "The Parish Church of St.

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Andrew's Shalford," pp. 31-32. J. H. Round: "Geoffrey de Mandeville," pp. 182, 389-90. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VI, p. 38.)

III. Sir Robert (1) de Vere, son of Alberic (2) and Adeliza (de Clare) de Vere, succeeded in 1141 to the manor of Drayton in Northamptonshire, which had been held by his father. In 1166 he held also the manor and lordship of Addington in Northamptonshire. He held the lordship of Twywell from the monks of Thorney, and confirmed to them the tithes of Islip, Drayton and Addington, which had been the gift of his father. He was loyal to the interests of the Empress Maud and her son in opposition to Stephen, and obtained from her the promise of a barony if Henry should ascend the throne.

Sir Robert (1) de Vere married Maud de Furnell or Furneval, daughter of Robert de Furnell, who granted to "Robert son of Aubrey de Twiwell with Maud my daughter in free marriage," certain lands in Cranford. Sons: 1. Henry, Generation I of the Drayton Line. 2. William, of Addington and Twywell by the grant of his nephew Walter. 3. Robert (2), of whom further.

(A. Collins: "Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Holles, Vere, Harley and Ogle," pp. 218-19. R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, pp. 47-48. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. I, p. 29. J. Bridges: "History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire," Vol. II, pp. 248, 251. "The Victoria History of the County of Northampton," Vol. III, pp. 156, 237.)

IV. Robert (2) de Vere, son of Sir Robert (1) and Maud (de Furnell or Furneval) de Vere, held Thrapston in the right of his wife.

Robert (2) de Vere married Margaret Wake, presumable daughter of Geoffrey Wake and sister of Hugh Wake, whose nephew Baldwin Wake granted to Robert de Vere "with Margaret my aunt" the villa of Thrapston. Sons: 1. Thomas, of Thrapston, dead by October 13, 1204. 2. Baldwin, of Thrapston, died in 1221. 3. Robert (3), of whom further.

(R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, pp. 47, 48, 50. "The Victoria History of the County of Northampton," Vol. III, pp. 156, 237.)

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V. Robert (3) de Vere, of Twywell and Addington by the grant of his uncle William, son of Robert (2) and Margaret (Wake) de Vere, paid scutage in 1217. Sons: 1. Baldwin, of Addington, dead in 1245. 2. Robert (4), of whom further.

(R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, p. 50.)

VI. Robert (4) de Vere, of Twywell and Addington, son of Robert (3) de Vere, went on a crusade in 1249, and was slain in 1250 at Mansoura. He succeeded his brother Baldwin before 1245, in which year Baldwin Wake confirmed to him the manor of Thrapston which had been granted to Baldwin de Vere.

Robert (4) de Vere married Elena, whose parentage is not known. Sons: 1. Baldwin, of whom further. 2. Sir John, of Twywell, married (first) Joan de Waterville, daughter of Reginald de Waterville; (second or third) Ida.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Baldwin de Vere, of Thrapston and Addington, son of Robert (4) and Elena de Vere, was a minor in 1251, being then the ward of Gilbert de Segrave, and was dead in 1277.

Baldwin de Vere married Margaret de Segrave, daughter of Gilbert de Segrave. Son: 1. Robert (5), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Robert (5) de Vere, of Thrapston, son of Baldwin and Margaret (de Segrave) de Vere, was a minor in 1277 and died between 1320 and 1329. He was member of Parliament for Northamptonshire in 1305, and sheriff of that county in 1301 and 1319. He was presented to Islip in 1296 and 1307, and in 1316 paid scutage for his manor of Thrapston, held of Thomas Wake.

Robert (5) de Vere married Maud, whose parentage is not known. Son: 1. Ranulf, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* "The Victoria History of the County of Northampton," Vol. III, p. 157.)

IX. Ranulf de Vere, of Thrapston and Addington, son of Robert (5) and Maud de Vere, was dead in 1350. An extent of Addington

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Manor taken after his death showed there was then a capital mesuage, a dove cot, a garden with a mill in it, and sixty acres of demesne. He had the Fair confirmed to him in 1329, and was presented to Islip in 1340. Sons: 1. Sir John, died in 1346 or 1349; married Alice, who was dead in 1388. 2. Robert (6), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

X. *Robert (6) de Vere*, of Thrapston and Addington, son of Ranulf de Vere, was dead in 1370, leaving a will dated July 13, 1369. He succeeded his nephew John de Vere, and was presented to Islip in 1350, 1355 and 1356.

Robert (6) de Vere married Elizabeth de Northburgh, who was executrix of his will in 1370 and guardian of her son on February 4, 1371-72, sister of Robert de Northburgh. Sons: 1. Robert (7), of whom further. 2. Baldwin, of Denver, County Norfolk.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. *Robert (7) de Vere*, of Thrapston and Addington, son of Robert (6) and Elizabeth (de Northburgh) de Vere, was living in 1390 and dead in 1391.

Robert (7) de Vere married (first) Anne Malsores, daughter of Sir Thomas Malsores. He married (second) Elizabeth, who was living in 1402. Sons of first marriage: 1. Robert, of Thrapston and Addington, sheriff of Leicestershire, died in 1420. 2. Baldwin, of whom further.

(R. E. C. Waters: "Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley," Vol. I, p. 51. "The Victoria History of the County of Northampton," Vol. III, p. 157.)

XII. *Baldwin Vere*, as the name came to be recorded, of Thrapston and Addington, son of Robert (7) and Anne (Malsores) de Vere, died in August, 1426, leaving a will dated December, 1424. He succeeded his niece Margaret Vere, receiving from her husband, Thomas Ashby, of Loseby, Leicestershire, the manor of Thrapston in 1421, and later Addington, which Ashby quitclaimed on January 13, 1421-22. Baldwin Vere was an esquire of Edmund, Earl of March, and by deed dated at Addington in 1405, conveyed all his lands to William, parson of the Church of Islip, and William Seymour, appar-

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ently for the purposes of a settlement. In 1423 he was treasurer of Meath.

Baldwin Vere married Elena, whose parentage is not known, and who was living as his widow on September 3, 1427. Children: 1. Richard, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth. 3. Amy. 4. Edward.

(*Ibid.*)

XIII. Richard Vere, of Thrapston and Addington, son of Baldwin and Elena Vere, died in 1480, seized of Thrapston and Addington. He was a minor in 1427, and was presented to Islip on December 14, 1448.

Richard Vere married Isabella Greene. (Greene IV.) (John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXIX.) Children: 1. Sir Henry, of Addington and Drayton, sheriff of Northamptonshire, died in 1493-94. 2. Constance, died in May, 1499; married John Boteler, of Watton, Hertfordshire. 3. Baldwin. 4. Elizabeth, married William Dounhall, of Geddington. 5. Margaret, married John Berners, of Writtle, Essex. 6. Amy, married John Ward, of Irtlingborough. 7. Elena or Ellen, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

XIV. Elena or Ellen Vere, daughter of Richard and Isabella (Greene) Vere, married Thomas Isham, of Pytchley. (Isham—English Line—VIII.)

(*Ibid.* O. Barron: "Northamptonshire Families," p. 144 and pedigree following p. 166.)

(The Greene Line)

Arms—Azure, three bucks trippant or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Greene, as a surname, appearing as De la Grene in the Hundred Rolls and as Green in modern orthography, means "a dweller at a green." Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, who under the name of "Robert Halstead" wrote in 1685 an elaborate genealogy of the Greenses of Drayton, claimed that Sir Henry Greene, the Lord Chief Justice, was the son of Sir Thomas de Boketon or Buckton and his alleged wife, Lucy la Zouche of Harringworth, and that from their possession of "a spacious and delightful Green," the family changed their name from De Boketon to Greene. This legend has

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been followed by many genealogical writers, but there is absolutely no proof that Sir Henry Greene was the son of Thomas de Boketon, who, with his wife Johanna, by a fine of 1340-41, conveyed to "Henry de Grene of Isham junior" the manors of Brampton and Boketon. This record is proof that there was a family of Greene living at Isham at this period, and Mr. Ellis suggests that Sir Henry Greene's father may have married a sister of Sir Thomas de Boketon, or Sir Henry Greene himself may have married a daughter of Sir Thomas de Boketon, and in this way have become that gentleman's heir.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom," Vol. I. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, pp. 31-32. R. Halstead: "Succinct Genealogical Proofs of the House of Greene that Were Lords of Drayton," photographic facsimile edition of 1896, p. 151. W. S. Ellis: "Origin of the Knightly Family of Greene of Northamptonshire," in "The Herald and Genealogist," Vol. VI, pp. 256-60.)

I. Sir Henry (1) Greene or de Greene, of Greene's Norton, Northamptonshire, Lord Chief Justice of England, died in 1369-70. As "Henry de Grene of Isham, junior," he received from Thomas de Boketon and his wife Johanna the manors of Brampton and Boketon in 1340-41. He was evidently a member of the family of Greene of Isham, Northamptonshire, and as he is referred to again as "junior" in 1343-45, and without the "junior" in 1352, must have had a father or uncle of the same name. His father may have married a sister of Sir Thomas de Boketon, which would account for his inheriting the property of that family.

Sir Henry Greene, with his brother-in-law Sir Simon de Drayton, Sir William Norton, and others, was on a commission to indict Thomas Lild, Bishop of Ely, for felony and misdemeanor. By license from the crown, Sir Simond de Drayton's son, Sir John, conveyed to Sir Henry Greene the lordship of Drayton and lands in the adjoining towns belonging to it, with reversion to Henry, son of Sir Henry Greene. It is said that the younger Henry came into possession of this property during his father's lifetime, but it appears by the inquisition *post mortem* of Sir Henry Greene that he died seized of the manor of Drayton. Between 1353 and 1359 he purchased the manor

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of Norton Davey, Northamptonshire, which from him and his heirs was called Greene's Norton. He was Speaker of the House of Lords in 1363 and 1364.

Sir Henry (1) Greene married (first) Amabilia, possibly a daughter of Sir Thomas de Boketon. He married (second) Catherine de Drayton. (De Drayton VI.) (John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXVI.) Son of first marriage: 1. Sir Thomas, of Greene's Norton, died in 1391; married the daughter of Sir John Mablethorp. Son of second marriage: 2. Henry (2), of whom further.

Sir Henry Greene is said to have had also the following children: 3. Margaret, married William, Lord Zouche. 4. Nicholas. 5. Richard. 6. Amabilia, married Sir Ralph Reynes, of Clifton.

(W. S. Ellis: "Origin of the Knightly Family of Greene of Northamptonshire," in "The Herald and Genealogist," Vol. VI, pp. 256-60. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, pp. 31-32. J. Bridges: "History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire," Vol. I, pp. 238-40; Vol. II, pp. 249, 251. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. I, p. 29. R. Halstead: "Succinct Genealogical Proofs of the House of Greene that Were Lords of Drayton," photographic facsimile edition of 1896, pp. ix, 152-53. J. J. Greene: "Pedigree of the Family of Greene," pp. 2-3 of "Greene of Greene's Norton.")

II. Sir Henry (2) Greene, Lord of Drayton, son of Sir Henry (1) and Catherine (de Drayton) Greene or de Greene, died July 29, 1399. In 1367 he received from his father the manor and advowson of Lowick, with Drayton, Islip and Slipton, and Drayton was further settled upon him in 1372-73 by Sir John de Drayton and his son Baldwin, on the condition that he assume the arms of Drayton. His faithful service to King Richard, by whom he was knighted, secured to him various rewards, including the confiscated lands of the Earls of Warwick and Arundel and the London house of Lord Cobham. He shared the King's downfall, however, and with the Earl of Wiltshire and Sir John Bushey was beheaded by order of the Duke of Lancaster after the treacherous surrender of Bristol Castle.

Sir Henry (2) Greene married Maud Maudit, daughter of Sir Thomas Maudit, of Warminster and Westbury, Wiltshire. Chil-

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dren: 1. Ralph, Lord of Drayton, restored by Act of Parliament to the forfeited lands of both his father and mother, died without issue; married a daughter of Anketil Mallory. 2. John, of whom further. 3. Mary, married Sir Geoffrey Lutterill. 4. Eleanor, married John FitzWilliams, of Sprofsburgh.

(G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, pp. 31-32. J. Bridges: "History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire," Vol. I, p. 240; Vol. II, pp. 249-50, 251. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. I, p. 29. R. Halstead: "Succinct Genealogical Proofs of the House of Greene that Were Lords of Drayton," photographic facsimile edition of 1896, pp. ix and footnote, 154-55. J. J. Greene: "Pedigree of the Family of Greene," pp. 3-4, of "Greene of Greene's Norton." "The Victoria History of the County of Northampton," Vol. III, pp. 237-38.)

III. Sir John Greene, Lord of Drayton, son of Sir Henry (2) and Maud (Maudit) Greene, died in 1432-33. He succeeded his brother Ralph in the lordship of Drayton and inherited all the lands which his father had held except those in the possession of the widow of Ralph Greene. He led a retired life and "applied himself to enjoy the happiness of his House and Country."

Sir John Greene married Margaret Greene, daughter of Walter Greene, of Bridgnorth, Shropshire. Children: 1. Ralph, died young. 2. Henry, Lord of Drayton and Sheriff of Northamptonshire, married (first) Constance Pawlett; (second) Margaret Roos. 3. Margaret or Margery, married Sir Henry Huddleston. 4. Isabella, of whom further.

(J. Bridges: "History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire," Vol. II, pp. 249-52. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. I, p. 29. "The Victoria History of the County of Northampton," Vol. III, p. 237. R. Halstead: "Succinct Genealogical Proofs of the House of Greene that Were Lords of Drayton," photographic facsimile edition of 1896, p. 155. J. J. Greene: "Pedigree of the Family of Greene," p. 4 of "Greene of Greene's Norton.")

IV. Isabella Greene, daughter of Sir John and Margaret (Greene) Greene, married Richard Vere, of Addington. (Vere XIII.)

(*Ibid.*)

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(The De Drayton Line)

Arms—Argent, a cross engrailed gules.

(“The Victoria History of the County of Northampton,” Vol. VIII, p. 237.)

The surname De Drayton, assumed by a branch of the De Vere family from their lordship of Drayton in Northamptonshire, means “belonging to Drayton, or the dry-built farmstead (*i. e.*, built without mortar).” Latinized *de Arida Villa*, the name corresponds to the French place-name Secqueville, whence the English Sackville, Latinized *de Sicca Villa*.

(Harrison: “Surnames of the United Kingdom,” Vol. I. Bardsley: “Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.”)

I. Sir Henry de Vere, of Drayton and Addington, Northamptonshire, Child 1 of Generation III of the Vere Line, son of Sir Robert (1) and Maude (de Furnell or Furneval) de Vere, died in 1193-94. He was raised under the care of his cousin William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex and Albemarle, and succeeded his father in the lordships of Drayton and Addington. He was famous for his prowess in arms, and in an encounter near the castle of Gysors he slew Ralph de Vaux, son of a powerful lord in those parts, who had rebelled against the King and his officers. Later he became constable of Gysors, and in 1191 was the lieutenant of William de Mandeville, who was serving as the King's chief governor. He may have been the judge, named Henry de Vere, who lived at the end of the twelfth century.

Sir Henry de Vere is said by older pedigrees to have married Hildeburga. According to more recent research, he married (first) a wife whose name is not known. He married (second) Matilda de Cailli, heiress of the barony of Mutford in Suffolk. Son of first marriage: 1. Walter, of whom further. Son of second marriage: 2. Henry, of Mutford, a minor in 1203, died without issue in 1232, when Mutford escheated to the Crown. Two more sons were: 3. William. 4. Geoffrey.

(R. E. C. Waters: “Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley,” Vol. I, pp. 47, 48. J. Bridges: “History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire,” Vol. II, pp. 248-49, 251 “The Victoria History of the County of Northampton,” Vol. III, pp. 156, 237. G. Lipscomb: “History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham,” Vol. I, p. 29.)

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II. Sir Walter de Vere or de Drayton, of Drayton and Addington, son of Sir Henry de Vere, died in 1210-11. He succeeded his father in the lordship of Drayton, and either he or his son Henry discarded the surname De Vere and took that of Drayton, together with its armorial bearings. Possibly he was first called Walter de Drayton to distinguish him from his contemporary Walter de Vere of Lincolnshire. As Walter, son of Henry, son of Robert, he gave to his uncle William de Vere all his land in Twywell for the service of half a knight, and in Addington for the service of one-fourth a knight's fee. He was knighted by Richard I, whom he accompanied to the crusades.

Sir Walter de Vere or de Drayton married Lucy Basset, daughter of Richard (or Gilbert) Basset, of Weldon, to whom her uncle Alan Basset gave lands in Pytchley. Son: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Sir Henry de Drayton, of Drayton, son of Sir Walter and Lucy (Basset) de Vere or de Drayton, was a minor at his father's death. He died in 1253, seized of two carucates and three acres of land in Drayton and Islip, held of the King in chief, and a toft, held of Robert, son of William de Lowick by the rent of 1*d.* yearly. He granted lands to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Northampton.

Sir Henry de Drayton is said in some pedigrees to have married Ivetta de Bourdon, but it seems more likely that she was his daughter-in-law. Sons: 1. Baldwin, of whom further. 2. (Probably) Simon, married Ivetta de Bourdon, who died August 24, 1270, daughter of William de Bourdon, of Desborough.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Sir Baldwin de Drayton, of Drayton, son of Sir Henry de Drayton, was aged thirty in 1253 and died in 1278, seized of Drayton and, in the right of his wife, of Botolph Bridge in Huntingdonshire. He did homage for Drayton on August 26, 1253, and a mandate was issued to the King's escheator to receive of Baldwin de Drayton security for 100*s.* for his relief, to which Eleanor, the Queen, was witness. He was a rebel with Montfort.

Sir Baldwin de Drayton married Idonea de Gimeges, daughter of Hugh (some say Robert) de Gimeges, who held possessions in Hunt-

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ingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, and his wife Sibyl de Lizures, daughter of Hugh de Lizures, of Botolph Bridge. Son: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Sir John de Drayton*, of Drayton, son of Sir Baldwin and Idonea (de Gimeges) de Drayton, was aged twenty-four and more in 1278. He died in 1291-92, aged thirty-eight, seized of Botolph Bridge, and of the manor of Drayton, held of the King as half a knight's fee, doing suit at the court at Geddington. In 1284 he was returned as holding four and a half hides in Islip and Drayton "of the King in chief by serjeanty."

Sir John de Drayton married (first) Philippa de Arderne, daughter of Robert de Arderne of Wappenham. He married (second) Alice, who was living in 1318. Son of second marriage: 1. Simon, of Drayton and Botolph Bridge, aged nine in 1292, died May 31, 1357; married Margaret de Lindsey, who died September 11, 1358, daughter of Sir John Lindsey; from their grandson, Baldwin de Drayton, the manor of Drayton passed to the heirs of Catherine, Simon's sister.

A daughter, not mentioned in the pedigree, which cites two marriages for her father, and listed as issue of Philippa de Arderne in pedigrees which ascribe both the children of Sir John de Drayton to this wife, was: 2. Catherine, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. *Catherine de Drayton*, daughter of Sir John de Drayton, married Sir Henry Greene, Chief Justice of England. (Greene I.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Strother Line)

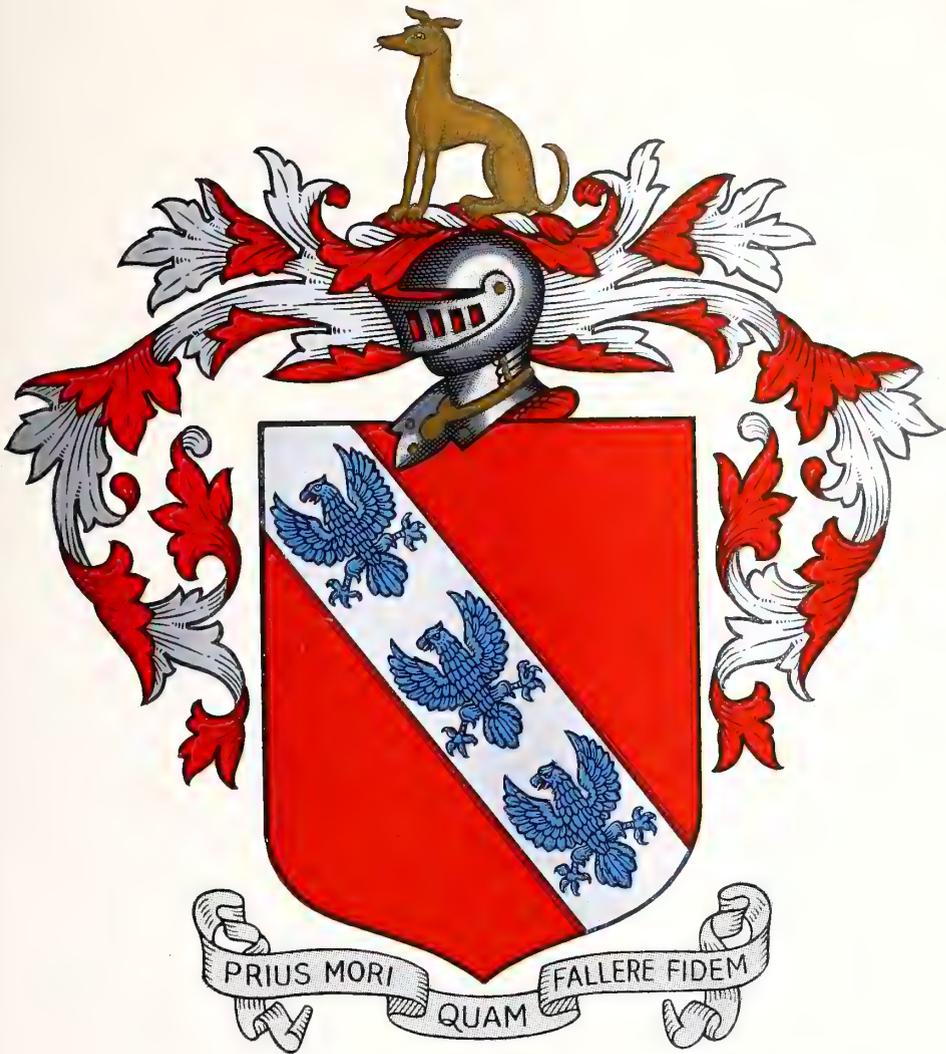
Arms—Gules, on a bend argent, three eagles displayed azure.

Crest—A greyhound sejant or.

Motto—*Prius mori quam fallere fidem.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

According to records in the possession of members of the family, the following is quoted from "The Johnsons of Salisbury," in which appears an article on the Strother family: "The Strothers were a rich and powerful connection, renowned for their beauty, brilliancy and a certain imperiousness of temper, verging on lawlessness."



Strother

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General D. H. Strother, who devoted much time to tracing the Strother family in England and America, writes (according to family records): "The Strother family was of great power and wealth from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in the county of Northumberland. Alan del Strother, Lord of Lyham, was High Sheriff of Northumberland from 1354 to 1357, and Warden of the Border. In 1440 William del Strother, grandson of Lord Lyham, lived at Castle Strother in Glendale. William Strother from Northumberland County, England, founder of our family of Strothers in America, settled in Virginia about 1650. His descendants have occupied a very conspicuous place in the history of this country, numbering among their descendants John Tyler and Zachary Taylor, both Presidents of the United States, General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Bishop Madison, cousin of President Madison, Governor Madison of Kentucky and many others of note in their day."

The mother of the first French Strother was Margaret French, wife of James Strother. Since that marriage the name has continuously appeared. Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States, was the son of Richard Taylor and Sarah Strother, and was a first cousin of Captain French Strother (Generation VI).

The first legal fee of \$100,000 received in America was received by Judge French Strother of Giles Court House, Virginia. According to the family's understanding, there has never been a session of Congress of which a Strother descendant was not a member.

In an account of the Strother family, General David Hunter Strother stated that the derivation of the name was "probably from the Gaelic word, *Strath*, which means a broad valley with a river flowing through it—hence, Strath-Clyde, Strath-Allen, Strath-more, Strath-Erne, in which stood Fonteroit, the ancient capital of the Picts. Of this last, chopping the two terminal letters, we have Strather. Here give the broad sound to the 'a,' as commonly pronounced in England, and we have Strawther, or Strother, or the name may have been applied to a family whose lands occupied a valley or a Strath.

"Mexico, March 2, 1885. The name Strother is Danish, as I am assured by Peter H. Balling, a Norwegian who served in the Danish

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Army in 1848, and says he knew the name there and had a friend and comrade of the name. The old Danish invaders carried it to Northumberland, and thence it came to Virginia.

"In 1877 there are still numerous Strothers among the small landholders of Northumberland, and on the Scottish side of Tweed. In Scotland the name is spelt Struthers, Struther, Strowther, Strodder, and Straather, evidently spelled by ear and not by knowledge. The main family have always spelt it precisely as now spelt both in England and America, and it is one of the few historic names which has retained its orthography unchanged for six hundred years."

J. B. C. Nicklin, who is a contributor to "Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine," from which the above paragraphs were quoted, stated that "Mr. Edward S. Lewis spent two years in England looking up the (Strother) family, and he is the authority for the connection between William Strother, of Virginia, and the Northumberland Strothers. While this has not yet been proven beyond question, there is little doubt in my mind that the descent is correct, and I believe it." In "Tyler's Quarterly," Mr. Nicklin gives the direct descent of the Strothers as follows, with a few modifications and additions as found in "County History of Northumberland," and "Surtees Society Publications."

I. Alan Del Strother.

("Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine," Vol. XI, pp. 113-17. "County History of Northumberland," Vol. XI, p. 132.)

II. William, third son, died in 1315.

(Ibid.,)

III. Henry, Lord of Newton, died in 1379.

(Ibid.)

IV. John, died in 1394; married Mary, daughter of Sir Alan Heton.

(Ibid.)

V. William, died in 1409.

(Ibid.)

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VI. Thomas, Knight, died in 1440; married the daughter of a Swinbourne.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. William, of Wallington, died in 1470.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Thomas, died in 1501; married a daughter of Thomas Horton, of Horton, County Northumberland.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Richard, died before 1535; married Margery or Margaret Mare or Mere, daughter of William Mare, of Newcastle.

(*Ibid.*)

X. William Strother, of Kirknewton, was living in 1540. He married (first) a daughter of Edmund Horsley, of Milbourne, County Northumberland; (second) Barbara Grey, daughter of Sir Richard Grey, of Horton.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. William Strother, of Newton, County Northumberland, died before May 19, 1610; married (first) Jane Selby, daughter of John Selby, of County Northumberland. The following will is of interest here:

19 May, 1610 Sir William Selbie of the Mote in Ightham County Kent, Knight.

Ladie Selbie widow of my brother John

Ladie Selbie wife of my nephew Sir William

To Sir George Selbie of Newcastle my picture—my ladie and niece his wife.

To Lancelot Strother son of my brother in law William Strother dec^d. a golde ringe worth 20£.

nephew George Muschamp esq^{re} and my niece, his wife

“ John Ghastowe, his wife and son Henrie Ghastowe

“ Roger Selbie of Grendon Rigg & his brother William

niece Margaret Selbie dau^r of my late brother Raphe Selbie dec^d.—sister Phillis Dennis—nephew Robert son of my late brother Raphe—nephew Sir John Selbie son of my brother Sir John dec^d.—nephew Sir Raphe S.

pd 5 Feb. 1611 by Sir William Selby nephew.

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William Strother married (second) Elizabeth, whose surname is unknown.

(*Ibid.*)

XII. *Lancelot Strother*, of Fowberry Tower, died August 9, 1611, and left a will dated July 30, 1611, proved at Durham in 1612:

Lancelot Strother of Kirknewton, County Northumberland esquire—to be buried in the quier of Newton church—to my wife Ellinor household stuff at Newton and Fowberrie, also £200 out of all my goods, and my tithes of corn at Langton and West Newton.

To my second son William Strother my tithe in Akefield—3rd son Lancelot tithe of Milfield and my water corn mill late in the occupation of Thomas Strother—if my wife bears a son he shall have my tithe at Grookhouse. I have by deed made this day demised all my lands to Sir William Selbye of Tynemouth Castle, Knt., Thomas Riddell of Gates head, esq^re, Clement Strother of Langton gent and Lyonell Strother of Berwick on Tweed for 8 years. To my eldest son John £50 yearly—to my eldest daughter Agnes £500—second daughter Elizabeth £400—third daughter Jane £300—fourth Ellinor £300—fifth Katherine £200—sixth Mary £60 and to the child my wife beareth £240—residue to my eldest son.

Lancelot Strother married Eleanor Conyers. (Conyers XVII.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXXIV.)

(*Ibid.* "Surtees Society Publications," Vol. CXLII, p. 49.)

XIII. *William (1) Strother*, of Northumberland, was born in 1597 and left a will which was proved in 1667.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. *William (2) Strother*, son of William (1) Strother, of Northumberland, was born about 1627 and died about 1702. He founded the Strother family of our interest in America, and was in Virginia as early as 1669, and may have been identical with the William "Strowder" who was granted five hundred acres of land in Westmoreland County in 1658. In 1664, William "Struder" was granted five hundred acres of land in Westmoreland County. It is not known, however, if these were the same persons, and the same as our William

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Strother. According to General David Hunter Strother, who was quoted in the introduction to this line, "The genealogical record connecting the Virginia Strothers with their English ancestry was destroyed by a fire in a country house below Fredericksburg belonging to one of the family. This fire took place in the early part of the century (eighteenth)." William Strother lived in Sittingbourne Parish, Rappahannock County, on the Rappahannock River, near the site of the present Port Conway, now in King George County. His will, dated December 30, 1700, and probated in Richmond County, November 4, 1702, named his wife, Dorothy, to whom he devised one-half of his lands, the "mansion" to his eldest son, William, and bequests to his sons James, Robert, Benjamin, and special funds to his sons Joseph and Jeremiah for education.

William (2) Strother married Dorothy, probably Savage, who survived him and was living in 1716, when she witnessed the will of their son, James Strother. Children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. James, died in 1716, without issue, and devised his estate to his brother Joseph. 3. Jeremiah, married Eleanor. 4. Robert, married Elizabeth Berry. 5. Benjamin, married Mary Woffendall, daughter of Adam Woffendall. 6. Joseph, married Margaret Berry.

("Virginia Land Office Records," Book IV, p. 283. "Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine," Vol. XI, pp. 113-117. Thomas McAdory Owen, assisted by Judge Philip Strother: "William Strother and His Descendants" in the "Southern Historical Association Publications," Vol. II, pp. 149-73.)

II. William (3) Strother, son of William (2) and Dorothy (Savage?) Strother, inherited from his father the "mansion" place and, in 1722, he deeded the plantation to his son William, who was afterwards known as William of "Stafford" to distinguish him from his cousin, William of "Orange," son of Jeremiah. After the burning of the mansion near Port Conway, which fire destroyed all the family records, making only assumptive dates of birth, William Strother, son of William (3) Strother, sold the plantation, about 1727, and purchased another, opposite the town of Fredericksburg, in what is now Stafford County. This property was sold by his executors, in 1738, to Augustine Washington, father of George Washington, who owned and occupied it until his death in 1743.

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The high character of William (3) Strother is attested by his services as vestryman of Hanover Parish, an honor bestowed only upon the faithful and zealous. The vestrymen levied taxes and rendered decisions regarding secular and ecclesiastical business of the parish. In certain emergencies their labors were of a self-denying and arduous nature. He was also high sheriff of King George County. He died in 1726 and his will was admitted to probate in King George County by his widow who qualified as executrix.

William (3) Strother married Margaret Thornton. (Thornton III.) Children: 1. William, of Stafford, married Margaret Watts. 2. Francis, of whom further. 3. Anthony, married (first) Behethland Storke; (second) Mary James. 4. Benjamin, married Mary Fitzhugh.

(William E. Railey: "The Strother Family," in "Kentucky Historical Society Register," Vol. XV, pp. 89, *et seq.*; Vol. XVI, pp. 93, *et seq.*)

III. Francis Strother, son of William (3) and Margaret (Thornton) Strother, resided for awhile in St. Martin's Parish, Hanover County, Virginia, the home of the Huguenot Dabney family, of which his wife Susannah was a member. On January 27, 1735, William Coleman sold and conveyed to Francis Strother, of St. Martin's Parish, Hanover County, 583 $\frac{1}{3}$ acres of land, which was one-third of a larger tract called "Delmere," which in the processes of county formation, became situated near Washington, the seat of Rappahannock County. This place has been known as "Delmere" since the plantation was bought by Francis Strother in 1735. Francis Strother was a large slaveholder. The land records of Culpeper County, where he died, mention his name in numerous conveyances. He left a will, dated April 17, 1751, and probated April 16, 1752, in Culpeper County.

Francis Strother married Susannah Dabney, of the Hanover family of that name. Children: 1. Captain John Dabney, of whom further. 2. Margaret, married Robert Covington. 3. William, married (first) Sarah Bayley Pannill; (second) Anne Kavanaugh. 4. George, married Mary Kennerly. 5. Anthony, married Frances Eastham. 6. Francis, married Anne Ferguson. 7. Robert, married

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Elizabeth Dillers. 8. Mary, married Robert Deatherage. 9. Behethland, married Olive Wallis. 10. Elizabeth, married James Gaines. 11. Susannah, married Thomas Gaines.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Captain John Dabney Strother, son of Francis and Susannah (Dabney) Strother, was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1721 and died March 29, 1795. In 1748 he removed to Culpeper County, near what is now the town of Washington, or "Little Washington," as it is sometimes called, the seat of Rappahannock County, where he lived until his death. His plantation was known as "Wade-field," which has passed down in the family to each succeeding generation. Between 1755 and 1759 he served as captain in a company against the Indians. He was a strong churchman, and built and supported an Episcopal church near his residence. He was a justice of Culpeper County and in the course of his life accumulated a large fortune.

Captain John Dabney Strother married Mary Wills Wade. Children: 1. Joseph, married Nancy Stuart. 2. Susannah, married John Lawler. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Mollie, or Mary, Wade, married Charles Browning. (Browning VII.) 5. Sarah, married William Hughes. 6. Elizabeth, married Captain John Browning. (Browning VI, Child 5.) 7. Lucy, married Francis Covington. 8. Mildred, married William Covington. 9. Anne, married John Strother.

(*Ibid.*)

V. John Strother, son of Captain John Dabney and Mary Willis (Wade) Strother, was born in 1762 and died September 22, 1814 (another record says 1818). He inherited the family seat "Wade-field," and was a wealthy man. He was a member of the Committee of Safety for Culpeper County and high sheriff of the same county.

John Strother married, in 1782, Helen Piper, who was an aunt of Colonel James Piper, who wrote his name above that of General Washington at Natural Bridge. Children: 1. Nancy, born November 20, 1784, died in 1819; married, in 1799, William Pendleton; child: i. John Strother Pendleton, called in Congress the "Lone Star

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of Virginia." 2. Mary Wade, or Polly, born June 1, 1786; married, June 25, 1805, Colonel William Ward. 3. Sarah, died young. 4. Lucy, born April 15, 1790, died October 5, 1860; married, November 15, 1805, William Ashby; child: i. Dr. William Ashby, a distinguished physician. 5. French, of whom further. 6. Elizabeth, born May 8, 1794; married, December 22, 1814, William F. Thompson, Jr. 7. Mildred, born February 9, 1796, died in 1875; married, May 19, 1814, Bailey Buckner; children: i. Sam Buckner, a distinguished physician. ii. Judge Aylette Hause Buckner, was in Congress for sixteen years. 8. John, died unmarried. 9. Kitty, died young. 10. Sarah Catherine, born September 14, 1811, died October 15, 1870; married Dr. Thomas Barbour.

(*Ibid.* "Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine," Vol. XI, pp. 124-27, 198. Family data.)

VI. Captain French Strother, son of John and Helen (Piper) Strother, was born in Virginia, January 20, 1792, and died in 1879. In the 1850 census record of Rappahannock County, Virginia, he is listed as follows:

French Strother, farmer, age	58,	b.	Virginia, estate \$7500.00
Mary A. "	"	52, b.	"
Henry "	"	36, b.	"
Charles B. "	"	30, b.	"
Susan T. "	"	18, b.	"
Sarah C. (Catherine)	"	16, b.	"
Elizabeth	"	13, b.	"
Anne	"	10, b.	"

In the same census record appears the name of James French Strother, son of Captain Strother's cousin, George French Strother. James French Strother is listed as lawyer, aged thirty-five, with wife Elizabeth, also aged thirty-five, and a number of children. He was admitted to the bar and practiced in Little Washington, Rappahannock County, and was elected to Congress in 1851 from the Culpeper district. In 1860 Captain French Strother removed to Calwood, Calaway County, Missouri, and in the 1860 census account of that county he appears as farmer, aged sixty-eight, with estate valued at \$6,160. His wife Mary is listed with him and four children as follows:

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Charles B., teacher, aged thirty-eight; Susan, aged twenty-four; Catherine (Sarah), aged twenty-two; and Bettie, or Elizabeth, aged twenty.

Professor French Strother, son of Captain French Strother, said of him in his diary: He "was known in Culpeper County (Virginia) and afterwards in Missouri as Captain French Strother. If he had an enemy it was unknown to his family. If he ever owed a dollar which he did not pay, this also was unknown to any of his ten children. . . . When remonstrated with for not saying more than he did say a man who came to purchase the farm (he) said: 'I would not deceive a man for the value of my farm.'" Captain Strother was "the son of a wealthy man." He "was the best educated man in North Culpeper, now Rappahannock." He and his wife "were Presbyterians and believed in education, and their descendants are also Presbyterians." Captain French Strother "was named after the most famous of our Strothers, he having represented Culpeper County twenty-nine years."

Captain French Strother married, November 18, 1813, Mary Ann Pendleton Browning. (Browning IX.) Children: 1. Henry St. George, born September 22, 1814, died September 1, 1858; married, September 18, 1854, Mary White; they had two children, who died before 1912. 2. Frances, born November 3, 1816, died August 8, 1830. 3. Harriet Pendleton, born November 3, 1818, died in 1897; married, September 1, 1841, John Henry Bibb, and had children. Their only living child is Kate, wife of Dr. William DuBose, retired surgeon-general of the navy. 4. Charles Oscar, born November 6, 1820; married his sister-in-law, Mrs. Mary (White) Strother. 5. Wade Dabney, born January 4, 1823, died November 22, 1892; married, March 22, 1854, Anne Hall. 6. French, of whom further. 7. Helen Mary, born October 27, 1827; married, June 21, 1849, Colonel Edward W. Wood; children (also two other sons and two daughters): i. Dr. Roger B. Wood, osteopathic physician of Fulton; married, in September, 1912, Alberta Henderson, of Salisbury. ii. Chalmers B. Wood, elected State Senator. iii. E. S. Wood, county school superintendent. 8. Lucy Ellen, born March 20, 1830, died in 1831. 9. Susan Randolph Thornton, born April 22,

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1832, died May 23, 1871; married, May 26, 1861, Dr. William Weems. 10. Sarah Catherine Barbour, born November 12, 1834, died June 15, 1887; married, September 20, 1878, Robert McClanahan. 11. Elizabeth Willis, born March 1, 1837, died September 20, 1897; unmarried. 12. Anna Alberta, born May 30, 1840; married, May 26, 1859, Robert Woodson, of Fulton, Missouri; child: i. Rev. Albert Woodson, who in February, 1911, was of Manning, South Carolina, where he had charge of the Presbyterian Church. January 14, 1912, his uncle, Professor French Strother, mentions him as a "noble, whole-souled Christian minister," and refers to "his lovely wife . . . and four children."

(William E. Railey: "The Strother Family," in "Kentucky Historical Society Register," Vol. XV, pp. 89, *et seq.*; Vol. XVI, pp. 93, *et seq.* "Census of Rappahannock County, Virginia," 1850, pp. 235, 287. "Census of Callaway County, Missouri," 1860 (District No. 18, P. O. Jones Tan Yard), p. 957. "Biographical Directory of the American Congress," p. 1582. "Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine," Vol. XI, pp. 189, 190, 196. "Diary of Professor French Strother.")

VII. Professor French Strother, son of Captain French and Mary Ann Pendleton (Browning) Strother, was born in Rappahannock County, Virginia, January 14, 1825, and died there June 25, 1916, at a greatly advanced age. His profession, that of teaching, necessitated his moving about from place to place. In St. Charles, Missouri, he and his wife were jointly associated with higher educational institutions. They both conducted the Strother Female Institute, Mr. Strother presiding over the literary department, and Mrs. Strother over the musical department. They had conducted Lindenwood Female College for four years, and upon relinquishing control of that institution opened the Strother Female Institute. Mr. Strother served as president of Lindenwood College from July, 1866, to 1869. They later removed to Monroe County, Missouri, but finally returned to the home of Mr. Strother's birth, where he died. In the "History of North East Missouri," we find: "At Strother, in the northern part of South Fork township, Monroe County, Missouri, was once located one of the county's chief institutions of learning, its last instructor, now making his home in Virginia (1913), having been Professor French Strother."

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Professor French Strother taught for fifty years in the great State of Missouri. President Kemper of The Boonville Military Academy called him the Nestor of Missouri Teachers. President M. M. Fisher, of Missouri University, said: "No man in Missouri has made a greater impress for good on the youth of this state than has Professor French Strother."

From the diary of Professor French Strother we quote the following interesting revelations of his life. When about eighty-six years of age, he said of himself:

The first ten years of my school life was at the rural old field schools. . . . When in my thirteenth year I went to a preparatory school for the University of Virginia and continued at this school for three years. . . . It gives me pleasure to say I am a well preserved, happy old man. I live well, sleep well and never lose an opportunity to do a kind act. . . . A little over a year ago I was at our post office and a number of men were present. I said: "Gentlemen, I will soon be 85. I never used tobacco in any form and never drank poison called whiskey, and I can whip any man here." . . . I then said: "Of course I mean somebody is to hold the fellow." . . . I was never at a theater but once in my life. Though for many years an Odd Fellow and a Mason, I never attended a banquet of either lodge. I am writing this . . . have not got my glasses on, nor does my hand shake the least.

Under date of June 29, 1911, he wrote:

When I was in my 21st year I left my paternal home, "Mount Airy," near Washington, Rappahannock County, Virginia, for Alabama. I started from home on horseback. . . . I had some books I had used at the University of Virginia. I was about one week getting to my cousin, James Pendleton's, at Marion. I met my brother Henry there. My brother, Wade, was a young lawyer, located at Tazewell. From Marion, it took me, I think, about one month to get to Belmont, Sumter county, Alabama. . . . I remained in Alabama five years, teaching two years in Sumter County. . . . After this I taught at Belmont. . . . When I was 25 years old I came back to Virginia. . . . here I met with Miss Susan Petty, of Culpeper, and married her . . . a wife, whose superior I have never known. . . . During the first five years of our married life, I had charge of Luray Academy and then of Salem Female Academy.

In the fall of 1843 I went to Cousin Daniel Slaughter's & Mr. Crittendon's to teach the children of the two families. My male

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pupils were Edwin & Philip Slaughter & James Critten & two of Crittendon's daughters.

Never can I forget my visit to my Henry and Pendleton kin. My grandmother was a Miss Pendleton; my oldest brother was named Henry, and when I was at the University of Virginia a grandson of Patrick Henry and of Wade Hampton were there. . . . When I was thirty years old I moved to Missouri. My brother, Henry, had already gone and bought a farm near Calwood, Callaway county. I bought about 400 acres near Anscuarre church. My father, after two sons had acquired farms and his youngest sister had bought and built in Fulton, was induced to sell his farm in Rappahannock county and move to Missouri. We had bought from 1,000 to 1,500 acres of land, paying from five to eight dollars an acre. . . . I was teaching at Glasgow, Missouri, during the entire civil war.

Under date of September 9, 1911 (Mexico, Missouri), he wrote:

The fifth decade of my life begins at Glasgow in 1865. . . . I sold the seminary, . . . and went to Kentucky for the purpose of buying a ladies college, . . . but there was no property for sale such as I wanted. After going back to Glasgow I was offered the presidency of Lindenwood College, at St. Charles, Missouri, which I accepted, and it was leased to me for ten years. During the greater part of 1865 to 1875 I had charge of Lindenwood College, at St. Charles, and Independence Ladies College, at Independence. The Northern Presbyterian Church claimed Lindenwood College, and after being there four years I had to give it up. . . . I went from St. Charles to Independence. (He left soon after as) starvation (from grasshoppers) threatened that part of the State.

Almost the entire of the sixth period of ten years of my life was spent at Strother, Monroe County, Missouri. Some . . . induced me to take charge of the public school there, known as the Vaughan school. . . . I bought of William Vaughan as much land as I needed to build on and pasture for horses and cows. I erected an attractive two-story building—the lower part for my family and the upper rooms for boarders. I added an ell on the east side and another on the west. I bought land immediately across the road and put up a large building for boys. My last purchase was a tract near me of about sixty acres, this being my fourth purchase of land. . . . Both of my large buildings were full of paying students, when my main building was destroyed by fire. I was preparing to rebuild when I was induced to go to Perry, Missouri, and before the year was out the Lord had given me two large, fine buildings and about 8 or 10 acres of land adjacent to the town—an ideal place for a high school.

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On April 3, 1912, he wrote as follows:

Since April 8th one year ago I have traveled between five and six thousand miles. I have been in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas and Oklahoma—Thirteen states. I visited pupils whom I taught in 1848-49 & 50 and a part of 1851.

Various entries throughout his diary of 1911 indicate that he was of the Presbyterian faith and was in the habit of attending churches of that denomination when he could do so.

He wrote, concerning his wife "Miss Susan Petty, of Culpeper, From the beginning of our 47 years of married life she gave me valuable aid in making our support. When I had charge for many years of a female college, she was always my main dependence. She composed many pieces of music."

After the death of Professor Strother and forty years after he had taught at Perry, Missouri, the former students of Strother Institute of Perry dedicated a granite monument to the memory of Professor French Strother and Mrs. Susan A. Strother in recognition of their imperishable influence for good on the citizens of that community. The same year a tablet was placed on the wall of Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Missouri, by his pupils of half a century ago honoring him. Professor French Strother's *alma mater* was the University of Virginia. He was especially interested in Latin and chemistry and was a mathematical genius. Mrs. Strother was an accomplished musician, a composer of much popular published piano music, a personality that impressed itself upon students and parents as well as her large circle of friends. Both were always active in church work and their home was ever open to ministers of all denominations, although they were Presbyterians of Scotch Presbyterian ancestry. Such a couple were bound to leave a wonderful impress on their day and generation, and it is a well accepted statement in north central Missouri that their exceptional abilities left such indelible marks of character as well as culture, that their former students are easily recognized today. They left no material fortune for immediate descendants, but what is of far higher credit they made valuable citizens of hundreds of young men and women who today "rise up and call them blessed."

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Professor French Strother married, in August, 1850, Susan Ann Petty. (Petty VI.) Children: 1. A daughter, died in infancy. 2. Oscar Dabney, of whom further. 3. Betty Alberta, married (first) Z. W. Baker, who died in April, 1883; (second) Hubert Pascall Warden, a farmer near Mexico, Missouri, and the owner of valuable Jersey cattle. In a newspaper, probably of 1911 or 1912, is shown the portrait of Betty Alberta Warden, with the following note underneath it: "Mrs. H. P. Warden who was recently reëlected Regent of the Mexico Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and who is also President of the Wednesday Club. Mrs. Warden is one of the brightest women in this city and is a descendant of an old Virginia family whose connections entitle her to belong to all patriotic societies." Child of the first marriage: i. George Oscar Baker, who in March, 1911, had "been about three years in Paris, France." A newspaper item of about 1911 or 1912, says: "An oil painting by Geo. Baker, of this city, now in Paris, France, studying art, has been accepted by the French Salon whose annual art exhibit opened Saturday. This is the greatest honor a painter can win and is the goal all who study in Paris desire to achieve. Mr. Baker—for quite a number of years has been doing cartoon work for a Baltimore syndicate . . . has been the student of Richard Miller, one of the leading teachers in Paris." Child of second marriage: ii. Loreine Warden, married Claud Clayton; they reside in Washington, District of Columbia. 4. Lilliebelle, died unmarried. 5. Ally or Joseph Alexander, died unmarried. 6. Minnie Sue, died in June, 1883; married John Goss; child: i. Minnie Sue Goss, married J. C. Greer. 7. Edgar, died in infancy.

("History of St. Charles County, Missouri," pp. 316-17. "History of North East Missouri," p. 476. "Culpeper County, Virginia, Deeds," Book XII, p. 165. "Diary of Professor French Strother." Family data.)

VIII. Oscar Dabney Strother, son of Professor French and Susan Ann (Petty) Strother, was born in Glasgow, Missouri, October 16, 1858. He attended Lindenwood College (now well known as a girls' school, but in its early days it accepted small boys also for a time) at St. Charles, Missouri, a small institution of high standards,

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of which his father was president, but later studied in Virginia, the original home of the family. Here his brilliant record and, particularly, his aptitude for mathematics made a deep impression upon his instructor, who wrote the father that the boy had the best mind for mathematics he had ever taught and urged that he become an engineer. Other interests intervened, however, and Providence appointed him for another destiny.

In 1874, when he was sixteen years old, Mr. Strother visited his sister, Mrs. J. S. Goss, of Fort Smith, Arkansas. From that post, hardy pioneers pushed on into the Indian Territory, their wagons stocked with merchandise, to barter with the aborigines and the few white settlers. The fascinations of frontier life exerted their spell upon the boy and he resolved to throw in his lot with the builders of this western empire. At the first opportunity, he acquired a two-horse spring wagon and set out from Fort Smith, purchasing furs, ginseng and other articles. He drove on into the Territory until his wagon was full, and then returned to Fort Smith with his purchases. This life was full of danger. The Indian Territory at the time was a rendezvous for outlaws and desperadoes driven from the various states, and it was well known that Mr. Strother carried with him considerable sums of money, valuable furs, and other raw products. He needed all his resourcefulness in outwitting these antagonists and met with many thrilling encounters, but he acquired an intimate knowledge of the territory which was very useful to him.

At twenty-three years of age, Mr. Strother became a salesman for Orr & Lindsay of St. Louis, and later represented the Brown Shoe Company, also of St. Louis. Again he drove the rough roads of Indian Territory, where no railroads had yet built their lines, but his remarkable energy and ability made him conspicuously successful and for many years in succession he won the annual prize of his company for bringing in the greatest volume of sales. As Oklahoma was gradually opened to settlement, he took part in the various rushes whereby the State was developed, and acquired property interests in the hope of turning a profit. These, however, were confined to relatively minor holdings.

When oil was first discovered in Oklahoma in 1901, a new source of wealth was opened up to the Nation, and oil men poured into the

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territory, prospecting for likely drilling sites. Oil became the chief topic of conversation all over Oklahoma and Mr. Strother in traveling up and down the territory necessarily learned much about the business. He learned what type of land was most likely to bear the liquid wealth and he thought of the vast Seminole County country, neglected by geologists and petroleum engineers. He decided to put every dollar he could spare into the purchase of Seminole County land.

"Like a prophet of old in his genius for envisioning the future," it has been written of him, "O. D. Strother believed that in the land of the Seminole, where post-oak dotted pasture and grass-land vied with hills, a time would come when derricks more than corn-stalks would mark what man had wrought.

"How did this man divine it? He was not a geologist; he had no experience as an oil operator. And yet, it was back in 1905 that he began to invest in Seminole country land in the belief that here, some day, a great oil-producing area would be located."

In 1906 Mr. Strother obtained the services of John Russel Simpson, his son-in-law, to buy land for him in the Seminole country and had his assistance until 1911. In that year he decided finally to devote his entire attention to his property interests, and so, retired from his association with the Brown Shoe Company which had continued for more than a quarter of a century. Meanwhile his Seminole County holdings grew until, by 1917, he had accumulated six thousand five hundred acres. The taxes on this vast property became so high that they constituted a real burden upon him and he found it necessary to incorporate his holdings and to associate his friends with him in his investment. The Home-Stake Oil & Gas Company was then organized with a capital stock of \$100,000; shares were sold to intimates and close acquaintances and so Mr. Strother was able to retain the property acquired at a cost of so much effort. Those who joined him in his corporation had faith in his own faith and vision. Others, perhaps equally good friends, only laughed at his delusion, but time has vindicated his judgment.

"Still like a prophet of old—like Moses atop Mount Nebo—Mr. Strother was not permitted to enter the promised land. Before him

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at his death there lay, not a land flowing with milk and honey which he could have entered had he lived, but a country which was soon to be a land of flowing gold. Just over the hill, at the time death came to him in Oklahoma City, a contractor in his employ was drilling the Seminole second 'discovery well.'"

Seven months later the Pure Oil Company-Strother No. 2 oil well came in, and the dream which he had envisioned, a dream of derricks stark against the sky pouring out their fabulous wealth, was realized.

Today, in beautiful Maple Grove Cemetery, overlooking the thriving city of Seminole, center and capital of all that empire of oil, there stands a granite monument and behind it a chapel erected in memory of one whose name will always occupy an enduring place in the history of the Seminole country. At its dedication on Memorial Day, 1928, Mrs. John Russel Simpson, donor of the monument to her father, who had spared no effort to achieve a memorial of fitting beauty and dignity, made the presentation address. She said:

Friends of my father, I come to you today with mixed emotions. There are in my heart both joy and sorrow, rejoicing and grieving, satisfaction and regret. The joy which I experience comes from the knowledge that each of you was my father's friend, and that you were permitted to know him and he to know you, and that I was permitted to be his daughter. Sorrow crowds out the joy when I look back upon my father's life-work and realize that he was never permitted to enjoy the realization of his dream or the benefits of his continuous effort, energy and thought which directed his aims and controlled his ambitions. I rejoice that his judgment was sound, that his life was well spent, that his own efforts were largely responsible for the growth of his own community. I grieve because he cannot be here with us and because of the vacancy created at his death. There is a certain satisfaction connected with this occasion, when I realize that my father was highly honored, that his place was in the center of this community, that his prominence was second to none, and that, as his life was centered in the town of Seminole, so shall his grave be in the center of his last resting place. So shall this building which has been erected to his memory be used by you, his friends, as an assembly place where last rites may be heard and tribute paid, my only regret being that he was not permitted to share while on this earth his full proportion of the honor which has, since his death, been bestowed upon him.

SIMPSON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

And now, the only request I have to make is that you hold this chapel as a sacred memorial; that you preserve it for the uses and benefits for which it was erected, and perpetuate the upkeep of this, the last resting place of my beloved father.

The trust enjoined and the gift of the chapel were accepted by Mayor J. N. Harber in the name of the city, and as the representative of its people he voiced his tribute to one who had lived long among them and enjoyed the respect of all.

During his entire life in Oklahoma, Mr. Strother was a constant supporter of its institutions and a generous friend to all who were in need. Times without number when crops had failed or when, for any other reason, distress was abroad, he extended a helping hand to the poor, and on one Thanksgiving Day invited all in Seminole County to take dinner with him, the white people, the Indians and the Negroes, each at their appointed hour. Considering that death in a poor family should not be capitalized for private gain, he bought a supply of inexpensive but sturdy coffins, which he supplied at cost or less to the impoverished farmers. His interests embraced all human-kind and all movements for the welfare of his community and its people. Mr. Strother was an honorary member of the Old Settlers Association of Tulsa, a tribute he always prized. He was active in all Masonic bodies of the State and was a charter member of McAlester Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and a member of the Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. He was a devout, believing Christian, sustained in his faith even unto death and exemplifying in his life the precepts of his Master.

Oscar Dabney Strother died at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, March 17, 1926, in his sixty-eighth year. What his life and faith and presence meant to those about him is revealed in the tribute paid him by these lines:

Empires are the works of men who had the courage to dream;
Of men who used faith for colors on the canvas of life.

The simple memorial tablet placed upon his grave by his daughter, Mrs. John Russel Simpson, bears upon it only the following inscription:

O. D. STROTHER, OCTOBER 16, 1858—MARCH 17, 1926.

It is a memorial to a faith that was unshaken.
It is a tablet to one who was a benefactor.

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Oscar Dabney Strother married, May 1, 1883, Ella Wing Uline. (Uline V.) Child: 1. Susan Alberta, of whom further.

(Family data.)

IX. Susan Alberta Strother, daughter of Oscar Dabney and Ella Wing (Uline) Strother, was born near Paris, Missouri, October 13, 1885. She married John Russel Simpson. (Simpson IV.) (John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XLIII.)

She was educated in Synodical College, Fulton, Missouri; Virginia College, Hollins Institute, near Roanoke, Virginia, where she spent two years; and Hardin College, at Mexico, Missouri. Although her first devotion has always been to her home and family, she has found time to be active in civic and benevolent causes and is now serving as a director of the Children's Orphan Home, established at Tulsa by Waite Phillips. Mrs. Simpson is a liberal supporter of the city's charities, and her gracious hospitality has made her one of Tulsa's best known hostesses. She is a member of several local clubs, including the Browning Club, the Garden Club and the Art Association. She is a patron of the arts, in which she has always taken a deep interest; she has also been an enthusiastic supporter of the Little Theatre for some years. Mrs. Simpson has been thoroughly in sympathy with her husband in his life work and her aid and understanding have been important factors in his successful career.

(Family data.)

(The Uline Line)

Conflicting statements have been made regarding the origin of the Uline family, early spelled Euline, Euhline and Uhley. According to one tradition, the Uline family came from Germany and settled in New York. According to another tradition, they were Holland Dutch and came to Rensselaer County, New York, on a land grant when the county was settled by Mr. Van Rensselaer. There is no evidence to support the latter tradition. The beginnings of the Rensselaer settlement were very early, and it does not seem possible that a family could arrive when Rensselaer County was settled and not be mentioned in the early church, land and colonial militia records. Without conclusive documentary proof, therefore, it cannot be definitely stated which theory is more credible.

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I. Bernhard Uline, the earliest known ancestor of this line, died in 1804. He was a pioneer of the town of Sand Lake, Rensselaer County, and had a tavern in a hamlet now known as West Sand Lake, but once known as Ulinesville. It is known that one of his children was born in 1774, which is a few years earlier than the church records of that region. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, serving in the 6th Regiment, Albany County Militia, and mentioned among those securing land bounty rights. In 1768 a gristmill was established at West Sand Lake by Joshua Lockwood and William Carpenter. It subsequently came into the possession of Bernhard Uline, who operated it for many years. In 1880 the old Uline farm was still in possession of the family. Among the papers on the estate of his son Andrew Uline is a list of accounts paid. They include "cash paid W. P. Van Rensselaer on account for rent and interest on that part of the farm and gristmill leased to Barent Uline April 25, 1793, and owned by deceased at the time of his death." The will of Bernhard Uline is filed in the Surrogate Court of Troy, New York. Its text follows:

In the Name of God the Father God the son and God the holy gost amen. On the fourth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four I Bernhard Uhlein of the town of Greenbush and County of Rensselaer and State of New York yeoman and advanced in years and calling to mind the mortallity of all mankint and that it is by the all powerful God appointed for men once to depart from this world and as the time which the Almighty God has marked out for my Departure out of this transitory world is at all unsertain to me therefore I do mak and ordain this last will and testament as I have yet my full judgment and sound understandings in the following manner: Principaly and first of all, I Redourn humble Thanks to the Almighty God that it had pleased him to call me to the Knolige of his grace and gospel of his well belovet son Jesus Christ my Redimer and Saviour in his holy communion I will with his grace live and Dye In consequence whereof I Recommand my soul to God the Father who hat givt it me, to God the son who Redimed me and God the holy gost who sanctified me with an ordent Desire and Firm hop to be forever with the grasius God in his glory for ever, I give my Body to the land from whence it came to be buried in a desent and Christian like manner, at the Derections of my executors whom I shall appoint hereafter not doubting but that I shall at the general Resurrection Receive the same again glorified by the powr of my God

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in whom I Believet and such worldly Estate wherewith it had pleased God to Bless me in this life I give and Dispose of the same in the manner Following. Imprimis it is my last will and I hereby order that in the First place all my just Debts and Funeral Expenses be duly paid and discharged out of my personal Estate by my executors.

Secondly I give and bequit unto my Beloved wife Anna Maria the widows Seat, one Room in the hous I now live in forover previdet by my son Andres kichen previdet as much as she needs for her yuse and bed in what has need for two milk cows to be gabt and foden perwydet one equal tenth part of the benefit of the gristmill where she is to pay one egel tirth part of all the Expences such as rent and oder expences arising thereon Furter she is to have one egel tirth part of my mony and my personal estate and wen she coms to dye what she has left is to devidet between all my children.

Further I give and beqith unto my son Andres my gristmill with all the tenaments Belonging to it and all the land lying on the nort syd of the grek what belongs to my Farm so far soutwest as to the barn and the one half of the yung orchet but the barn excluded whereas he is to perwyd for his mother Every necessary she wants oud of his Subsity and he is to pay to Ech of his sisders Two hundred and fivty Dollars to Every one of them namely Catarina, Maria, Margaretha, Sarah, Elizabeth and Eva all alike.

Furter I give and bequit unto my son Adam twenty five acres of land of my farm Running from the girk along Ciperlins line dit to the Flye. Further I give unto my sons Barny and John the Remainder part of my Farm and John is to have one horse and one yok of oxen and one cow and one Blough and one harrow.

Furter I give and bequit unto my Taghters Elizabeth and Eva one cow and four shep to each of them to mak them egal with their Sisters and the remainder part of my personal estate is to be divideth between all my children shear and shear alik no more to one than the oder namely Adam, Andres, Bernhard, John, Catharine, Maria, Margaretha, Sara, Elizabeth, and Eva, and lastly I nominate, constitute and appoint my trusty friends Sebastian Wederuax, Conrat Berringer and my son Andres Uhlein to be the Executors of this my last will and testament.

And to hereby also Revok This own all and every other wills and testaments by me in any way before this time neamet, willet Rectifying and confirming this and no other to be my last will and testament in witness hereof I the sayd Bernhard Uhlein have hereunto set my hand and seal day dated above signed sealed Delivered By the said Bernhard Uhlein as his last will and testament in the presents of us

GEORGE H. CIPPERLY
HENRY CIPPERLY
MATTHIAS YOUNGHANS

BERNHARD UHLEIN

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Bernhard Uline married Anna Maria, whose surname is unknown, mentioned in his will and in the baptism of several of their children. Children: 1. Andrew, called Andres, of whom further. 2. Adam, named in his father's will; resided in Sand Lake in 1810; married Anna, and had children: i. Catharine, born July 14, 1799, baptized in West Sand Lake. ii. Anna Maria, born July 12, 1810, baptized in West Sand Lake. 3. Catharine, named in father's will. 4. Maria, named in father's will. 5. Bernhard, Jr., born December 17, 1778, baptized at Center Brunswick (father's name given as Uhley); sponsors, Robert Smith (Schmid in original) and wife Catharine; died at Sand Lake in the spring of 1858; will mentions the following children except Bernhard, also names grandchildren Sylvester and David Burton: i. Bernhard, born February 10, 1803, baptized at West Sand Lake. ii. Selinda Maria, married John Myers. iii. Sarah Ann, married Arlington Boyce. iv. John P. v. Joseph, born December 23, 1814, baptized at West Sand Lake. vi. Jeremiah, born October 18, 1820, baptized at West Sand Lake. vii. Stephen H., born about 1830 (aged twenty-five in 1855 census record, when he was head of a family, as were his brothers Joseph and Jeremiah). viii. Sabra Louisa, aged nineteen in 1855, when she resided with her father. ix. Solyna Louisa, aged fifteen in 1855, where she resided with her father. 6. Margaretha (twin), born July 9, 1780, baptized at Center Brunswick (father's name spelled Uhlen); married, at the First Lutheran Church, Albany, November 5, 1798, Rev. John David Schaefer. 7. Sarah (twin), born July 9, 1780, baptized at Center Brunswick; sponsors Heinrich Muller and wife Catherina. 8. Elizabeth, born March 31, 1782, baptized at Center Brunswick; sponsors Friederich Schaefer and Elizabeth, his wife (father's name given as Bernhard Uhley). 9. Eva, born June 30, 1784, baptized at Center Brunswick; sponsors Philippus Hener and Eva his wife (father's name given as Bernhard Uley). 10. Johannis, born July 4, 1787, baptized at West Sand Lake; sponsors Carl Holzinger and Magdalena his wife; married, at Center Brunswick, Catharina Dunsbach; children, baptized at West Sand Lake: i. Bernhard, born July 15, 1809. ii. Catharina, born July 20, 1811. iii. Anna Maria, born July 18, 1814. iv. Henry Dunsbach, born June 9, 1819. v. Regina, born October 14, 1821. vi. Stephen Purdy, born February 23, 1824. vii.

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Phœbe Almira, born October 5, 1826. viii. John Anthony Brown, born July 11, 1828. ix. Tobias, born March 27, 1831. x. Tobias (again), born July 25, 1835.

(C. B. Anderson: "Landmarks of Rensselaer County, New York," pp. 512, 513, 517. N. B. Sylvester: "History of Rensselaer County, New York," p. 519. Papers on the Estate of Andrew Uline in Box 141, "Surrogate Records," Troy, New York. "New York in the Revolution," Vol. I, p. 227. "Rensselaer County, New York Wills," Vol. II, p. 200; Vol. XLIX, p. 535, Surrogate Court, Troy, New York. "Records of Gilead Evangelical Lutheran Church, Center Brunswick," copied by Royden Vosburgh. "Records of Zion Lutheran Church," now First Lutheran Church, West Sand Lake, copied by Royden Vosburgh. "Rensselaer County, New York, Census of 1855," in County Clerk's Office, Troy, New York.)

II. Andrew Uline, called Andres in the will of his father, was born in Rensselaer County, New York, in 1774, and died in the town of Sand Lake in the same county, April 29, 1860. His baptismal record has not been found, but proof of his parentage is found in the will of his father. His birth date is determined from the 1855 census records of Rensselaer County, filed in the county clerk's office in Troy. His will is also filed in Troy and is dated August 10, 1846, and proved July 3, 1860. In the proof of his will, Henry Bellinger, one of the witnesses, stated that he (Bellinger) was a minister of the gospel and that Andrew Uline was a member of his congregation. Henry Bellinger is not listed among the pastors of the Zion Lutheran Church of West Sand Lake, where the children of Andrew Uline were baptized as late as 1816.

Andrew Uline married, according to the record of the Gilead Lutheran Church of Center Brunswick, October 17, 1802, Margareth Berringer. The witnesses were Adam Uline (his brother) and Sebastian Weatherwax. His wife was described as seventy-three years of age in the 1855 census, hence her birth date was about 1782. The residence and marriages of their children are found in the list of heirs cited in the settlement of his estate. Children: 1. Bernhard, called Barney, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born January 28, 1805. 3. Anna Maria, born March 1, 1807; married Calvin Slyter, and resided in Sand Lake in 1860. 4. George, born February 1, 1809;

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in the 1855 census he is recorded as residing in the house next to his father and as "45 years of age"; in 1860 resided in Sand Lake; married Elizabeth, born in Saratoga County, about 1810; children: i. Oscar, born about 1826. ii. George A., born about 1840. iii. Caroline A., born about 1844. iv. Burton, born about 1847. v. Ella E., born about 1852. 5. William, born December 3, 1810; in the 1850 census he is described as residing near his father and as forty-four years of age; in 1860 resided in Sand Lake; married Corinth, who was born in Massachusetts, about 1818; children: i. Martha, aged fourteen in 1855 census. ii. Sarah, aged eleven in 1855 census. iii. Hellen, aged seven in the 1855 census. iv. Franklin, aged one in the 1855 census. 6. Catharine, born May 3, 1813; married William H. Snyder, Jr., and in 1860 resided in Troy. 7. Andrew, born January 28, 1816; resided in Porter, Niagara County, New York, in 1860. 8. Richard H., resided in Troy, New York, in 1860. 9. John A., resided in North Greenbush, New York, in 1860. 10. Margaret, died prior to August, 1846, date of her father's will; married a Mr. Bidwell; her two children, John A. Bidwell and Mary E. Bidwell, are mentioned in her father's will.

("Rensselaer County, New York, Wills," Vol. LIII, pp. 372, 535, Surrogate Court, Troy, New York. "Rensselaer County, New York, Census of 1855," in County Clerk's Office, Troy, New York. "Records of Zion Lutheran Church," now First Evangelical Lutheran Church, West Sand Lake, copied by Royden Vosburgh.)

III. Barney (Bernhard) Uline, son of Andrew and Margareth (Berringer) Uline, was born June 6, 1803, baptized at the Zion Lutheran Church of West Sand Lake, and died, according to records in possession of descendants of the family, near South Bend, Indiana. In his father's will he is called Barney and in the citation of heirs he is described as residing in Savannah, Wayne County, New York. According to family data, George B. Uline, son of Barney Uline, resided in Wayne County, marrying there in 1854 and having a son born there in 1856. The fact that the citation of heirs of Andrew Uline definitely mentions a son Barney in Wayne County connects this generation and those following with their predecessors in Rensselaer County.

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A descendant of the family states that Barney Uline was a miller, went to South America, where he spent ten years in Chile and then went to California.

Barney Uline married a Burton. Children: 1. George B., of whom further. 2. William, removed to Missouri. 3. John, removed to Indiana. 4. Sarah, recorded in 1855 census as seventeen years of age, born in Wayne County, and residing with her grandfather, Andrew Uline. 5. Barney, according to 1855 census was aged fourteen and born in Wayne County, and was residing with his grandfather Andrew Uline; removed to Indiana.

(“Records of the Zion Lutheran Church,” now First Evangelical Lutheran Church, West Sand Lake, copied by Royden Vosburgh. “Rensselaer County, New York, Wills,” Vol. LIII, p. 372. “Rensselaer County, New York, Census of 1855,” in County Clerk’s Office, Troy, New York. Records in possession of descendants of the family.)

IV. George B. Uline, son of Barney Uline, was born August 12, 1829, and died November 6, 1906. His will, dated March 21, 1902, was probated in Paris, Monroe County, Missouri, November 12, 1906:

I, George B. Uline of the County of Monroe and state of Missouri do will as follows

1st. all debts be paid.

2nd. To son Ira B. Uline.

To granddaughter Susan A. Strother when she arrives at 21 years of age.

Said George B. Uline of sound mind about 70 years of age.

3rd. \$3000.00 for benefit of the children.

4th. appoint son Ira B. Uline executor.

George B. Uline removed to Missouri, where his name appears in various deeds and land transactions. On November 10, 1865, he bought land in an auction sale from John Stewart. On August 14, 1873, his name is mentioned in the record of the Paris Court House, with that of William T. Coppedge in a business transaction, and on October 6 of the same year, the following record appears on the books:

Between Isaac Beauchamp of Monroe County, Missouri, party 1st. part and John S. Drake party 2nd. part and party of the 3d. part George B. Uline & William Uline of same county apart of steam saw

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mill and grist mill $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. W. from Holliday station also a carding machine on the farm of George B. Uline 4 miles North of Santa Fe.

Promise to pay George B. Uline \$531.55 for same.

Another record, dated March 10, 1875, shows that Joseph W. Grigsby and Amanda his wife paid George B. Uline \$1000.00 for land.

George B. Uline married (first), in Wayne County, New York, November 9, 1854, Margaret E. Davis, born March 15, 1833, died in Wayne County, New York, January 9, 1867, daughter of Ira Davis. Her grandfather was Silas Potter, who lived in Wayne County, New York. There is a family tradition, not proven, however, that Margaret E. Davis was related to Jefferson Davis. George B. Uline married (second), June 10, 1868, Rachel J. McCormick, who died August 6, 1868, aged twenty-nine years. He married (third), September 14, 1871, Mrs. Sarah Daniel. Children of the first marriage: 1. Ira B. (twin), born in Wayne County, New York, March 4, 1856. 2. Rachel (twin), born in Wayne County, March 4, 1856. 3. Ella Wing, of whom further. 4. Anna Frances, born April 18, 1865, died October 19, 1886, aged twenty-one years.

(Family Bible records in the possession of descendants of the family. Copy of will of George B. Uline in the courthouse, Paris, Missouri. "Records in Paris Courthouse, Monroe County, Missouri," Book U, p. 445; Vol. V, p. 127; Vol. VI, pp. 74, 243.)

V. Ella Wing Uline, daughter of George B. and Margaret E. (Davis) Uline, was born near Paris, Missouri, October 1, 1861, and died December 22, 1885, in her twenty-fifth year. She married Oscar Dabney Strother. (Strother VIII.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XLIII.)

(Family data. Family Bible records in the possession of descendants of the family.)

(The Petty Line)

Arms—Quarterly, or and azure, in the dexter chief a trefoil, slipped, counterchanged; over all, on a bend vert, three marlets of the first.

Crest—In a ducal coronet or, an elephant's head argent trunked and eared gules.

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

The surname Petty, with its variants Pettey and Pettee, is derived from the nickname "the petty," meaning small in stature.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

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The Petty family of the following lineage was located in various counties of Virginia. As early as April 9, 1674, Robert Petty is mentioned in Thomas Madison's will, probated in Rappahannock County, Virginia, as follows:

To Richard Sims
To god child Rebecca Petty, daughter of Robert Petty.

It will be noticed in the will of Thomas Petty, Orange County, Virginia, later referred to, that Thomas Petty devised to his daughter Rebecca Sims, probably a descendant of the above Richard Sims. The Robert Petty also mentioned above is probably an ancestor of the Petty family which follows.

("Old Rappahannock County, Virginia, Record Book, 1663-74," p. 78.)

I. Thomas Petty, the earliest known direct ancestor of this line, was probably born about 1675 and died in Orange County, Virginia, in 1750. In the Spotsylvania County records appears the following:

Alexander Spotswood, Esq., to Thomas Petty, planter, lease of one hundred acres in St. Mark's Parish, Spotsylvania County, situate on the south side of the Rapidan River, part of a tract called "Spotswood's Tract." To Thomas Petty, Katherine, his wife, and Christopher, their son. Dated October 23, 1734.

This land later became part of Orange County. Christopher Petty was evidently the oldest unmarried son at the time the lease was made, as land leases in that period always read to the lessee and the lessee's oldest child then living, unmarried, for the term of their natural lives. Thomas Petty died testate, and the abstract of his will follows:

In the name of God, Amen, January 31, 1748/9, I, Thomas Petty, of Orange County, St. Thomas' Parish, being sick and weak, do make this my last will and Testament in writing, making void all former wills.

Imprimis—I give and bequeath my Soul to God, and my Body I bequeath to the Earth from whence it came, to be buried in a decent manner.

Item—I give and bequeath to my son JOHN PETTY, one shilling,

Item—To son Thomas, one shilling,

Item—To son Christopher, one shilling,

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Item—To son William, one shilling,
Item—To son James, one shilling,
Item—To son George, one shilling,
Item—To daughter Mary Knight, one shilling,
Item—To daughter Rebecca Sims, one shilling,
Item—To my son George and my daughter Martha Petty, all my Estate, both real and personal, after my debts are paid, to be Divided Equally between my well Beloved Children, George and Martha Petty.

Lastly I nominate my son George Petty and my daughter Martha Petty, Executors of this my last Will and Testament. Witness my hand and Seal the day and year above written.

His
(Signed) THOMAS τ PETTY
Mark

Probated at the court held for Orange County, May 24, 1750.

Thomas Petty married Katherine, whose surname is not of record, evidently died before the date of her husband's will. Children (exact order of birth unknown): 1. John, of whom further. 2. Thomas. 3. Christopher. 4. William. 5. James. 6. George. 7. Mary, married a Mr. Knight. 8. Rebecca, married a Mr. Sims. 9. Martha.

("Spotsylvania County, Virginia, Records," No. I, p. 137.
"Orange County, Virginia, Will Book," II, p. 144.)

II. John Petty, son of Thomas and Katherine Petty, entered into a lease with Alexander Spotswood on the same day with his father, Thomas:

Alexander Spotswood, Esq. to John Petty, planter, October 23, 1734, one hundred acres in Spotsylvania County, part of a tract known as the "Spotswood Tract," to John Petty, Rebecca Petty, his wife, and Thomas Petty, their son.

He left a will, which was probated at a court held for Orange County, Virginia, September 27, 1770, as follows:

In the name of God, Amen, I, John Petty, of the County of Orange and Parish of St. Thomas, being in perfect sence and Memory, do make and Declare this my last Will and Testament.

Imprimis—To my Beloved wife Rebecca, the land and plantation whereon I now live, together with all my negroes, during her natural

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life or widowhood, and after her Death my estate to be Divided amongst my Children as follows.

Sarah Cosby,
Tabitha Edwards,
Luke Petty,
Abner Petty,
George Petty,
Zachariah Petty,
John Petty,

Rebecca Boston,
Susannah Hawkins,
Jemima Boston,
Francis Petty,
Granddaughter Ann Ford,
Ann Ransdall,
Son-in-law William Ransdall.

And I do appoint my Beloved wife, Rebecca Petty, Executrix, and my son Zachariah Petty and my son-in-law, William Ransdall, Executors of this my last Will and Testament to which I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my Seal this 26th day of July, 1768.

Since writing the above I have been informed of the death of my eldest son Thomas Petty, and to prevent his children from having any part of my Estate, I give to Abner Petty, son of the said Thomas Petty, one shilling.

(Signed) JOHN PETTY.

John Petty married Rebecca, whose surname is unknown. Children (exact order of birth unknown): 1. Thomas. 2. Sarah, married Mr. Cosby. 3. Tabitha, married Mr. Edwards. 4. Luke. 5. Abner. 6. George. 7. Zachariah, of whom further. 8. John. 9. Rebecca, married a Mr. Boston. 10. Susannah, married Mr. Hawkins. 11. Jemima, married a Mr. Boston. 12. Francis. 13. Ann, married William Ransdall.

("Orange County, Virginia, Will Book," II, p. 425. "Spotsylvania County, Virginia, Records," No. I, p. 137.)

III. Zachariah Petty, son of John and Rebecca Petty, first appears in the records of Culpeper County, Virginia (formed from Orange County in 1748) in the grant to him by Thomas Marshall, November 16, 1768:

Thomas Marshall and Hannah, his wife, to Zachariah Petty, all of Culpeper County, November 16, 1768, one hundred and twenty three acres in said county, being part of a tract purchased by the said Thomas Marshall from John Spotswood.

Zachariah Petty died testate:

In the name of God, Amen, I, Zachariah Petty, of Culpeper County, being sick and weak, do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:

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My will is that all my estate be sold to the highest bidder, and the money derived therefrom be divided between my children—

Marshall,	Zachariah,
Nancy Bain,	Larkin,
John,	George,
William,	Betsey,
Abner,	Jessey.
James,	

My will is that my estate be kept together during my wife's life or widowhood, to which I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 14th day of October, 1799.

(Signed) ZACHARIAH PETTY.

Zachariah Petty married Elizabeth Marshall, sister of Chief Justice Marshall. Children (exact order of birth unknown): 1. Marshall, of whom further. 2. Nancy, married Mr. Bain. 3. John. 4. William. 5. Abner. 6. James. 7. Zachariah. 8. Larkin. 9. George. 10. Betsey. 11. Jessey.

("Culpeper County, Virginia, Deed Book," E, p. 612. "Culpeper County, Virginia, Will Book," D, p. 263.)

IV. Marshall Petty, son of Zachariah Petty, was evidently very active in Culpeper County, where various instruments are recorded in his name as grantor and grantee of lands. His will, dated Culpeper County, Virginia, November 22, 1822, was probated January 20, 1825:

To son Thornton F. Petty, plantation and negroes, Remainder of estate to be divided between all my children, as follows:

John,	William,
Ellen,	James,
Sarah,	Abner,
Ann,	Zachariah, to them and their
Frances,	heirs forever.
Charles,	

Lastly I appoint my wife, Elizabeth Petty and my son Thornton F. Petty, to be my Executrix and Executor, of this my last Will and Testament.

(Signed) MARSHALL PETTY.

Marshall Petty married Elizabeth, whose surname is unrecorded. Children (exact order of birth unknown): 1. Thorton F., of whom

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further. 2. John. 3. Ellen. 4. Sarah. 5. Ann. 6. Frances. 7. Charles. 8. William. 9. James. 10. Abner. 11. Zachariah.

(“Culpeper County, Virginia, Will Book,” K, p. 147.)

V. Thornton F. Petty, son of Marshall and Elizabeth Petty, died in 1850, at the age of sixty-eight years. He left no will, but the inventory of his estate, made January 18, 1854, included eighteen slaves and his total personal estate amounted to \$10,400. He is recorded in a land conveyance as follows:

William S. Grinnan, and Elizabeth, his wife, to Thornton F. Petty, Dec. 18, 1831, tract whereon Thornton F. Petty now lies, same having been conveyed to said William Grinnan by Daniel Grinnan and Jane, his wife.

On February 9, 1854, a deed was made between Mary D. Petty, widow of Thornton F. Petty, Wesley Bear and Elizabeth, his wife, and French Strother, Jr., and Susan, his wife, and John C. Green “hereby the parties of the first part convey to the said John C. Green, all that land in Culpeper County on Cedar Run which Thornton F. Petty died seized of.”

Thornton F. Petty married (first), according to the marriage register of Culpeper County, November 22, 1820, Elizabeth Grinnan, probably a granddaughter of Daniel and Jane Grinnan. He married (second), in 1828, Mary or Polly Dulany Abbott. She was the daughter of Roger Abbott, Jr., who died April 17, 1809, and his wife, Anna (Dulany) Abbott, daughter of Zachariah Dulany. Roger Abbott’s father was Roger Abbott, Sr., who died November 18, 1762, and who married Mary Roberts, daughter of Benjamin Roberts, died March 18, 1782, and his wife, Jemima (Norman) Roberts. Children: 1. Elizabeth, married Wesley Bear. 2. Susan Ann, of whom further.

(“Culpeper County, Virginia, Deed Book,” II, p. 225; Book XII, p. 6. “Culpeper County, Virginia, Will Book,” T, p. 115. “Culpeper County, Virginia, Marriage Register,” p. 192. Family data.)

VI. Susan Ann Petty, daughter of Thornton F. and Mary Dulany (Abbott) Petty, was born May 13, 1829, and died July 30, 1897. She married Professor French Strother. (Strother VII.) (Mrs.

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Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XLII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Browning Line)

Arms—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, azure, three chevronels argent; 2d and 3d sable, a saltire argent, an annulet in centre.

Crest—An eagle's head erased, ducally gorged, beaked or, langued, crested and bearded gules.

Motto—*Deus adesto.*

(E. F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908.")

De Bruni is said by the poet Browning to be the earliest form of the surname Browning, later recorded as Brunning, Bruening, Browneing, Brimming, Brininge, Browninge. According to the scholar, John Aaron Browning, this surname in High German is Brauning and in Low German Brüning. This ancient Germanic surname followed the migrations to England, where the Anglo-Saxons changed this form to Browning. In England the family settled in the southern part, in County Kent, later spreading north over all England, crossing also into Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

(Edward F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 9-10.)

I. Captain John Browning, the pioneer ancestor, was born in England, about 1588. In 1622 he was among the passengers of the "Abigail," bound for the American colonies. The ship landed on the "College Lands" in Virginia, later known as Jamestown, York County, and Captain John Browning settled in Elizabeth City with his family. He served as a burgess there in 1629 and during that period purchased 250 acres of land. In 1632 he was a burgess of Morris Bay and in 1635 of Elizabeth City. He is recorded as purchasing, in 1638, three thousand pounds of tobacco, all lands in Mounds Bay owned by Thomas Grindon. His plantation was about three miles from Williamsburg.

Captain John Browning married, in England, about 1614, but the name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. George, born in England, about 1614. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Joseph, came to Virginia in the "Thomas" and settled at Jamestown.

(Edward F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 443-44. R. T. Green: "Genealogical and

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Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 151. Judge L. H. Jones: "Captain Roger Jones of London and Virginia," pp. 192-93.)

II. William Browning, son of Captain John Browning, was born in England, about 1615. According to a deed recorded in 1646, he received from his father 250 acres of land. He purchased from the Crown four hundred acres located on the upper part of Buffalo River in Amelia County, Virginia.

William Browning married, in Jamestown, Virginia, probably about 1645, but the name of his wife is not known. He is known, however, to have had certainly one son: 1. John, of whom further.

(Edward F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 443-44. R. T. Green: "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 151.)

III. John (1) Browning, son of William Browning, was born at Jamestown, Virginia, about 1646. He is on record as being connected with the Somers Island Company on October 6, 1682, and as having been one of the Signers of a petition to the Governor of the Somers Island.

Information as to the children of John (1) Browning is uncertain, except that it is known he had a son: 1. John, of whom further.

(Edward F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 444-45.)

IV. John (2) Browning, son of John (1) Browning, was born in Jamestown, Virginia, about 1666 or 1667. He married and had several children, among them: 1. Francis, of whom further. 2. John, born in Virginia, about 1702, died after 1778. 3. Edmund, born in Caroline County, Virginia, about 1704, died about 1780; married Mary.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 445-47.)

V. Francis (1) Browning, son of John (2) Browning, was born in Caroline County, Virginia, about 1700, and died in Culpeper County, Virginia, about 1775. The records of Spotsylvania County, Virginia, show that he deeded 250 acres in 1724. A patent for forty acres of land situated in St. Mark's Parish, Orange County, Virginia, was granted on June 19, 1735, by George II to Francis Browning and

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John Ashley for the sum of forty shillings. The conditions of sale were as follows:

Yielding and Paying unto us, our heirs and successors, for every fifty acres of land and so proportionable for a lesser or greater quantity than fifty acres, the fee rent of one shilling yearly, to be paid upon the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, and also cultivating and improving three acres part of every fifty of the tract above mentioned within three years after date of these patents.

This tract was later called the Browning district. Boundary changes of this period are of importance. Part of Old Orange County, in 1748, became Culpeper County and, in 1833, a portion of Culpeper became Rappahannock County, Virginia. In 1740 Francis (1) Browning deeded land to his sons, Francis (2) and Nicholas, and to his daughters, Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Duncan. In 1747 two other transactions are recorded. Francis (1) Browning was granted a tract of one hundred acres and another of 430 acres in the North Little Fork and, in 1753, he purchased one hundred acres on the Middle Run, Culpeper County, Virginia.

Francis (1) Browning married, about 1723, Elizabeth Lloyd, of Maryland. Children: 1. Francis, of whom further. 2. Nicholas, born about 1726, in Culpeper County; married, about 1747, Sarah Washburn. 3. John, born in Culpeper County, about 1728, died in 1803; married, about 1744, Elizabeth Demarest. 4. Jacob, born about 1730, died after 1776; married, in 1758, Elizabeth Bywaters. 5. Edmund, born about 1732, died in North Carolina, about 1795; married, about 1766, Mary, surname unknown. 6. Caleb, born about 1734, died in Fauquier County, about 1787; married, about 1767, Alcy Grigsby. 7. Ruth, born about 1736; married James Duncan. 8. Mary, born about 1738; married, about 1758, Courtney Norman. 9. A daughter, born about 1740.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 445-46, 448, 449-51. R. T. Green: "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 151.)

VI. Francis (2) Browning, son of Francis (1) and Elizabeth (Lloyd) Browning, was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, about 1724, and died there in 1761. It is recorded that in 1741, Courtney Norman, a relative of his wife, conveyed to Francis (2) Browning a

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portion of the original Browning tract. Francis (2) Browning left a will which was proved in Culpeper County, Virginia, February 19, 1761.

Francis (2) Browning married, about 1741, Frances Norman. Children, born in Culpeper County, Virginia: 1. Shadrach, born in 1745; married, March 20, 1794, Margaret Routt. 2. Charles, of whom further. 3. William, born in 1747, died after 1791; married, about 1766, Mildred Roberts. 4. Captain James, born in 1748, died in Logan County, Kentucky, September 30, 1844; married, in 1774, Miss Deane. 5. John, born April 16, 1749, died September 25, 1818; married, in 1774, Elizabeth Strother. (Strother IV, Child 6.) 6. Reuben, born March 31, 1750, died in Logan County, Kentucky, September 21, 1844; married, about 1780, Sally Duncan. 7. Isaac, born in 1754, died in Logan County, Kentucky, about 1805; married, about 1790, Hannah Browning, daughter of Joshua Browning. 8. Francis, born in 1756, died in the army about 1781. 9. Mollie, born in 1758, died in 1858, aged one hundred years; married Joseph Duncan. 10. Sarah, born about 1759; married Benjamin, or James, Duncan.

(Edward F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 445, 448, 453, 454-56, 457. R. T. Green: "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 151.)

VII. Charles Browning, son of Francis (2) and Frances (Norman) Browning, was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, in 1746 and died in 1839, aged ninety-three years. In January, 1798, he purchased two tracts of land, one of 358 acres and one of 227 acres, respectively, located on Gourdvine Creek, adjacent to land granted to his father and grandfather in 1747 and 1750. His home was called Greenfield.

Charles Browning married, in 1772, Mollie, or Mary, Wade Strother. (Strother IV, Child 4.) Children, born in Culpeper County, Virginia: 1. Lloyd Dabney, born in 1773; married (first), about 1810, Miss Braxton; (second), about 1821, Somerville Browning. 2. Cassandra, born in 1775, died unmarried. 3. Joseph, born

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in 1777; married, about 1825, Miss Headley. 4. William, born in 1779, died about 1833; married, about 1799, Lucy McClanahan. 5. Francis, born in 1781, died in June, 1863; married, about 1803, Polly Yates. 6. Charles, born in 1783, died unmarried. 7. John, of whom further. 8. Elizabeth, born in 1786, died in 1822; married, in 1806, George Yates. 9. Sarah, born in 1787. 10. Mary Melinda, born in 1788; married Colonel James Gains Yates. 11. Lucy, born in 1789. 12. Anne, born in 1791; married, about 1818, Alexander Ashby. 13. Willis, born in 1795, died in 1875; married (first), about 1826, Caroline Menafee; (second), about 1832, Elizabeth Coleman White.

(Edward F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 448, 453-54, 469-73. Thomas Mc Ardory Owen: "William Strother of Virginia and His Descendants," pp. 42-43. William A. Crozier: "The Buckners of Virginia and the Allied Families of Strother," p. 227.)

VIII. John Browning, son of Charles and Mollie, or Mary, Wade (Strother) Browning, was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, in 1785. He made his home in the West for a time, but returned to Virginia, where he was a member of the Assembly.

John Browning married, about 1803, Frances Pendleton. (Pendleton V.) They had one child: 1. Mary Ann Pendleton, of whom further.

(Edward F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 453, 471.)

IX. Mary Ann Pendleton Browning, daughter of John and Frances (Pendleton) Browning, was born in Rappahannock County, Virginia, about 1804, and died in Calwood, Missouri, in 1885, aged eighty-one years. She married Captain French Strother. (Strother VI.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XLI.) Her son, in his diary, 1911, said of her: "My Darling Angel Mother was a Southern woman cradled in the lap of wealth, but never spoiled. A true devoted Christian woman & self sacrificing mother."

(*Ibid.*, pp. 471, 528.)

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(The Pendleton Line)

Arms—Gules, an inescutcheon argent, between four escallop shells in saltire or.

Crest—On a chapeau gules, turned up ermine, a demi-dragon, wings inverted, or, holding an escallop shell argent.

(Dr. Philip Slaughter and R. T. Green: "History of St. Mark's Parish," in "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 95. W. A. Crozier: "Virginia Heraldica," pp. 54-55.)

Motto—*Maneo qualis manebam.*

(W. A. Crozier: "Virginia Heraldica," pp. 54-55.)

The surname Pendleton is one of locational origin meaning "of Pendleton," which, formerly was a chapelry in the parish of Eccles, near Manchester. Some little distance away is the manor of the Pendleton family, which in 1907 was still occupied by a family of that name and the tombstones of Pendletons are clustered about the old church. Certain ones of this name were in public life as early as the reign of Henry VIII.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames. Louise P. duBellet: "Some Prominent Virginia Families," Vol. IV, p. 225. J. P. Bell Company, Incorporated.)

(The Family in England)

I. George (1) Pendleton, Esquire, of Pendleton, Lancashire. Child: 1. George, of whom further.

("Visitations of Norfolk in 1563, 1589 and 1613," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XXXII, p. 219.)

II. George (2) Pendleton, Gentleman, son of George (1) Pendleton, of Lancashire, moved in 1613 from Manchester to Norwich, England, and was buried at St. Stephen's Church, in Norwich, in 1613. He married Elizabeth Pettingall, daughter of John Pettingall, Gentleman, of Swardeston, in Norwich. Children: 1. Henry, of whom further. 2. George. 3. Francis. 4. George (again). 5. Anna.

(Crozier: "Virginia Heraldica," p. 96.)

III. Henry (1) Pendleton, son and heir of George (2) and Elizabeth (Pettingall) Pendleton, was buried July 15, 1635, at St. Stephens, Norwich. In 1613 Sir John Pettus and his brother, Thomas Pettus, both made wills, and remembered their cousins, Henry and Susan Pendleton, of Norwich, leaving them property in that city.

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Henry (1) Pendleton married, at St. Simeon and St. Jude's, in 1605, Susan Camden, daughter of Humphrey Camden, of London. Children: 1. George. 2. John. 3. Henry, of whom further. 4. Scisseley. 5. Susanna.

(Louise P. duBellet: "Some Prominent Virginia Families," Vol. IV, p. 225. J. P. Bell Company, Incorporated.)

IV. Henry (2) Pendleton, third son of Henry (1) and Susan (Camden) Pendleton, was of Norwich, England. Children: 1. Rev. Nathaniel. 2. Philip, of whom further.

(Dr. Philip Slaughter and R. T. Green: "History of St. Mark's Parish," in "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 95.)

(The Family in America)

I. Philip Pendleton, son of Henry (2) Pendleton, of Norwich, Norfolkshire, England, was born in Norwich, England, in 1650 and died in New Kent County, Virginia, in 1721. Philip Pendleton, who was a teacher, had come to the colony of Virginia in 1674, with his brother, Nathaniel, a clergyman. Nathaniel Pendleton had no church in the colony, and died a short time after his arrival, unmarried. Philip Pendleton went to England for a visit in 1682, and when he returned to Virginia, settled in that part of New Kent County which later became Caroline County, Virginia.

According to tradition, Philip Pendleton married (first), in England, in 1682, a lady of distinguished social position, who died. He married (second), after returning to Virginia, in 1682, Isabella Hurt, Hert or Hart. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(Dr. Philip Slaughter and R. T. Green: "History of St. Mark's Parish," in "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 96. Richard C. M. Page: "Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia," p. 239. "William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine," Vol. X, p. 201.)

II. Henry Pendleton, son of Philip and Isabella (Hurt, Hert or Hart) Pendleton, was born in King and Queen County, Virginia, or Caroline County, Virginia (which are adjoining counties), in 1683, and died in May, 1721. He was a religious person, of singular sweet-

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ness of disposition, who was loved and revered. His early death deprived his children of the guidance and support which in those days of toil and hardship were so necessary. Two of his sons, James and Nathaniel, were for many years clerks of the vestry and lay readers at the small chapels of St. Mark's Parish.

Henry Pendleton married, in 1701, Mary Taylor, who was born in 1683 or 1688 and died in 1770, the daughter of James and Mary (Gregory) Taylor, of Carlisle, England. Children (exact order of birth unknown): 1. James, of whom further. 2. Philip, who died in 1778; he married Martha. 3. Mary, who married James Gaines. 4. Isabella, who married William H. Gaines; she was the grandmother of General E. P. Gaines, of the United States Army. 5. Nathaniel, born in 1715 and died in Culpeper County, Virginia, in 1794; married his second cousin, daughter of Philip Clayton. 6. John, born in 1799. He was the burgess from King and Queen County in 1795. He married (first) Miss James; (second) Sarah Madison. 7. Judge Edmund, born in September, 1721, and died at Richmond, Virginia, in October, 1803. He was a patriot and jurist, and was president of the Court of Appeals. He married (first), in 1743, Elizabeth Roy, who died the same year; he married (second), in 1743, Sarah Pollard.

(Dr. Philip Slaughter and R. T. Green: "History of St. Mark's Parish," in "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," p. 96. "William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine," Vol. X, p. 201. R. C. M. Page: "Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia," p. 239. Bishop Meade: "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia," Vol. II, p. 298.)

III. James Pendleton, son of Henry and Mary (Taylor) Pendleton, was born in 1702 and died in 1753, at which time he was sheriff of Culpeper County. He was a member of St. Mark's Parish and a clerk and lay reader at the small chapels of the parish.

James Pendleton married, in 1727-28, Mary Lyell, a widow, of Lancaster County, Virginia. Children: 1. James, married Catherine Bowie, daughter of Governor Bowie, of Maryland. 2. Henry, of whom further. 3. Philip, who was a clerk in St. Mark's Parish in 1782. 4. Anne, married a Mr. Taylor.

(Dr. Philip Slaughter and R. T. Green: "History of St. Mark's Parish," in "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County,

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Virginia," pp. 96-97. "William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine," Vol. X, p. 201.)

IV. Henry Pendleton, son of James and Mary Pendleton, died about 1798. Until his death he lived on his plantation at the fork of the Hazel and Thornton rivers. He was a member of the Culpeper Committee of Safety in 1775 and of the Patriot Convention in 1775-76.

Henry Pendleton married Anna Thomas, daughter of John (2) Thomas, born in 1690. The father of John (2) Thomas was John (1) Thomas, son of William Thomas, who was born in England in 1613, and whose father was William ap Thomas. The Thomas family came from England. Children: 1. Frances, of whom further. 2. Joanna, married a Mr. Smith. 3. A daughter, married Armistead Green. 4. Edward, married, in 1794, Sarah Strother. 5. Henry, married his cousin, Elizabeth Pendleton. 6. A daughter, who married a Mr. Ward. 7. Edmund, who married, in 1800, Elizabeth Ward.

(Dr. Philip Slaughter and R. T. Green: "History of St. Mark's Parish," in "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper County, Virginia," pp. 68, 97. Louise P. duBellet: "Some Prominent Virginia Families," Vol. IV, p. 239. J. P. Bell Company, Incorporated. Family data.)

V. Frances Pendleton, daughter of Henry and Anna (Thomas) Pendleton, married John Browning. (Browning VIII.)

(E. F. Browning: "Genealogy of the Brownings in America from 1621-1908," pp. 453, 476.)

(The Thornton Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron sable between three hawthorn trees proper.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a lion's head proper.

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

The surname Thornton is one of locational origin, meaning "of Thornton." There are many places bearing this name, *i. e.*, parishes in dioceses Lincoln, Oxford, Chester, Peterborough and Canterbury. There is an exceptional number of places of this name in Yorkshire. Thorne appears also to be an old Anglo-Saxon personal name, hence, Thornton may mean the homestead of Thorne.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

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Several families bearing the name Thornton settled in Virginia, but the most prominent was the one which settled in Gloucester County and spread to Stafford, King George, Richmond and other counties.

(“William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine,” Vol. IV, p. 89.)

I. William Thornton, progenitor of this family in America, is said to have come from Yorkshire, England, the name of his home being “The Hills.” He is of record in Virginia in 1646, when on May 11 of that year he undertook to care for the cattle of John Lip-trot until the latter became of age. In 1665 he received a grant of 164 acres of land in Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County. Evidence of his status may be deduced from a deed dated July 16, 1675, from “William Thornton, Gentleman,” to Francis and Rowland, “two of his sons,” conveying two thousand acres in Rappahannock County, also a power of attorney, dated 1708, from William Thornton, “formerly of Gloucester, but now of Stafford,” authorizing the confirmation of said deed. The change of residence from Gloucester to Stafford was made in his old age. In 1677 he was a vestryman of the Petsworth Parish. The date of his death in Stafford County is unknown. William Thornton married, but his wife’s name is unknown. Children: 1. William, born March 27, 1649, died February 15, 1727; was married three times. 2. Francis, of whom further. 3. Rowland, married Elizabeth Fleming, daughter of Alexander Fleming.

(“William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine,” Vol. IV, pp. 89-91. William A. Crozier: “Virginia Heraldica,” p. 99. A. R. Watson: “Some Notable Families of America,” p. 96.)

II. Francis Thornton, son of William Thornton, was born November 5, 1651. In 1706, Francis Thornton, of Stafford, and his wife Jane, widow of John Harvey, deeded 684 acres in Stafford and Westmoreland counties to Anthony, son of Francis (by his first wife, Alice) with reversion to his other sons, Francis, Rowland and William. In 1715-16, Anthony Thornton, of Stafford, petitioned the proprietors of the Northern Neck for a regrant of this land which, according to his statement, was left to Mrs. Jane Thornton by her former husband in 1700, that Jane died without heirs, but being “an imperfect deed”

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gave the land to him (Anthony Thornton) in 1706. The grant requested was issued to him.

The date of Francis Thornton's death is uncertain. He may have been the Francis Thornton whose will was presented to King George County Court for probate by his widow, Anne, in 1726, as shown by the order book. The will book for this period was carried off by Federal soldiers during the Civil War. A Richmond County deed, dated 1706, from Francis Thornton, of Stafford, conveys land to his daughter, Sarah, wife of Laurence Taliaferro.

Francis Thornton married (first) Alice Savage, daughter of Captain Anthony Savage, of Gloucester County, who was a justice of Gloucester in 1660 and had extensive estates on the Rappahannock. He married (second) Jane Harvey, widow of John Harvey, of Stafford County. Children of first marriage: 1. Elizabeth, born January 3, 1674. 2. Margaret, of whom further. 3. William (twin), born December 17, 1680, died in 1742-43; married Frances, surname unknown. 4. Sarah (twin), born December 17, 1680; married Laurence Taliaferro. 5. Francis, born January 4, 1682, and died February 6, 1737; married Mary Taliaferro, who died August 1, 1741. 6. Rowland, born August 1, 1685, died in 1748; married Elizabeth Catlett, born September 6, 1689, died in 1751. 7. Anne, born March 22, 1689. 8. Anthony, born in 1695, died in 1757; married Winifred Presley.

(“William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine,” Vol. IV, pp. 90, 91-93. A. R. Watson: “Some Notable Families of America,” pp. 96-97. G. B. Goode: “Virginia Cousins,” p. 214.)

III. Margaret Thornton, daughter of Francis and Alice (Savage) Thornton, was born April 2, 1678. A deed of King George County, 1727, from Margaret Strother, widow, records land deeded by her grandfather, Anthony Savage, gentleman, to her father, Francis Thornton, and Alice his wife.

Margaret Thornton married William (3) Strother. (Strother—American Line—II.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXXVII.)

(“William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine,” Vol. IV, p. 91.)

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(The Conyers Line)

Arms—Azure, a maunch or.

Crest—A trefoil slipped and erect vert.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Conyers is the anglicized form of Coigniers, a town in France, from which the ancient family of Coigniers derived their name. Roger de Coigniers, the first of this line emigrated to England toward the end of the reign of William the Conqueror, and it was his family which gave the suffix to Hoton Coigniers, County York.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. Roger de Coisners (Coigniers) was constable of Durham Castle to Bishop William de Crilepho (1080-87).

(Surtees: "History of Durham," Vol. III, p. 247.)

II. Roger de Coisners (Coigniers), son of Roger de Coisners, was given the Manor of Pingston, County York, by Bishop Ralph Flambard.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Roger Conyers, son of Roger de Coisners, a Baron of the Bishopric of Durham and Lord of Bishopton, gave the churches of Bishopton and Sockburn to Sherburne House. He married Matilda.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Geoffrey Conyers, son of Roger and Matilda Conyers, was Lord of Bishopton and Sockburn, and died before 23 Henry III. He married Eleanor.

(*Ibid.*)

V. John Conyers, son of Geoffrey and Eleanor Conyers, was confirmed in the possession of Sockburn, Bishopton, by his cousin Roger Conyers, of Hoton Conyers.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Sir Humphrey Conyers, son of John Conyers, was Knight of Bishopton, 1270.

(*Ibid.*)

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VII. Sir John Conyers, of Sockburn, son of Sir Humphrey Conyers, married Scolastica, daughter and coheir of Ralph de Gottam.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Roger Conyers was the second son of Sir John and Scolastica Conyers.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Sir John Conyers, of Sockburn, Knight, son of Roger Conyers, died February 19, 1394-95, and was buried at Sockburn. He married Elizabeth de Aton. (De Aton VI-A.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXVI.)

(*Ibid.*)

X. Robert Conyers, of Sockburn, Esquire, son of Sir John and Elizabeth (de Aton) Conyers, was born in 1371 and died April 25, 1431. His will, dated April 18, 1431, was proved at Stockton, May 18, 1431. He did homage for his mother's land May 19, 1420. Robert Conyers married Isabel, who died April 9, 1433, daughter and coheir of William Pert.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. Sir Christopher Conyers, of Sockburn, Knight, son of Robert and Isabel (Pert) Conyers, was born in 1422 and died March 13, 1487. He married Margery de Eure. (Eure XII.)

(*Ibid.*)

XII. William Conyers, of Sockburn, Esquire, son of Sir Christopher and Margery (Eure) Conyers, died September 4, 1490. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Ralph Bigod, of Settrington, County York.

(*Ibid.*)

XIII. Christopher Conyers, of Sockburn, Esquire, son of William and Anne (Bigod) Conyers, was born in 1469. He married, November 21, 1487, Anne, died in 1532, daughter of Sir Thomas Markenfield, of Markenfield, County York. She married (second) Brian Palmes.

(*Ibid.*)

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XIV. Sir Thomas Conyers, of Sockburn, son of Christopher and Anne (Markenfield) Conyers, was born in 1491 and died June 3, 1520. He left a will dated May 29, 1520. He married (first) Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Radcliffe, of County Northumberland. He married (second) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Sarde, of Thornhill, County York.

(*Ibid.*)

XV. Sir George Conyers, of Sockburn, son of Sir Thomas and Margaret (Radcliffe) Conyers, was born at Markenfield, in 1510, and died October 15, 1567. He was heir to his grandmother Anne Palmes in 1532. He married Ann, daughter of Sir John Dawney, of Sesay, County York.

(*Ibid.*)

XVI. Sir John Conyers, of Sockburn, son of Sir George and Ann (Dawney) Conyers, was born in 1547 and was buried at Sockburn, February 2, 1609-10. He was knighted at Newcastle, April 13, 1603. He married Agnes, who was buried at Sockburn, February 12, 1598-99, daughter of Sir George Bowes, of Streatham, County Durham.

(*Ibid.*)

XVII. Eleanor Conyers, daughter of Sir John and Agnes (Bowes) Conyers, was born in 1572. She married (first) Lancelot Strother. (Strother—Family in England—XII.) She married (second), at Gateshead, August 7, 1615, Sir Ephraim Widdrington, of County Northumberland.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Eure Line)

Arms—Quarterly, or and gules, on a bend sable, three escallops argent.

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of Northern England," p. 53.)

I. Eustace Fitz-John was an itinerant justice. He was governor of Bamborough Castle. Eustace Fitz-John supported the Empress Matilda and fought in the battle of the Standard in 1138. In 1147 he founded Alwick Abbey, Old Malton and Walton in Yorks. As constable of Chester, he was slain in July, 1157, during the Welsh War.

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Eustace Fitz-John married, as his second wife, Agnes, daughter and heir of William Fitz-Nigel, first Baron of Halton. Child: 1. Richard, of whom further.

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of Northern England," p. 226.)

II. Richard Fitz-Eustace, second Baron of Halton, son of Eustace and Agnes (Fitz-Nigel) Fitz-John, was constable of Chester. He married Aubrey de Lisours, daughter and heir of Robert de Lisours. Child: 1. Roger, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Roger Fitz-Richard, son of Richard and Aubrey (de Lisours) Fitz-Eustace, was made first Baron of Warkworth, by gift of Henry II. He married Adeliza de Essex, daughter and coheir of Henry de Essex, Baron of Ralegh. Child: 1. Robert, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Robert Fitz-Roger, second Baron of Warkworth, Lord of Clavering, son of Roger and Adeliza (de Essex) Fitz-Richard, received a grant of the manor of Eure, County Buckingham, April 16, 1191. He married Margaret de Cayneto, daughter and heir of William de Cayneto. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. John Fitz-Robert, third Baron of Warkworth, son of Robert and Margaret (de Cayneto) Fitz-Roger, was sheriff of Northumberland from 1224 to 1227 and died in 1240. He married Ada de Baliol. (Baliol V.) Child: 1. Hugh, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Sir Hugh de Eure, of Eure and Stokesley, was the second son of John and Ada (de Baliol) Fitz-Robert. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Sir John de Eure, of Stokesley, son of Sir Hugh de Eure, was sheriff of Yorks from 1309 to 1311. He married Agnes de Lisle, daughter of John de Lisle. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

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VIII. *Sir John de Eure*, of Stokesley, son of Sir John and Agnes (de Lisle) de Eure, was aged twenty-one in 1327 and died in 1367. He married Margaret, who is buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers, New Castle. Her will was proved May 27, 1378. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. *Sir John de Eure*, second son of John and Margaret de Eure, succeeded his brother in 1387-88 and died February 22, 1393. He was constable of Dover Castle. Sir John de Eure married Isabel. Child: 1. Ralph, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

X. *Sir Ralph de Eure*, of Stokesley and of Malton, son of Sir John and Isabel de Eure, died March 10, 1422-23. He was a witness in the Scrope and Grosvenor contest, 1385-90, and at that time was aged over thirty-six. His will was dated September 9, 1422. Sir Ralph de Eure married Katherine or Catherine de Aton. (De Aton VI-B.) Child: 1. William, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. *Sir William de Eure*, of Stokesley, Malton, and Witton, son of Sir Ralph and Katherine (de Aton) de Eure, died before February 12, 1466, and was buried in the chancel at Old Malton. He was sheriff of Yorks in 1445 and fought at the battle of Agincourt in 1415. He married Maude Fitz-Hugh. (Fitz-Hugh XII.) Child: 1. Margery, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

XII. *Margery de Eure*, daughter of Sir William and Maude (Fitz-Hugh) de Eure, died in 1470 and is buried at Sockburn. She married Sir Christopher Conyers. (Conyers XI.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXVIII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The De Aton Line)

Arms—Or, three bars azure, on a canton gules a cross patonce argent.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. *Gilbert de Aton*, of Aton, in Pickering Lyth, County York, married Margery de Vescy. (De Vescy IV.)

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of the Northern Counties," p. 3.)

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II. *William de Aton*, son of Gilbert and Margery (de Vescy) de Aton, was of Aton.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *William de Aton*, of Aton, son of William de Aton, married Isabel de Vere.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. *Sir Gilbert de Aton*, Lord Aton, son of William and Isabel (de Vere) de Aton, was summoned as a peer December 30, 1324, February 20, 1324-25, and February 25, 1341-42. He inherited large estates on the death of his cousin, William, Lord de Vescy, 1314, and left a will, dated April 10, 1350.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Sir William de Aton*, Lord Aton, son of Sir Gilbert de Aton, died in 1389 and was buried at Old Malton Priory. He was sheriff of Yorkshire, and a witness in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy (1385-90). He married Isabel de Percy. (Percy XI.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXV.)

(*Ibid.*)

VI-A. *Elizabeth de Aton*, daughter and coheir of Sir William and Isabel (de Percy) de Aton, left a will which was proved at Yorkshire, May 1, 1402. She married Sir John Conyers. (Conyers IX.)

(*Ibid.*)

VI-B. *Catherine or Katherine de Aton*, daughter of Sir William and Isabel (de Percy) de Aton, married Sir Ralph de Eure. (Eure X.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The De Vescy Line)

Vesci (De Vescy) Arms—Gules, a cross argent. (Burke: "General Armory.")

I. *Eustace Fitz-John* was an itinerant justice. He was governor of Bamborough Castle. Eustace Fitz-John supported the Empress Matilda and fought in the battle of the Standard in 1138. In 1147 he founded Alnwick Abbey, Old Malton and Walton in Yorks. As constable of Chester, he was slain in July, 1157, during the Welsh War.

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Eustace Fitz-John married, as his first wife, Beatrix, daughter and heir of Ivo de Vescy, Lord of Alnwick and Malton. Child: 1. William, of whom further.

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of Northern England," p. 226.)

II. *William de Vescy*, son of Eustace and Beatrix (de Vescy) Fitz-John, died in 1184-85. He was sheriff of Northumberland from 1158 to 1170. William de Vescy married Burga, sister of Robert Stuteville, Lord of Knaresborough. Child: 1. Warine, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Warine de Vescy* was the second son of William and Burga de Vescy. Child: 1. Margery, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. *Margery de Vescy*, daughter of Warine de Vescy, married Gilbert de Aton. (De Aton I.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Percy Line)

Arms—Azure, five fusils conjoined in fess or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. *Geoffrey de Perci* was of Perci in the department of La Manche.

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of the Northern Counties," p. 158. "Dictionary of National Biography." Chart in DeFonblanque: "Annals of the House of Percy.")

II. *William de Percy*, son of Geoffrey de Perci, received grants of eighty manors in Yorkshire; refounded Whitby Abbey; built castles of Topcliffe, etc.; and accompanied Robert of Normandy to the Holy Land in 1095. He died in sight of Jerusalem, and was buried at Mountjoy, while his heart was buried at Whitby. He married Emma, daughter of Hugh de Port, Lord of Seamer.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Alan de Percy*, "the Great," son of William and Emma (de Port) de Percy, died about 1133 and was buried at Whitby. He married Emma, daughter of Gilbert de Gant.

(*Ibid.*)

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IV. William de Percy, son of Alan and Emma (de Gant) de Percy, founded Sawley Abbey. He married (first) Adeliza de Tunnebrigge; (second) Sibilla de Valoines.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Agnes de Percy, daughter of William and Adeliza (de Tunnebrigge) de Percy, was buried in the Chapter House, Whitby, having died in 1205. She married, about 1150, Josceline de Louvain, half brother of Adeliza, Queen of Henry I. He took the name of Percy and received a grant of Petworth. He died in 1189.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Henry de Percy, son of Josceline de Louvain (Percy) and Agnes de Percy, died in 1196 and was buried at Whitby. He married Isabella, daughter of Adam de Brus, Lord of Skelton.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. William de Percy, son of Henry and Isabella (de Brus) de Percy, was born in 1181 and died before July 28, 1245, and was buried in Sawley Abbey. He married Elena or Sibella, daughter of Ingebram de Baliol, who brought the manor of Dalton-Percy, County Durham.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Henry de Percy, son of William and Elena or Sibella (de Baliol) de Percy, died in 1272 and was buried in Sawley Abbey. He was taken prisoner, fighting on the King's side at Lewes in 1264. He married Eleanor Warren. (Warren XIII.) (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXII.)

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Henry de Percy, son of Henry and Eleanor (Warren) de Percy, first Lord Percy, of Alnwick, died in 1314 and was buried before the high altar in Fountains. He was summoned to Parliament, February 5, 1298-99, to July 29, 1314; bought Alnwick Castle from Bishop Bek in 1309. He was present at the battle of Dunbar in 1296, and the siege of Carlavarrow in 1300, and joined the rebellion of Thomas of Lancaster, but was pardoned. He married Eleanor, daughter of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel.

(*Ibid.*)

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X. *Henry de Percy*, son of Henry and Eleanor (Fitz-Alan) de Percy, second Lord Percy, of Alnwick, died February 27, 1351-52, and was buried at Alnwick. He left a will dated September 13, 1349, and probated March 2, 1351-52. He was summoned to Parliament, March 15, 1321-22 to 1352. He married Idonea, who died in 1365, daughter of Robert, first Lord Clifford.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. *Isabel de Percy*, daughter of Henry and Idonea (Clifford) de Percy, died before May, 1368. She married William, Lord Aton. (De Aton V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Warren Line)

Arms—Chequy or and azure.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. *Rollo*, founder of the line of Dukes of Normandy.

(Thomas Warren: "History and Genealogy of the Warren Family," pp. 13-14. Rev. John Watson: "Memoirs of Earls of Warren and Surrey," Vol. I, pp. 20, 23, 59, 61.)

II. *William*, surnamed "Longue Eypee," son of Rollo, had a son, Herfastus, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Herfastus*, son of William, had a daughter, whose name is not recorded.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. *Walter de St. Martin* married the daughter of Herfastus.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *William de Warenne*, their son, Earl of Warenne, in Normandy, married a daughter of Ralph de Torta, protector of Normandy during the minority of Richard I, Duke of Normandy.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. *Ralph (Rodolphus)*, Sire de Garenne (Warenne), married (first) Beatrice; (second) Emma, by whom he had Ralph, who died without issue; and William, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

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VII. William de Warenne (Warren), first Earl of Surrey, died June 24, 1088. He was Earl of Warenne in Normandy, and came to England with William the Conqueror, receiving large grants of land for services in the battle of Hastings. He is mentioned in the Domesday Book as holding land in Sussex, Hants, Berkshire, Buckingham, Oxford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire. His lands in Sussex included the borough of Lewes. The priory of Lewes, which William de Warenne founded, and in which he was buried, was long connected with the history of his descendants. The monks of St. Pancras who had that priory are mentioned among the many tenants of William de Warenne in that county. In addition to Lewes, he held over forty other manors in that county.

William de Warenne married Gundred or Gundrada, who died at Castle Acre, County Norfolk, May 27, 1085, and was buried beside him in the priory of Lewes, and who was the daughter or stepdaughter of William the Conqueror. They were the parents of: 1. William, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, p. 687. "Victoria County History of Sussex," Vol. I, pp. 377, 435, 443. H. Ellis: "General Introduction to Domesday Book," Vol. I, p. 506.)

VIII. William Warren, second Earl of Warren and Surrey, son of William and Gundred or Gundrada de Warenne, died May 10, 1138, and was buried in Lewes Priory. He sided with Robert of Normandy against Henry I, but later joined the King and commanded at Tinchebray, September 28, 1106. William Warren was governor of Rouen in 1135.

William Warren married Elizabeth, who died February 13, 1131, and was buried in Lewes Priory. She was the daughter of Hugh the Great, Earl of Vermandois, and granddaughter of Henry I of France, and the widow of Robert, Count of Meulan. (Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XVII.)

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, p. 688.)

IX. William Warren, third Earl of Warren and Surrey, son of William Warren and Elizabeth of Vermandois, was slain January 19,

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1147-48. He commanded for King Stephen at the battle of Lincoln and, in 1147, joined the crusade of Louis VII of France, and was killed in the defiles of Laodicea. He married Ella Belesme, daughter of Robert, Earl of Belesme.

(*Ibid.*)

X. *Isabel Warren*, daughter of William and Ella (Belesme) Warren, died July 13, 1199, and was buried in Lewes Priory. She married (first) William de Blois, son of King Stephen. He became fourth Earl of Warren and Surrey, and died without issue. Isabel Warren married (second) Hameline Plantagenet, natural son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and half-brother of King Henry II. Hameline took the name of Warren.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 688-89.)

XI. *William Warren*, sixth Earl of Warren and Surrey, died May 27, 1240, and was buried in Lewes Priory. He advised King John to grant the Magna Charta, but later joined the barons. He was Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1216, and Sheriff of Surrey from 1217 to 1226. He was in command of the army in the battle against the Welsh in 1220, and in Gascony and Poitou in 1224.

William Warren married (first) Maud, daughter of the Earl of Arundel; (second), as her second husband, Maud or Matilda (Mareschall or Marshall) Bigod. (Mareschall IV.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 690.)

XII. *John Warren*, seventh Earl of Warren and Surrey, died September 27, 1305, and was buried at Lewes Priory. He fought at the battle of Lewes in 1264, commanded at the battle of Dunbar in 1296, and at Carlaverock in 1300.

John Warren married Alice or Alfois le Brun, who died February 9, 1290, and was buried in Lewes Priory. She was a half-sister of Henry III.

(*Ibid.*, p. 691.)

XIII. *Eleanor Warren*, daughter of John and Alice or Alfois (le Brun) Warren, married Henry de Percy. (Percy VIII.)

(Leslie Stephen, editor: "Dictionary of National Biography."
G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage.")

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(The Mareschall Line)

Arms—Per pale, or and vert, a lion rampant, double queued, gules, armed and langued azure.

(Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage," Vol. III.)

As a surname, this is one of the many derived from an official position. As mareschall or marshal of England, succeeding generations of this family served the Kings of England and, after having been designated as Le Mareschall, through succeeding generations, finally adopted the appellation as a surname variously spelled Mareschall and Marshall.

(Leslie Stephen, editor: "Dictionary of National Biography." T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage," Vol. I, p. 368; Vol. III, pp. 597-600.)

I. *Gilbert*, surnamed Le Mareschall.

(*Ibid.*)

II. *John Mareschall*, son of Gilbert le Mareschall, died in 1164. He was unsuccessfully impleaded with his father (some records say brother) by Robert de Venoz and William de Hastings for the office of marshal. The suit was not successful, and later John Mareschall gave his support to the Empress Maud, taking part in the disastrous siege of Winchester, under the banner of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural brother of the Empress. He suffered from famine and other hardships after the siege, especially after the capture of his leader, but remained attached to the party of the Empress for thirteen years, until the death of Stephen and the accession of King Henry II brought reward in the form of large grants to him and to his heirs in the county of Wilts. He is recorded, in the year 1164, as making claim, as marshal of the realm, to certain manors held by the See of Canterbury, a claim which brought him into conflict with Thomas à Becket.

John Mareschall married Sibilla or Sibyl de Evreux, daughter of Walter and Sibilla (Chaworth) de Evreux, and sister of Patrick de Evreux, Earl of Salisbury. Her father founded a monastery at Bradenstroke where, in his old age, he became a canon. Her grandfather, Edward de Evreux, also called De Salisbury, a younger son of Walter de Evreux, Earl of Rosmar in Normandy, who accompanied William the Conqueror to England, and who took part in the battle of

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Hastings, for which he was given the lordships of Salisbury and Ambresbury, received his father's estates in England, while an older brother received those in Normandy. Edward de Evreux was eminent in the reign of William the Conqueror and is mentioned often in the Domesday Book. Salisbury, which is spelled "Sarisberie" in that book, was located in Wiltshire, and consisted of Old Sarum and neighboring parishes of which the Bishop of Salisbury was the tenant in chief. The bishop, known as St. Osmund, divided the lands among three tenants in chief, Edward de Evreux being one of them. He was at the same time tenant in chief over forty other manors, one being Ambresbury. W. H. Jones, who compiled an introduction and translation to the Domesday Book for Wiltshire in 1865, states that a farm in that parish was still called Earl's Farm, possibly a memorial to its ancient lords, the Earls of Salisbury. The Domesday Book also refers to Edward de Evreux as having lands in Surrey, Hants, Somerset, Middlesex, Buckingham, Hertford and Oxford. He was standard bearer to Henry I at the battle of Brenevill in Normandy.

John and Sibilla (de Evreux) Mareschall were the parents of: 1. John, his successor. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Anselm. 4. Henry, afterward Bishop of Exeter.

(Leslie Stephen, editor: "Dictionary of National Biography." T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 368; Vol. III, pp. 597-600, 644, 645, 654. H. Ellis: "General Introduction to Domesday Book," Vol. I, p. 411. W. H. Jones: "Domesday for Wiltshire," pp. 23, 68, 198, 230.)

III. William Mareschall or Marshall, son of John Mareschall, was born before 1153 and died May 14, 1219. He was knighted in 1173 and was a member of the household of Prince Henry, who on his death-bed committed to William Mareschall his cross of gold, June 11, 1183. He became, by right of his wife, Earl of Pembroke, and rose to great prominence in the baronial history of England. He is known in the records as Earl of Pembroke and Strigul, and Lord of Leinster in Ireland, also as Lord of Orbec and Longueville, in Normandy. Among numerous offices which he held, both at home and in France, he officiated as sceptre bearer at the coronation of King Richard I, was keeper of Nottingham Castle, acted as justiciar in the King's Court, was constable of Chichester Castle, and was sheriff

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of Gloucestershire. On the death of his father he succeeded as hereditary marshal of England and also as high sheriff of the county of Gloucester. He was chief marshal of the King's Court, April, 1200, Lord Warden of the Marches of Normandy the following year, and the next year constable of the castle of Lillebonne. He was one of the ambassadors to France, April, 1204, in connection with the conflict between King John and Philip of France, and after filling many other important offices, served from October, 1216, to May, 1219, as guardian and governor of the King. In this latter month and year he was also guardian and regent of England. On October 28, 1216, he officiated as Earl Marshal of England at the coronation of King Henry III, and June 6, 1217, the King made him a member of his Privy Council. He is styled about this time "Great Marshall of the Realm." On October 30, 1217, he was made steward of the manor of Havering and also of that of Scrineham, and for a time served as sheriff of the counties of Essex and Hertford. Among his many benefactions he founded Tintern Abbey in the shire of Wexford; the Priory of St. Saviours, Dublin; that of Kilrush and St. Augustine's in Kilkenny, and several others.

William Mareschall or Marshall married, previous to September 3, 1189, Isabel de Clare. Children: 1. William, second Earl of Pembroke, left no issue. 2. Richard, third Earl of Pembroke, left no issue. 3. Gilbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke, left no issue. 4. Walter, fifth Earl of Pembroke, married Margaret de Quincy, daughter of Robert de Quincy. 5. Anselm, sixth Earl of Pembroke, married Maud de Bohun. 6. Matilda or Maud, of whom further. 7. Isabella. 8. Sibyl, married William de Ferriers, Earl of Derby. 9. Eva, married William de Braose, son of Reginald de Braose. 10. Johanna, married Warin de Muschein.

(Leslie Stephen, editor: "Dictionary of National Biography." T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 368; Vol. III, pp. 597-600.)

IV. Matilda or Maud Mareschall or Marshall, daughter of William and Isabel (de Clare) Mareschall, married (first) Hugh Bigod, third Earl of Norfolk. She married (second) William Warren, sixth Earl of Warren and Surrey (Warren XI) (Mrs. Susan Alberta

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[Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XX); (third) Walter de Dunstanville.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Fitz-Hugh Line)

Arms—Azure, three chevrons interlaced or.

(Burke: "Encyclopedia of Heraldry.")

I. Bardolf, brother of Bodin, Lord of Ravensworth. Child: 1. Akaris, of whom further.

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of Northern England," p. 72. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," New Edition.)

II. Akaris Fitz-Bardolf, son of Bardolf, Lord of Ravensworth, died in 1161. He founded the Abbey of Fors. Child: 1. Hervey, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Hervey Fitz-Akaris, Lord of Ravensworth, son of Akaris Fitz-Bardolf, died in 1182 and was buried at Jervaulx. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Henry Fitz-Hervey, Lord of Ravensworth, son of Hervey Fitz-Akaris, died in 1201. He married Alice Fitz-Walter, daughter to Ranulf Fitz-Walter, of Greyslock. Child: 1. Ranulf, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Ranulf Fitz-Henry, Lord of Ravensworth, son of Henry and Alice (Fitz-Walter) Fitz-Hervey, died before January 13, 1242-43, and was buried at Jervaulx. He was an itinerant justice. Ranulf Fitz-Henry married Alice de Staveley, daughter and coheir of Adam de Staveley. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. Henry Fitz-Ranulf, Lord of Ravensworth, son of Ranulf and Alice (de Staveley) Fitz-Henry, died in 1262 and is buried at Jervaulx. Child: 1. Hugh, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Hugh Fitz-Henry, Lord of Ravensworth, son of Henry Fitz-Ranulf, died at Berwick-on-Tweed, March 12, 1304-05, and

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was buried at Romaldekirk, March 22, 1304-05. He was a signatory of the "Letter to the Pope."

Hugh Fitz-Henry married Aubrey, widow of Sir William de Steyngrave; she was buried at Jervaulx, January 25, 1304-05. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VIII. Sir Henry Fitz-Hugh, Lord of Ravensworth, son of Hugh and Aubrey Fitz-Henry, died at Ravensworth in 1356. He was constable of Barnard Castle for the King from 1315 to 1319, and fought in Scotland.

Henry Fitz-Hugh married (first) Eve Bulmer, daughter of Sir John Bulmer, of Wilton, in Cleveland; he married (second), before November 25, 1337, Emma (Cleasby) de Hastang, daughter and heir of Sir Robert de Cleasby, and widow of Sir Robert de Hastang. Child of first marriage: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Henry Fitz-Hugh, son of Henry and Eva (Bulmer) Fitz-Hugh, died in 1352 and was buried at Jervaulx. He married Joan de Furneux, sister and coheir of Sir William de Furneux, of Carlton, County Nottingham; she died in September, 1349. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

X. Henry Fitz-Hugh, Lord of Ravensworth, son of Henry and Joan (de Furneux) Fitz-Hugh, was ten years of age in November, 1349, and died August 29, 1386, and was buried at Jervaulx, September 24, 1386. He fought in France with the King in October, 1359, and with the Duke of Lancaster in July, 1369.

Henry Fitz-Hugh married Joan le Scrope. (Scrope IV). Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

XI. Henry Fitz-Hugh, Lord of Ravensworth, K. G., son of Henry and Joan (le Scrope) Fitz-Hugh, was aged twenty-eight years in August, 1386; he died January 11, 1424-25, his will was dated December 26, 1424. He consented to the imprisonment of Richard

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II in October, 1399, and was constable of England at the coronation of Henry V, April 2, 1413. He was envoy to the Council of Constance in 1414, and fought at Agincourt, October 25, 1415. He was guardian of Henry VI, and the commissioner to treat with Scotland in 1404 and 1419.

Henry Fitz-Hugh married Elizabeth Grey, daughter and heir of Robert Grey, and heir of her uncle, Sir John Grey; she died December 12, 1427, her will was dated September 24, 1427, and December 10, 1427. She was buried at Jervaulx. Child: I. Maude, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

XII. *Maude Fitz-Hugh*, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Grey) Fitz-Hugh, married Sir William de Eure. (Eure XI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Scrope Line)

Arms—Azure, a bend or, in chief a label of three points argent.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet a crab. (Burke: "General Armory.")

I. *Sir William le Scrope*, bailiff of Richmondshire, was knighted at the battle of Falkirk. He married Constance de Newsham, daughter of Thomas de Newsham, and granddaughter of Gillo de Newsham. Child: I. Geoffrey, of whom further.

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of Northern England," p. 302.)

II. *Sir Geoffrey le Scrope*, second son of William and Constance (de Newsham) le Scrope, died at Ghent in 1340 and was buried at Coverham Abbey. He was Justice of the Common Pleas in 1323 and Lord Chief Justice of England in 1324. He bought Masham from the family of Wanton in 1329. Sir Geoffrey le Scrope was secretary to Edward III in 1339. He was at the siege of Tournay in 1340. Child: I. Henry, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Sir Henry le Scrope*, son of Sir Geoffrey le Scrope, was born in 1315 and died July 1, 1391, and was buried in York Minster. He was the first Lord Scrope de Masham. He served in France and Scotland, and was knighted at the siege of Berwick in 1333. He fought at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, and Cressy in 1346, and

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at the siege of Calais in 1346-47. Sir Henry le Scrope was summoned to Parliament, November 25, 1350, and served many years. He was governor of Calais in 1360.

Sir Henry le Scrope married Joan. Child: 1. Joan, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Joan le Scrope, daughter of Sir Henry and Joan le Scrope, married Henry, Lord Fitz-Hugh. (Fitz-Hugh X.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Baliol Line)

Arms—Gules, an orle argent.

Crest—A decrescent and an increscent argent. (Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Bernard de Baliol, Baron of Bywell and Stokesley, died in 1167. He was a nephew and heir to Guy de Baliol, who was originally of Bailleul-en-Vimen, and who received a grant of these baronies from William II. Bernard de Baliol was present at the battle of the Standard in 1138. He founded Barnard Castle, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln in 1142.

Bernard de Baliol married Maud. Child: 1. Bernard, of whom further.

(J. W. Clay: "Extinct Peerages of Northern England," p. 4. "County History of Northumberland," Vol. VI, p. 72.)

II. Bernard de Baliol, son of Bernard and Maud de Baliol, was Lord of Barnard Castle, and died in 1209-10. He married Agnes de Pinchenci. Child: 1. Eustace, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Eustace de Baliol, Lord of Barnard Castle, son of Bernard and Agnes (de Pinchenci) de Baliol, died in 1200. He granted Bywell Church to the monastery of Durham. Child: 1. Hugh, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Hugh de Baliol, Lord of Barnard Castle, son of Eustace de Baliol, died in 1228. He adhered to King John from 1212 to 1216. Hugh de Baliol married Cicely de Fontaines. Children: 1. Ada, of whom further. 2. John, son and heir, was Regent of Scotland from

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1249 to 1255, during the minority of Alexander III. He and his wife founded Baliol College, Oxford, in 1263. He married, in 1233, Devorguila, daughter and heir of Alan, Lord of Galloway, Constable of Scotland, by Margaret, the eldest daughter and coheir of Henry of Scotland, Earl of Huntingdon, the latter the only son of David I, King of Scotland from 1124 to 1153; child: i. John, who was crowned at Scone, December 26, 1292.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Ada de Baliol*, daughter of Hugh and Cicely (de Fontaines) de Baliol, received the manor of Stokesley from her father. She married John Fitz-Robert. (Eure V.) She died July 29, 1251.

(*Ibid.*)

(Mrs. Susan Alberta [Strother] Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne)

I. *St. Arnulf*, Bishop of Metz, was born about 582 and died after 641. Children: 1. St. Chlodulf, Bishop of Metz. 2. Anschisus, of whom further.

(T. Hodgkin: "Italy and Her Invaders," Vol. VIII, p. 24.)

II. *Anschisus*, son of Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, was born about 605. He was mayor of the palace of Austrasia from 632 to 638. He married Bega, daughter of Pepin of Landen (called Pepin I), mayor of the palace to the Merovingian King, Dagobert I of Austrasia. Child: 1. Pepin, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Pepin II*, son of Anschisus and Bega, called, although incorrectly, Pepin of Heristal or Herstal, died December 16, 714. About 678 he led the nobles of Austrasia against Ebroin, mayor of the palace and Neustria. His victory at the battle of Tertry in 687 marked the downfall of the Merovingians, although they still held the titles of kings. He ruled under four of them. He fought the Frisians and after defeating their duke, Radbod, brought them within the Christian church. He likewise defended his frontiers against the Bavarians and Alamanni.

Pepin married (first) Plectrude; (second) Alpaida or Chalpaida. Children of first marriage: 1. Drogo. 2. Grimmwald. Children

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of second marriage: 3. Charles Martel, of whom further. 4. Childebrand.

(*Ibid.* "Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. IX, p. 612; Vol. XVII, p. 948.)

IV. Charles Martel, son of Pepin II and Alpaida or Chalpaida, was born about 688 and died October 22, 741. After the death of his father there was a period of anarchy. His nephews, grandchildren of Plectrude, were proclaimed rulers and Charles was thrown into prison. Austrasia (eastern portion of France) and Neustria (western France) were still separate. He escaped and defeated the Neustrians at Ambleve in 716, and at Vincy in the following year. He also took the title of mayor of the palace of Austrasia, thus uniting the northern part of the country. In 719 he forced Duke Odo of Aquitaine to recognize his suzerainty. He also became renowned for his victories over the Moors. They had conquered Spain in 711 and later crossed the Pyrenees and advanced on Gaul as far as Tours. His brilliant victory, in October, 732, over the Moors ended the last of the Arab invasion and led to his being called Martel (the Hammer). He then took the offensive against them in southern France. His victories over the Germans resulted in the annexation of Frisia, the end of the duchy of Bavaria, intervention in Bavaria and the payment of tribute by the Saxons. Pope Gregory III attempted to gain his aid against the Lombards, but was unsuccessful. For a few years before his death there was no King of the Merovingian line and, in 741, he divided the kingdom between his two sons as though he were master of the realm. Charles Martel married Chrotrudis. Children: 1. Carloman, succeeded his father in Austrasia and western Germany; abdicated in 747. 2. Pepin III, of whom further.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. V, p. 293.)

V. Pepin III, called Pepin the Short, son of Charles Martel and Chrotrudis, succeeded his father in Neustria, the western part of the kingdom, while his brother, Carloman, held the eastern part. They both kept the title of mayor of the palace and were the actual rulers of the country. They appointed Childeric III, probably a Merovingian, as King, but presided over tribunals, convoked councils of the

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church, and made war themselves. Carloman abdicated and retired to a monastery in 747. Pepin was thus sole master of both Austrasia and Neustria and, after consulting Pope Zacharias, took the title of King. He was crowned by St. Boniface in 751 and later was recrowned by Pope Stephen II, who also made him a Patrician of Rome. In return for these favors Pepin made two expeditions against the Lombards. He took the exarchate of Ravenna from them and conferred it on the Pope. This marked the beginning of the Papal States. After an eight-year war he occupied Aquitaine.

Pepin III married Bertha, daughter of Chiribert, Count of Laon. Children: 1. Charlemagne, of whom further. 2. Carloman.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 948.)

VI. Charlemagne, son of Pepin III or Pepin the Short and Bertha of Laon, was born April 2, 742-43, died January 28, 814, and was buried at Aix-la-Chapelle. His father, Pepin, deposed the last of the Merovingian dynasty of French kings and assumed the Frankish Crown. Charlemagne, in the early part of his reign, invaded Northern Italy, putting an end to the Lombard kingdom. From 774 to 799 he was at war with the Saxons, at that time a heathen race east of the Rhine. In 785, Widukind, Saxon leader, submitted and was baptized a Christian, but resistance continued in the outlying portions of the region. Bavaria was next annexed and this brought Charlemagne in conflict with the Avars, whose Khan became a Christian in 805. Expeditions were also sent against the Arabs of North Spain. On December 25, 800, while in Rome, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III, thus reviving the Roman Empire. After a naval war in the Adriatic, in which he surrendered some disputed territory, Charlemagne was saluted by the Greek envoys as Basileus, the equality of the two empires being thus recognized. The reign of Charlemagne witnessed a revival of arts and letters, a revision of Frankish law, and the writing of the laws of the Saxons, Thuringians and Frisians.

Charlemagne married (first), in 770, Hermengarde or Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius, King of Lombardy; (second), in 771, Hildegarde, born in 757, died April 30, 782, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Swabia; (third), in 783, Fastrade, who died in 794, daugh-

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ter of Rudolph, Count of Franconia; (fourth) Liutgarda, who died June 4, 800. Children of second marriage: 1. Charles, born in 772, died December 4, 811, was King of Germany; left no issue. 2. Rothrude or Rotrude, born in 773, died June 6, 810; married Roricon I, Count of Maine. 3. Adelside, Abbess of Fara, born in 775, died June 6, 810. 4. Pepin, born in 776, died July 8, 810; was King of Bavaria and Italy. 5. Louis I, of whom further. 6. Lothaire, born in 779, died in 780. 7. Bertha, died in 853. 8. Gisele, born in 781. 9. Hildegarde, born in 782, died in 822; Abbess of Argenteuil; married Eberhard I, Lord Beutelsbach. Children of third marriage: 10. Theodrade, Abbess of Argenteuil. 11. Hiltrude, Abbess of Faremontier. Child of fourth marriage: 12. Emma, died in 839; married Eginhard, Abbot.

(C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. II, pp. 325-26, 417. P. Anselme: "Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France," Vol. I, pp. 28-29. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. V, pp. 256-59.)

VII. Louis I, surnamed the Pious, son of Charlemagne and Hildegarde of Swabia, was born at Chasseneuil in Central France, in 778, and died near Ingelheim, June 20, 840. As a child, in 781, he was crowned King of Aquitaine. His father planned to divide the empire among his three sons, but on account of the death of the other two, Louis became successor in the empire, his nephew Bernard, son of Pepin, becoming King of Italy. Louis was crowned Emperor by his father at Aachen in 813. Three years later he was crowned a second time by Pope Stephen IV at Rheims. His tastes were ecclesiastical rather than military, and he earned the surname Pious through his liberality to the church and for his attempt to reform and purify monastic life. Soon after his coronation he arranged for a division of the empire among his three sons, but he later married a second time and included Charles, a son by the second marriage, in a new arrangement. The remainder of his reign was marked by a series of revolts on the part of the elder sons. At times they fought among themselves, at times against their father, and on two occasions practically deposed him. With the death of Pepin the empire was divided among the other three, including Charles.

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Louis I married (first), in 798, Ermengarde, daughter of Ingram, Duke of Hasbaigne. She died October 3, 818, and he married (second), in 819, Judith, who was born in 800 and died April 19, 843, daughter of Welfe or Guelph I, Count of Bavaria. Children of first marriage: 1. Lothair, born in 799, died in 855; was Emperor. 2. Pepin, born in 803, died in 838; was King of Aquitaine. 3. Louis, called the German, born in 805, died in 876; was King of Bavaria. 4. Adelaide, married Conrad, Count of Auxerre. 5. Alpaïda, married Begon Conrad, Count of Paris. 6. Hildegard, died in 842; married Count Thierri. Children of second marriage: 7. Gisele, of whom further. 8. Charles II, surnamed the Bald, born in 823, died October 5, 877; was King of the West Franks and later Emperor; married (first) Hermentrude, of Orleans; (second) Richilde, of Burgundy.

(“Encyclopædia Britannica,” Fourteenth Division, Vol. XIV, p. 410. C. M. Allstrom: “Dictionary of Royal Lineage,” Vol. II, pp. 326-27.)

VIII. Gisele, daughter of Louis I and Judith of Bavaria, was born in 820. She married, in 843, Eberhard, Duke of Frioul. They were the parents of Hedwiga, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Hedwiga, daughter of Eberhard, Duke of Frioul and Gisele, married Liudolf, Duke of the East Saxons. He had large estates in Saxony, and died in 866. They were the parents of Otto, surnamed the Illustrious, of whom further.

(C. M. Allstrom: “Dictionary of Royal Lineage,” Vol. II, p. 574. “Encyclopædia Britannica,” Eleventh Edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 268.)

X. Otto, surnamed the Illustrious, son of Liudolf or Ludolf and Hedwiga of Frioul, died in 912. He was recognized as Duke of Saxony by King Conrad I, and on the death of Burkhard, Margrave of Thuringia, in 908, obtained authority over that country. He made himself practically independent in Saxony and played an important part in the affairs of the empire. Child: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(“Encyclopædia Britannica,” Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XX, p. 33.)

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XI. Henry I, surnamed the Fowler, son of Otto the Illustrious, was born about 876 and died in 936. On his father's death he became Duke of Saxony and defended the country against the Slavs. In 918, Conrad advised the nobles to make Henry his successor, and the following year they met at Fritzlar and made him German King. His authority, except in Saxony, was nominal, but his sovereignty was recognized by the Bavarians and Swabians. Charles III, of France, recognized him as King of the East Franks, and in 923 Lorraine came under his authority. He secured both sides of the Elbe for Saxony, subjugated the modern Brandenburg and, in 933, gained a victory over the Huns. He laid more stress on his position as Duke of Saxony than as King of Germany, and conferred great benefits on the duchy, founding its town life and creating its army. Henry I married (first) Hatburg, daughter of Irwin, Count of Merseburg; (second), in 909, Matilda, daughter of a Saxon Count named Thiederich, reputed descendant of the hero Widukind. Children of second marriage: 1. Otto, became Emperor Otto the Great. 2. Henry, Duke of Lorraine and Bavaria. 3. Brune, Archbishop of Cologne. 4. Gerberge, married Guelbut, Duke of Lorraine. 5. Hedwiga, of whom further.

(A. M. H. J. Stokvis: "Manuel d'histoire de généalogie et de chronologie de tous les états du globe," Vol. III, p. 251.)

XII. Hedwiga, daughter of Henry I, the Fowler, of Saxony, and Matilda, married, in 936, Hugh the Great, Duke of the Franks and Count of Paris and Orleans.

Hugh the Great was the son of Robert I, King of the Franks, and Beatrix of Vermandois, and died June 17, 956. At the death of Raoul, Duke of Burgundy, he was in possession of the ancient Neustria except the portion ceded to the Normans. It consisted of the region between the Loire and the Seine. In 936 he was active in recalling Louis IV (d'Outremer) from England, but later supported the Emperor Otto, his own brother-in-law, against Louis. When Louis was captured by the Normans, they handed him over to Hugh, who demanded the fortress of Laon as ransom. He later restored it. He recognized Lothair as Louis' successor in 956, and was instrumental in having him crowned. For this service he was invested with the

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duchies of Burgundy and Aquitaine. Children of Hugh the Great and Hedwiga of Saxony: 1. Hugh Capet, of whom further. 2. Otto, Duke of Burgundy. 3. Henry (also called Eudes), Duke of Burgundy. 4. Beatrix, married Frederick, Duke of Upper Lorraine. 5. Emma, married Richard I, Duke of Normandy.

(*Ibid.* "Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XI, pp. 442, 864. L. de Mas Latrie: "Trésor de chronologie," p. 1607. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, p. 18. George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," Fifth Edition, Table XII.)

XIII. Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great and Hedwiga, of Saxony, was born about 938 and died at Paris, October 24, 996. He succeeded his father in his fiefs in the vicinity of Paris, and Lothair, the Frankish King, recognized him as Duke of the Franks. Nobles of northern France, including Richard I, Duke of Normandy, recognized him as their overlord. After the death of Louis V, successor of Lothair, without issue in 987, Hugh and the late King's uncle, Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine, were candidates for the throne. Hugh was greatly aided by Adalberon, Archbishop of Reims, who declared that the crown was elective rather than hereditary, and Gerbert, afterwards Pope Silvester II. Adalberon crowned him in July, 987. He thus owed the throne largely to the church. He was interested in clerical reform and was lay abbot of St. Martin at Tours and of St. Dennis. His kingdom included most of France north of the Loire with the exception of Brittany and he was vaguely recognized in Aquitaine, but to secure allegiance of the great nobles he gave them large grants of royal lands. Towards the close of 987, before he could secure the coronation of his son Robert as colleague and successor, Charles of Lorraine, his rival, attacked him. Adalberon, Bishop of Laon (not to be confounded with his namesake of Reims), seized Charles and turned him over to the King. Although a devoted son of the church at the time of his death, a dispute was in progress between Hugh and Pope John XV on account of the bishops of France deposing an archbishop of Reims who had proved a friend of Charles of Lorraine.

Hugh Capet married Adelaide, daughter of William III, Duke of Aquitaine. Children: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. Hed-

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wige. (See John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne XIV.) 3. Gisele, married Hugh Avoué, of St. Riquier.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XI, pp. 864-65. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. III, p. 170. L. de Mas Latrie: "Trésor de chronologie," p. 1521.)

XIV. Robert II, surnamed the Pious, son of Hugh Capet and Adelaide of Aquitaine, was born at Orleans about 970 and died at Melun, July 20, 1031. He was educated under Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. In 987, soon after his father became King, Robert became associated with his father in the government and was crowned in December, 987. On account of his marriage to Bertha, daughter of Conrad, Duke of Burgundy, who was a relative, Pope Gregory V excommunicated him and for five years he braved the anathemas of the church, but finally had to give her up. In 1002 he engaged in war for the duchy of Burgundy. Robert finally gained the victory in 1015.

Robert II married (first) Bertha of Burgundy; (second) Constance, daughter of William, Count of Toulouse. Children of second marriage: 1. Hugh, died before his father. 2. Henry, of whom further. 3. Robert, Duke of Burgundy. 4. Eudes. 5. Adelaide, married Renaud, Count of Nevers. 6. Adele, married (first) Richard II, Duke of Normandy; (second) Baldwin V, Count of Flanders.

("Encyclopædia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XIX, p. 347. N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. III, pp. 172-73. L. de Mas Latrie: "Trésor de chronologie," p. 1521.)

XV. Henry I, son of Robert II and Constance of Toulouse, was born about 1008 and died August 4, 1060. In 1027 he was anointed King at Reims, and associated in the government. His mother favored her younger son Robert and formed a league against Henry, who was forced to take refuge with Robert II of Normandy. In the civil war which followed Henry defeated his opponents, but made Robert, his brother, Duke of Burgundy. The reign of Henry was one of feudal disturbances caused by the great nobles, at first by those from the houses of Blois and Champaign and later by those from Normandy and Burgundy. These great nobles were only nominally subject to royal authority and often at war with the King. William,

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Duke of Normandy, prior to his invasion of England, held his own against two royal invasions, one in 1055 and the other in 1058. In spite of almost constant warfare Henry maintained the independence of the clergy against Pope Leo IX and claimed Lorraine from Emperor Henry III.

Henry I married, about 1051, Princess Anne of Russia, daughter of Yaroslav I, Grand Duke of Kiev. Children: 1. Philip I, King of France from 1060 to 1108. 2. Hugh, of whom further.

(“Encyclopædia Britannica,” Fourteenth Edition, Vol. XI, pp. 440-41. N. V. de Saint-Allais: “L’art de vérifier les dates,” Vol. III, p. 174.)

XVI. Hugh, son of Henry I, King of France, and Anne of Russia, became Count of Vermandois through his marriage to the heiress of that house. He was prominent in the crusades and took part in the siege and capture of the cities of Nicea and Antioch in 1096, after which he was head of an embassy to the Eastern Emperor. In 1101, he made a second voyage to the East, but the crusading forces were attacked by the Greeks under Alexius Comnenus and, in 1102, Hugh was killed in Tarsus in Cilicia and buried in the church of St. Paul there.

Hugh, Count of Vermandois, married Adelle or Adela, Countess of Vermandois, daughter of Heribert IV of Vermandois and Adelle, Countess of Valois and Crepy. Children: 1. Raoul, Count of Vermandois from 1120 to 1152. 2. Simon, Bishop of Noyon. 3. Henry, Seigneur of Chaumont en Vexin. 4. Mahaud, married Raoul, Seigneur de Baugency. 5. A daughter, who married Boniface, Marquis of Italy. 6. A daughter, who married Hugh, Seigneur de Gournay. 7. Elizabeth, of whom further.

(P. Anselme: “Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France,” Vol. I, pp. 531-32.)

XVII. Elizabeth, of Vermandois, daughter of Hugh, Count of Vermandois, and Adelle or Adela, died February 13, 1131, and was buried in Lewes Priory. She married (first) Robert, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, who was born about 1046 and died June 5, 1118. His father was Robert de Beaumont, who furnished sixty ships to William the Conqueror for the invasion of England,

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and his mother was Adeline, daughter of Waleran, Count of Meulan. Elizabeth of Vermandois married (second) William Warren, Earl of Warren and Surrey. (Warren VIII.) In some records she is called Isabel. Children of first marriage: 1. Waleran, Count of Meulan. 2. Robert, Earl of Leicester. 3. Hugh, Earl of Bedford. 4. Adeline, married Hugh IV, Seigneur of Montford-sur-Risle. 5. Aubreze, married Hugh, Seigneur of Chateauneuf en Thimerais. 6. Maud, married William Louvel, Seigneur of Ivri and Breval. 7. Elizabeth, married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke. Child of second marriage: 8. William, of whom further.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, pp. 523-26.)

XVIII. William Warren, third Earl of Warren and Surrey, son of William Warren and Elizabeth of Vermandois, died in 1147-48. He married Ella Belesme, daughter of Robert Belesme.

XIX. Isabel Warren, daughter of William and Ella (Belesme) Warren, married (second) Hameline Plantagenet, natural son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, who assumed the name of Warren.

XX. William Warren, sixth Earl of Warren and Surrey, son of Hameline Plantagenet and Isabel Warren, died May 27, 1240. He married Matilda or Maud Mareschall or Marshall. (Mareschall IV.)

XXI. John Warren, seventh Earl of Warren and Surrey, son of William and Matilda or Maud (Mareschall or Marshall) Warren, died in 1305. He married Alice le Brun.

XXII. Eleanor Warren, daughter of John and Alice (le Brun) Warren, married Henry de Percy. (Percy VIII.)

XXIII. Henry de Percy, son of Henry and Eleanor (Warren) de Percy, died in 1314. He married Eleanor Fitz-Alan.

XXIV. Henry de Percy, son of Henry and Eleanor (Fitz-Alan) de Percy, second Lord Percy, of Alnwick, died in 1351-52. He married Idonea Clifford.

XXV. Isabel de Percy, daughter of Henry and Idonea (Clifford) de Percy, married William, Lord Aton. (De Aton V.)

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XXVI. *Elizabeth de Aton*, daughter and coheir of William and Isabel (de Percy) de Aton, married Sir John Conyers. (Conyers IX.)

XXVII. *Robert Conyers*, of Sockburn, son of Sir John and Elizabeth (de Aton) Conyers, died in 1431. He married Isabel Pert.

XXVIII. *Sir Christopher Conyers*, Knight, son of Robert and Isabel (Pert) Conyers, died in 1487. He married Margery de Eure. (Eure XII.)

XXIX. *William Conyers*, son of Sir Christopher and Margery (Eure) Conyers, died September 4, 1490. He married Anne Bigod.

XXX. *Christopher Conyers*, Esquire, son of William and Anne (Bigod) Conyers, was born in 1469. He married Anne Markenfield.

XXXI. *Sir Thomas Conyers*, son of Christopher and Anne (Markenfield) Conyers, was born in 1491 and died in 1520. He married Margaret Radcliffe.

XXXII. *Sir George Conyers*, son of Sir Thomas and Margaret (Radcliffe) Conyers, died in 1567, and married Ann Dawney.

XXXIII. *Sir John Conyers*, son of Sir George and Ann (Dawney) Conyers, was knighted at Newcastle, April 13, 1603. He married Agnes Bowes.

XXXIV. *Eleanor Conyers*, daughter of Sir John and Agnes (Bowes) Conyers, was born in 1572. She married (first) Lancelot Strother. (Strother—Family in England—XII.)

XXXV. *William (1) Strother*, of Northumberland, son of Lancelot and Eleanor (Conyers) Strother, was born in 1597.

XXXVI. *William (2) Strother*, son of William (1) Strother, came to Virginia from England and married Dorothy. His will was probated, Richmond County, Virginia, in 1702.

XXXVII. *William (3) Strother*, son of William (2) and Dorothy Strother, was high sheriff of King George County. He married Margaret Thornton. (Thornton III.)

XXXVIII. *Francis Strother*, son of William (3) and Margaret (Thornton) Strother, died in Culpeper County, Virginia, 1751-52. He married Susannah Dabney.

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XXXIX. Captain John Dabney Strother, son of Francis and Susannah (Dabney) Strother, was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1721. He married Mary Willis Wade.

XL. John Strother, son of Captain John Dabney and Mary Willis (Wade) Strother, inherited the family seat "Wadefield," and was a wealthy man. He married Helen Piper.

XLI. Captain French Strother, son of John and Helen (Piper) Strother, was considered the best educated man in North Culpeper. He married Mary Ann Pendleton Browning. (Browning IX.)

XLII. Professor French Strother, son of Captain French and Mary Ann Pendleton (Browning) Strother, was born in Rappahannock County, Virginia, January 14, 1825, died there June 25, 1916. He married Susan Ann Petty. (Petty VI.)

XLIII. Oscar Dabney Strother, son of Professor French and Susan Ann (Petty) Strother, was born at Glasgow, Missouri, October 16, 1858. He married Ella Wing Uline. (Uline V.)

XLIV. Susan Alberta Strother, daughter of Oscar Dabney and Ella Wing (Uline) Strother, married John Russel Simpson. (Simpson IV.)

(John Russel Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne)

Generations I through XIII same as Generations I through XIII in Mrs. Susan Alberta (Strother) Simpson Royal Descent from Charlemagne.

XIV. Hedwige, daughter of Hugh Capet, King of France, and Adalais or Adelaide of Aquitaine, married (first) Rainier or Reginar IV, Count of Hainault, and (second) Hugh III, Count of Dagsbourg.

Rainier or Reginar IV, Count of Hainault, son of Rainier or Reginar III and possibly of Alix of Dagsburg and Egisheim, died in 1013. He succeeded to his father's title after a long struggle to assert his claims. When Rainier or Reginar III was sent into exile, Duke Bruno made Richer his successor, and after him came Garnier and Renaud, who shared the rule of Hainault without challenge until 973. In that year Otto I died, and Rainier and Lambert, sons of

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Rainier III, attacked the two counts and slew them in battle. King Otto II made Godfrey and Arnoul their successors, but Rainier and Lambert, established in the Chateau de Boussoit on the Haine, made raiding expeditions throughout the surrounding country. Otto II went to the aid of his protégés, and razed the fortress, but no sooner had he turned back to Germany than Rainier and Lambert reappeared in Hainault with new forces furnished them by Charles, brother of King Lothair of France, and Otto of Vermandois. In 976 they were defeated by Godfrey and Arnoul, but managed to maintain themselves in a corner of Hainault. It is not known at what date Rainier and Lambert finally secured Hainault, but it was not until 998 that Rainier captured Mons; Lambert had already been possessor of the countship of Louvain for four years. Rainier, who was the first proprietary Count of Hainault, ruled in peace after establishing himself in Mons. Children: 1. Rainier or Reginar V, succeeded his father and died in 1036; married Mathilde, daughter of Herman, Vicomte of Verdun. 2. Beatrix, of whom further.

(N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. V, p. 119.)

XV. Beatrix of Hainault, daughter of Rainier IV and Hedwige of France, married Ebles I, Count of Rouci and Rheims, who died May 11, 1033, son of Gilbert, Count of Rouci and Rheims. He succeeded his father on April 19, 990, and although a layman, obtained the office of Archbishop of Rheims in 1021. In this capacity he crowned King Henry I of France on the day of Pentecost in 1027. Daughters: 1. Alix or Adelaide, of whom further. 2. Avoie, married Geoffrey, Seigneur de Florines and Rumigni.

(N. V. de Saint-Allais: "L'art de vérifier les dates," Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 273; Vol. V, p. 119.)

XVI. Alix or Adelaide, of Rouci and Rheims, daughter of Ebles I and Beatrix of Hainault, married Hilduin, Count of Montdidier, Seigneur de Rameru, d'Arcis and Breteuil, who died about 1063. In the right of his wife he became Count of Rouci, and on May 23, 1059, was present at the coronation of Philip I. In 1060 he founded the Priory of Rouci for the Abbey of Marmoutier. Children: 1.

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Ebles II, Count of Rouci and Montdidier, died after 1104; married Sibyl, daughter of Robert Guiscard, Duke de la Pouille. 2. André, Seigneur de Rameru. 3. Felice, married Sancho I, King of Aragon. 4. Beatrix, married Geoffrey II, Count of Perche. 5. Marguerite, of whom further. 6. Hermentrude or Heliarde, married Thibaut, Count of Resnel. 7. Ada, married (first) Godfrey, Seigneur de Guise; (second) Wautier de Aath; (third) Thierrri d'Avesnes. 8. Adele, married Arnulph, Earl Warren. 9. Adelaide, married Falcon, son of Renaud I, Count of Burgundy.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Part 2, pp. 273-74.)

XVII. Marguerite of Montdidier, daughter of Hilduin and Alix or Adelaide of Rouci and Rheims, married Hugh, surnamed "de Monchi" from his chateau of that name, Count of Clermont in Beauvaisis. He succeeded his father, Renaud I, Count of Clermont in Beauvaisis, during the latter's lifetime, as early as 1099, and had to contend with his son-in-law, Mathieu, Count of Beaumont-sur-Oise who, having received as his wife's dowry the moiety of the territory of Lusarches, resorted to violence in an effort to obtain all of it. Count Hugh implored the aid of Louis the Fat, Crown Prince of France, and with his help finally defeated the Count of Beaumont. Children: 1. Renaud II, Count of Clermont in Beauvaisis, married (first) Alix or Adelaide, daughter of Herbert IV, Count of Vermandois, and widow of Prince Hugh of France; (second) Clemence, daughter of Renaud I, Count of Bar. 2. Guy, died a prisoner at Rouen in 1119 after being captured by the English in the battle of Brenneville. 3. Raoul, Canon of Beauvaisis. 4. Emma, married Mathieu, Count of Beaumont-sur-Oise. 5. Ermentrude, married Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester. 6. Richilda, married Dreux II, Seigneur de Mello in Beauvaisis. 7. Adeliza, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Part 2, pp. 235, 273. J. R. Planché: "The Earls of Worcester and Hertford," in "Journal of the British Archaeological Association," Vol. XXVI, footnotes pp. 150-51. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," New Edition, Vol. III, p. 243.)

XVIII. Adeliza of Clermont in Beauvaisis, daughter of Hugh and Marguerite of Montdidier, married (first) Gilbert FitzRichard,

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also styled "de Clare" and "de Tonbridge," Lord of Clare and Tonbridge, son of Richard FitzGilbert and Rohese Giffard. He was born before 1066 and died in 1114 or 1117. He founded the Priory of Clare in 1090, and in 1107-11 he received from Henry I the lordship of Cardigan. Adeliza married (second) Bouchard de Montmorency. Children of first marriage: 1. Richard FitzGilbert or de Clare, Lord of Clare, died April 15, 1136; married Adeliza, sister of Ranulph "des Gernons," Earl of Chester. 2. Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, died September 14, 1148; married Elizabeth or Isabel, daughter of Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester and Count of Meulan, and Isabella of Vermandois and Valois. 3. John. 4. Walter. 5. Henry. 6. Baldwin. 7. Rohese. 8. Adeliza, of whom further. 9. Margaret, married William Montfitchet.

(J. R. Planché: "The Earls of Worcester and Hertford," in "Journal of the British Archæological Association," Vol. XXVI, footnotes, pp. 150-52. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Old Edition, Vol. VI, p. 196; New Edition, Vol. III, pp. 242-43 and footnotes.)

XIX. Adeliza de Clare, daughter of Gilbert FitzRichard or de Clare and Adeliza of Clermont in Beauvaisis, married Alberic (2) de Vere. (Vere II.)

(J. R. Planché: "The Earls of Worcester and Hertford," in "Journal of the British Archæological Association," Vol. XVII, footnote, p. 152. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Old Edition, Vol. VI, p. 161. A. Collins: "Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Holles, Vere, Harley and Ogle," p. 219. J. Bridges: "History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire," Vol. II, p. 251.)

XX. Sir Robert (1) de Vere, of Drayton, son of Alberic (2) and Adeliza (de Clare) de Vere, married Maud de Furnell or Furneval.

XXI. Sir Henry de Vere, son of Sir Robert (1) and Maud (de Furnell or Furneval) de Vere, died in 1193-94.

XXII. Sir Walter de Vere or *de Drayton*, of Drayton, son of Sir Henry de Vere, married Lucy Basset, daughter of Richard or Gilbert Basset, of Weldon.

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XXIII. Sir Henry de Drayton, of Drayton, son of Sir Walter and Lucy (Basset) de Vere or de Drayton, died in 1253.

XXIV. Sir Baldwin de Drayton, of Drayton, son of Sir Henry de Drayton, married Idonea de Gimeges, daughter of Hugh or Robert de Gimeges.

XXV. Sir John de Drayton, of Drayton, son of Sir Baldwin and Idonea (de Gimeges) de Drayton, married (first) Philippa de Arderne, daughter of Robert de Arderne, and (second) Alice, whose surname is not recorded.

XXVI. Catherine de Drayton, daughter of Sir John de Drayton and probably his first wife, married, as his second wife, Sir Henry (1) Greene. (Greene I.)

XXVII. Sir Henry (2) Greene, son of Sir Henry (1) and Catherine (de Drayton) Greene, married Maud Mauduit, daughter of Sir Thomas Mauduit, of Wiltshire.

XXVIII. Sir John Greene, son of Sir Henry (2) and Maud (Mauduit) Greene, married Margaret Greene, daughter of Walter Greene, of Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

XXIX. Isabella Greene, daughter of Sir John and Margaret (Greene) Greene, married Richard Vere, of Addington, Northamptonshire. (Vere XIII.)

XXX. Elena or Ellen Vere, daughter of Richard and Isabella (Greene) Vere, married Thomas Isham, of Pytchley, Northamptonshire. (Isham—English Line—VIII.)

XXXI. Euseby Isham, of Ringstead, Northamptonshire, son of Thomas and Elena or Ellen (Vere) Isham, married Anne Pulton or Poulton, daughter of Giles Pulton, of Desborough, Northamptonshire.

XXXII. Gregory Isham, of Braunston, Northamptonshire, son of Euseby and Anne (Pulton or Poulton) Isham, married Elizabeth Dale, daughter of Matthew Dale, of Bristol, England.

XXXIII. Sir Euseby Isham, of Pytchley and Braunston, son of Gregory and Elizabeth (Dale) Isham, married Anne Borlase, daughter of John Borlase, of Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire.

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XXXIV. *William Isham*, son of Sir Euseby and Anne (Borlase) Isham, married Mary Brett, sister of Sir Edward Brett, of Bexley, Kent.

XXXV. *Captain Henry Isham* of Bermuda Hundred, Henrico County, Virginia, son of William and Mary (Brett) Isham, married Katherine (Banks) Royall, widow of Joseph Royall or Ryall.

XXXVI. *Anne Isham*, daughter of Captain Henry and Katherine (Banks-Royall) Isham, married Colonel Francis (3) Eppes, of Henrico County, Virginia. (Eppes III.)

XXXVII. *Colonel Francis (4) Eppes*, son of Colonel Francis (3) and Anne (Isham) Eppes, married Sarah, whose surname is not known.

XXXVIII. *Ann Eppes*, daughter of Colonel Francis (4) and Sarah Eppes, married Benjamin Harris.

XXXIX. *Sarah Harris*, daughter of Benjamin and Ann (Eppes) Harris, married John Perratt (1) Steger. (Steger II.)

XL. *John Perratt (2) Steger*, son of John Perratt (1) and Sarah (Harris) Steger, married Rebekah Macon Harris. (Eppes V, Child 2.)

XLI. *Kennon Harris Steger*, son of John Perratt (2) and Rebekah Macon (Harris) Steger, married Mary Elizabeth Wall.

XLII. *Helen Grey Steger*, daughter of Kennon Harris and Mary Elizabeth (Wall) Steger, married Alexander Heath Simpson. (Simpson III.)

XLIII. *John Russel Simpson*, son of Alexander Heath and Helen Grey (Steger) Simpson, married Susan Alberta Strother. (Strother—American Line—IX.)

Charles Newton Teetor

Manufacturer and Inventor

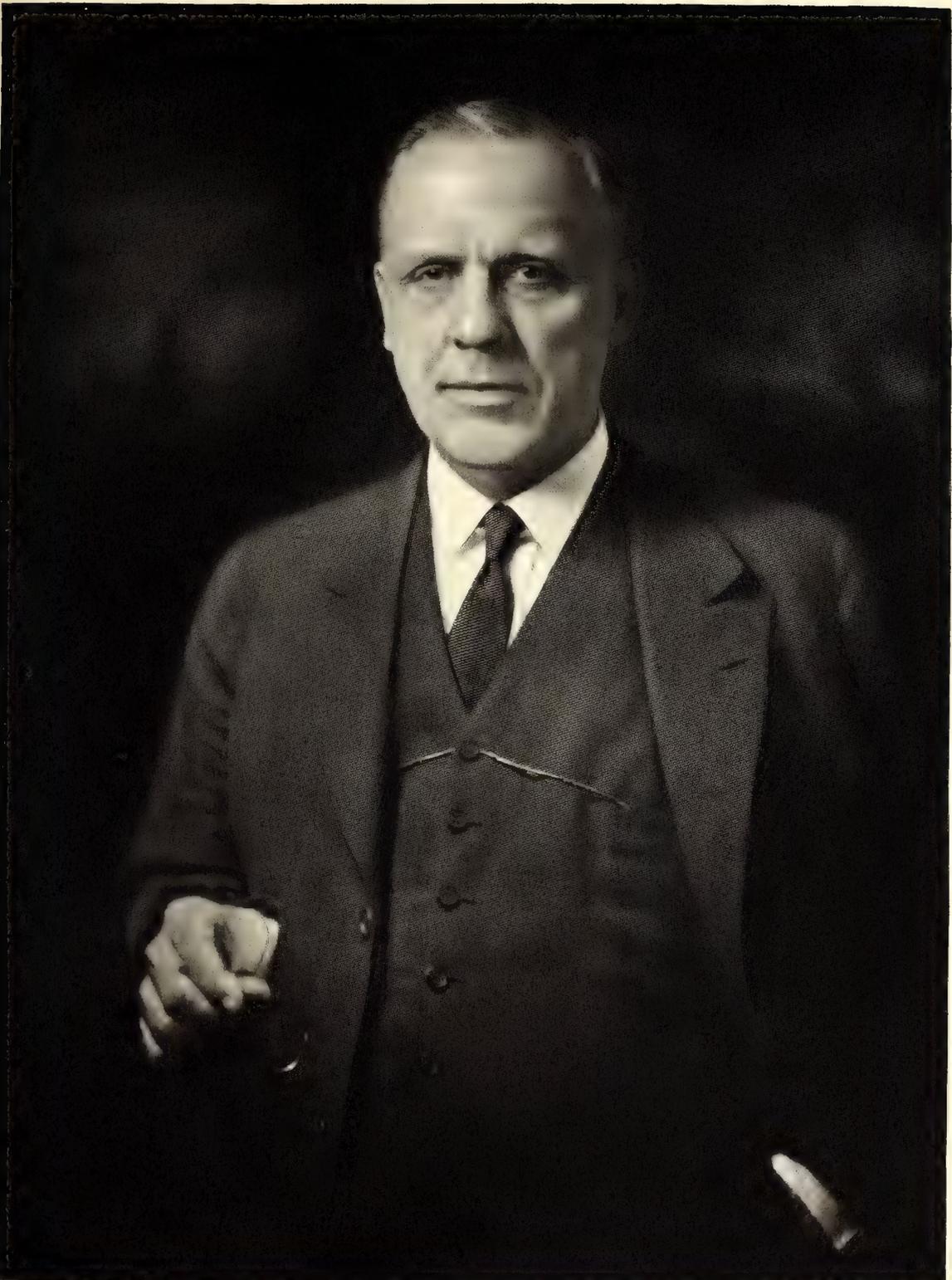
BY WALTER S. FINLEY, CLEVELAND, OHIO



CONTRIBUTING his mechanical talents in a constructive way, first in the bicycle manufacturing business and then in the automobile industry, Charles Newton Teetor, of Hagerstown, Indiana, distinguished himself as an inventor and a manufacturer. He was president of the Perfect Circle Company, an outgrowth of the Indiana Piston Ring Company, and in this and other connections he devised many important mechanical improvements or else directed the work being done to effect such improvements. He had many other diversified interests, such as mining, agriculture, art and music. His achievements were numerous and worth while, earning for him wide admiration and confidence, and his generosity and fair-mindedness were qualities for which he was respected, honored and loved.

Mr. Teetor was born December 15, 1870, in Hagerstown, Indiana, son of Zachariah and Barbara (Hoover) Teetor. His family was an old one, of Swiss origin. The name was originally spelled Dieterich, later Dieter and Dietrich. His great-great-grandfather, Abraham Dieter, was born in Switzerland, and settled in Pennsylvania after coming to American shores. His son was Abraham Dieter, father of Abraham Teetor, who married Elizabeth Ulrich. Their son, Zachariah Teetor, Charles N. Teetor's father, became a gristmill operator; and it was around his water-powered mill that Charles N. Teetor found his first outlet for the mechanical and inventive impulse that was already present in him in early childhood.

The contours and flavors of Hagerstown life, always dear to Mr. Teetor throughout his career, formed the earlier influences of boyhood, and in this way were important in the shaping of his character. The natural setting was one of beauty; and the perpetual power of old Nettle Creek, long ago harnessed by his ancestors before the



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advent of the modern internal combustion motor, was a source of deep interest in him, during those formative years. He worked about the old mill property as soon as he became old enough to do so, continuing these labors in summer vacation periods and in off-hours in the years when he attended the local schools in winter months. Thrown on his own resources when only fourteen, Charles N. Teetor served as a farm hand. In 1891 he became a student at the Teachers' College at Lebanon, Ohio. Two years later, in 1893, he started work with the Standard Manufacturing Company, and later, for a time, was with the Arrow Bicycle Manufacturing Company, in Indianapolis. He then opened his own small bicycle repair shop in Muncie, where he made the first really definite headway along the path of his own individual career. It was in his shop at Muncie that among other achievements, he sketched the original drawing of a vehicle which he later patented as the first railway cycle car, making the design with a piece of chalk on the floor of his little one-room workshop.

He consummated the actual building of his first railway cycle in a shop in New Castle, Indiana, in the autumn of 1894, having gone to New Castle earlier in that year to become a mechanical engineer with the Speeder Bicycle Manufacturing Company. In the same autumn he obtained permission from the Pennsylvania Railroad to make a test run from New Castle to Hagerstown. Four miles out, the machine broke down, and he was obliged to carry it back to New Castle. Finally a successful test run was made over the twelve miles of track in fifty-five minutes. This vehicle was adopted for railway and other uses, and was the forerunner of the motor-driven type of conveyance. One of his other attainments in New Castle was the designing of a new kind of bicycle, although most of his energy at that period went into the new railway cycle. The Railway Cycle Manufacturing Company was organized in Hagerstown, in 1895, with meager capitalization. From small beginnings this industry grew and, in 1902, it became the Light Inspection Car Company. After the company had developed a well-known automobile motor, the name of the Teetor-Hartley Motor Company was adopted in 1914. The motor division was sold to the Ansted interests, of Connersville, Indiana, in 1918, and the local industry became the Indiana Piston Ring Company, devoting its interests to the manufacturing and

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development of piston rings. The Perfect Circle Company, which was the outgrowth of the Indiana Piston Ring Company, was so named in 1926.

Progress to this stage meant years of struggle for Mr. Teetor, but the struggle was crowned with success. He and his associates were eventually supplying cycle cars to railways as far distant as South America and Europe. And when the Perfect Circle Company came into existence, plants sprang into being in different centers. In addition to those at Hagerstown and Tipton, a large foundry was established in 1928 at New Castle, Indiana, for moulding the castings from which the piston rings were made. In 1932 another large plant was opened in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, to facilitate the handling of the increased export trade. Total production mounted to three hundred fifty thousand rings per day, including more than seventy types of rings. The Teetor laboratory was one of the largest and finest in the United States automobile industry.

Nor did years of absorption in business and industrial ventures dim Mr. Teetor's enthusiasm for the arts of invention. In leisure moments it was his custom to turn out some new mechanical device to improve the automobile motor or to be otherwise serviceable to his contemporaries in the realms of activity that he knew so well. The Teetor automobile motor came into being as early as 1909—the first four-cylinder *en bloc* motor of its type in the United States. He also, at one time, invented and manufactured a small gasoline engine for farm purposes. His ingenuity brought into existence numerous other devices that were never formally patented or commercially used. Whenever Mr. Teetor was missing, friends learned to look for him in his laboratory or workshop. He commented, on one occasion, concerning his long hours of work: "If I had quit work every time the whistle blew, there would not have been any whistle left to blow." He made and patented many articles, some of which were never commercially developed. A portable dump body for trucks, of his design, was about to be manufactured at the time of his death. Near the loved old mill in Hagerstown he constructed a fine airplane motor, a water pump, which stood in the "old mill house"—driven by a modern water-wheel—the same energy that propelled the gristmill of his father. He also had mining and industrial interests.

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Mr. Teetor's greatest satisfaction lay in helping other people. As "The Circle," a monthly magazine published for employees of the Perfect Circle Company, commented:

Charles N. Teetor's key to happiness was in doing things for others. Not a day passed that he didn't do something to increase the happiness and welfare of someone. . . . During the recent flood crisis he was first in the line of action. The morning after the need was known, he sent 1,000 pounds of cooked ham and a great quantity of clothing into the flooded district. He also offered the use of the Hagerstown Perfect Circle plant recreation room to house and feed flood refugees.

He loved children. A few years ago he brought the children from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Knightstown to Hagerstown to enjoy a real picnic dinner at his grove west of town. For the children of Hagerstown and community he made a swimming pool near his home on Nettle Creek. Each year at Christmas time he had a prominent part in the Business Men's Christmas Party for the children and made many families happy with Christmas gifts and baskets of food.

In Hagerstown and his district Mr. Teetor also built and equipped the public library and provided a playground for children. Mr. Teetor was also a loyal member of many organizations—the National Travel Club, the Columbia Club of Indianapolis, the Society of Automotive Engineers, and the First Church of Christ Scientist (Hagerstown). In his church he held practically all offices except that of clerk.

Toward the close of his life he devoted more time to farming, which he thoroughly enjoyed. His chief hobbies were fishing and mining. He devoted a great amount of time to developing oil fields, gold mines and other mining properties. His greatest success along these lines was in mining fluorspar, a material used in the manufacturing process of steel and glass making. Of his fondness of fishing, one commentator wrote:

Daily feeding of the fish in the ponds near his home was a diversion. There was a peaceful stillness to the splash of a big fish. Forbidding his friends ever to catch any of the fish, he jokingly remarked that he knew each one of them by name.

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Perhaps his chief hobby was fishing. With an agreeable companion he liked to sit by the hour "watching for a bite"—either in Florida streams or along the rapids of the northland.

A short while ago he invited "The Zook Boys," his brothers and some intimate friends to join in a Canadian fishing trip. They reminisced their boyhood dreams, ambitions and told stories of pranks of their school days. Someone has said that the love of fishing is a fair index to a man's character.

The same writer added, along slightly different lines:

Billy, the tiny black and tan pup, was nearly always at his side. They rode together in the car and when he sat down Billy hopped upon his master's lap. A few weeks ago Billy went to the Business Men's Club with him and "Uncle Charley" snatched a few bites of meat from the plates of those seated around him. On close observation they discovered he was tucking it down into his coat pocket where Billy was comfortably nestled awaiting his lunch.

One never knew when to expect a prank or joke from "C.N." One day he appeared at the club, wearing the garb of a Korean gentleman, after returning from a trip abroad.

When called upon to talk in public, he always left a worth while constructive thought, brimming with sensible philosophy.

Mr. Teetor enjoyed unusual and delectable foods. He liked to visit the marketplace and buy rare fruits and vegetables, which he shared with his friends. Not long ago he invited a group of Perfect Circle executives to the Hartley Hills Country Club for lunch. They were served with a delicious turkey dinner, the turkeys raised on his farm and barbecued on a broiler which he designed and built himself.

Perhaps the slogan of The Perfect Circle Company, which he served for many years as president, "Quality, Integrity, Service," also typifies in brief the character and personality of its founder.

Outstanding in Mr. Teetor's character, too, in addition to these qualities mentioned by others, was his fondness for music, landscaping and travel, enjoyments that Mrs. Teetor shared with him. Mr. and Mrs. Teetor traveled extensively together, not only in this country, but in foreign lands. They visited Alaska, old Mexico and each of the continents of the world except Australia. In their earlier trips they usually took with them some of the younger children, and in later journeys a few friends were taken as traveling companions. Another interest that Mr. and Mrs. Teetor shared, especially, was education.



Mrs. Leora E. Tector.

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They not only educated their own children carefully and thoroughly, and each in line with his temperament and special individuality, but they extended financial assistance to numerous less fortunate youths who were struggling against many obstacles in an effort to obtain college training. Since Mr. Teetor's death, his wife has continued to advance this kind of help to worthy young people.

Charles Newton Teetor married, August 25, 1892, in Hagerstown, Indiana, Leora Estella Nicholson, daughter of Thomas and Mary Elizabeth (Macy) Nicholson. Her father was engaged in farming at Hagerstown, where Mrs. Teetor was born and educated. She served as president of the State League of Women Voters, led in the work of the Hagerstown League of Women Voters, and early became a member of the Woman's History Club, Progressive Club, the Social Circle, and president of the Wayne County Council. In the words of Edwin V. O'Neel, publisher of the Hagerstown "Exponent," she "lives the Golden Rule in her daily life, and emulates the Biblical spirit of 'the Second Mile.' Throughout the years she has inculcated into the lives of her four sons and daughter that same spirit of the Golden Rule." Thoroughly cognizant of the realities of poverty and misfortune, she has done much to assist the plain substantial folk of her community. Her children received, through her husband's efforts and her own, the benefits of a musical, as well as a regular college education, and three of the sons became professional musicians. Her splendid characteristics as a mother proved helpful to the people of Hagerstown, among whom she presented, from earliest years, a fine example of earnest living and unceasing consideration of others. She was one of two Indiana women chosen, April 6, 1942, by the American Mothers' Committee of the Golden Rule Foundation as "Associate American Mother for 1942." On that occasion many friends and acquaintances paid high tribute to Mrs. Teetor. In addition to Mr. O'Neel, mentioned above, commentators included Frank M. Cory, superintendent of Hagerstown public schools; William H. Ball, of the Ball Brothers Company, of Muncie, Indiana; L. S. Bowman, secretary of the Indiana Republican Business Men's Committee, and former State Auditor of Indiana, and Evelyn Hindman, of Hagerstown. Mrs. Hindman concluded: "Mrs. Teetor

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and her family have been the means of making Hagerstown the biggest little town in this country."

Mr. and Mrs. Teetor became the parents of the following children: 1. Edison Lothair Teetor, of Hagerstown, succeeded his father as president of the Perfect Circle Company; served for two years as president of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce and, in 1941, organized the Indiana Republican Business Men's Committee; during the first World War he served nineteen months on the flagship "Pennsylvania" as a member of the military band, and he and his brother, Macy Orville, were aboard this ship when it convoyed President Woodrow Wilson to France and back to the United States. Edison Lothair Teetor married Hilda Jessup, of Anderson, Indiana, and they became the parents of three children: i. Charles. ii. Benjamin. iii. Barbara. 2. Macy Orville Teetor serves as executive engineer of the engineering division of the Perfect Circle Company at Hagerstown; married (first) Lucille Alcus, of New Orleans, Louisiana, and they became the parents of two children: i. Macy Orville, Jr. ii. Joan. He married (second) Emilie McKenzie Hoskins, of New Orleans. 3. Donald Hartley Teetor, manager of the replacement sales division of the Perfect Circle Company in Hagerstown; was formerly a player in the college orchestra which made two tours around the world; married Elizabeth Sinclair, of Highland Park, Illinois, and they became the parents of two children: i. Thomas Sinclair. ii. Constance. 4. Herman Clinton Teetor, sales promotion manager of the Perfect Circle Company in Hagerstown; married Harriet Newby, of New Castle, Indiana, and they became the parents of two children: i. Joyce. ii. David. 5. Winifred Blanche Teetor, formerly with the investment branch of the Perfect Circle Company; married Delbrook Lichtenberg, of Indianapolis, Indiana, who is plant manager of the Perfect Circle Company; they became the parents of two children: i. Deborah. ii. Christeen. At the time of this writing (1942) they make their home in Hagerstown.

The death of Charles N. Teetor, May 2, 1937, at Hagerstown, Indiana, was an occasion of profound sorrow. Many glowing tributes were paid him, his life and work, at that time, both orally and in written form, in both prose and verse. As one writer said, "One cannot help being a better person for having known Charles N. Teetor."



"Lightcroft"
Residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles V. Tector

CHARLES NEWTON TEETOR

Others referred to his kindness, generosity and sympathy, to the triumphs over seemingly insurmountable early obstacles, to his fine sense of reality. We might best close with an excerpt from the pen of an old schoolmate, L. S. Bowman, written in 1931 while Mr. Teetor was alive and actively engaged in the work of his busy career. This tribute in verse closed as follows:

Though with success and wealth and fame
He always has remained the same
He still knows every boyhood friend
And wants his friendship till the end.

When God had made our whole blamed crew,
He said, "Let's make a good man, too."
He then created Charley Teetor,
And gave our gang a Real World Beater.

Nicholson, Macy and Allied Families

BY LEORA E. (NICHOLSON) TEETOR, HAGERSTOWN, INDIANA



HE surname Nicholson and its variants, Nicholes, Nicholl, Nicholls, Nichols, Nickalls, Nickels, etc., are of baptismal origin, meaning "the son of Nicholas" from Nichol or Nicol, a diminutive for Nicholas. Nichol was in popular favor as directories amply prove. William *fil.* Nicoll was in County Salop in 1273; Joane Nicholsonne was baptized in St. Peter's Church, Cornhill, in 1562 and, in 1687, James Nicholson and Ann Goodman were married at Canterbury.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Nicholson Line)

Arms—Azure two bars ermine on a chief argent three suns proper.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet gules a lion's head ermine.

Motto—*Per castra ad astra.*

(Arms in possession of the family.)

I. *Christopher Nicholson*, earliest recorded member of his family, was listed in a Minute Book, 1680-1774, of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, according to the "Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy." He was called "of Perquimans River, Albemarle Co." This county existed in North Carolina between 1663 and 1751, but was discontinued as its districts subsequently became counties.

Christopher Nicholson married (first) Hannah, who died probably between 1678 and 1679. He married (second), in a meeting at the house of Francis Toms, 2-11-1680, Ann Atwood. Children of the first marriage: 1. Samuel, born 1-12-1665. 2. Hannah, born 1-4-1667. 3. Joseph, born 7-26-1670. 4. John, born 10-17-1673; married Priscilla Tomes. 5. Nathaniel, born 10-7-1675. 6. Benjamin, born 9-26-1678. Children of the second marriage: 7. Elizabeth, born 11-13-1680. 8. Sarah, born 6-15-1682. 9. Christopher, of whom further.

(William Wade Hinshaw: "Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy," Vol. 1, pp. 1, 14, 64. F. Douglas Halverson: "County Histories of the United States.")



Nicholson

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

II. Christopher Nicholson, of Perquimans Monthly Meeting, son of Christopher and Ann (Atwood) Nicholson, died 3-23-1723. He was listed in the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting.

He married, 11-22-1707, Mary Pool. Among their children was: Thomas, of whom further.

(William Wade Hinshaw: "Encyclopedia of American Quakers Genealogy," Vol. I, pp. 108, 154.)

III. Thomas Nicholson, son of Christopher and Mary (Pool) Nicholson, was born in 1714. He married, at Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 2-18-1733, Mary Hill, who died November 27, 1770, aged sixty-four or sixty-five years. Children: 1. Christopher, born 12-28-1733/4. 2. Joseph, born 2-15-1736. 3. Miriam, born 3-12-1738. 4. Nicholas, of whom further. 5. Mary, born 4-3-1744; married, 1-20-1762, John Morris. 6. Caroline, born 6-21-1748, died 10-16-1753. 7. Margrate, born 1-1-1752 (n. s.).

(*Ibid.*, pp. 109, 154.)

IV. Nicholas Nicholson, son of Thomas and Mary (Hill) Nicholson, was born 4-7-1741.

Nicholas Nicholson produced a certificate to marry, 11-4-1762, and was reported married, at Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, 12-1-1762, to Sarah White, who died 4-22-1800, aged fifty-six years, daughter of Thomas White. The marriage was officiated 11-17-1762. Children: 1. Rachel, born 7-20-1763. 2. Mary, born 4-30-1766. 3. Thomas, born 1-14-1768, died 8-12-1770. 4. Lydia, born 8-4-1770, died 1-17-1774. 5. Joseph, born 10-17-1772. 6. Matthew, born 2-1-1775. 7. Nathan, of whom further. 8. Sarah, born 12-15-1778. 9. Miriam, born 3-10-1781.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 64, 109.)

V. Nathan Nicholson, son of Nicholas and Sarah (White) Nicholson, of Perquimans County, North Carolina, was born 12-22-1776, and was probably deceased before 1832, when his three minor sons, a daughter and his wife requested certificates to Milford Monthly Meeting, Wayne County, Indiana. The requests were made at Suttons Creek Monthly Meeting and are recorded as follows:

1832, 4, 14. George, Nathan & Parker, minor s. Peninah, rqct Milford MM Wayn Co., Ind.

1832, 4, 14. Peninah & dt, Peninah, rqct Milford MM.

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Nathan Nicholson married, at Suttons Monthly Meeting, Perquimans County, North Carolina, 5-16-1799, Peninah Parker, daughter of John Parker, of Perquimans County, North Carolina. Children, first eight recorded in minutes of Suttons Creek Monthly Meeting: 1. John, born 4-14-1800. 2. Sarah, born 9-5-1801. 3. Pharaby, born 5-12-1803. 4. Tempa, born 4-30-1808. 5. Esther, born 11-30-1809. 6. Mary, born 1-24-1812. 7. George, of whom further. 8. Nathan, born 7-21-1816. 9. Parker, called a "minor" in 1823. 10. Peninah, requested removal with her mother in 1832 to Milford Monthly Meeting.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 185, 186, 198, 199.)

VI. George Nicholson, son of Nathan and Peninah (Parker) Nicholson, was born, according to the minutes of Suttons Creek Monthly Meeting, Perquimans County, North Carolina, 4-1-1814. He was called one of the minor sons of Peninah Nicholson in 1832, when he requested a certificate of removal to Milford Monthly Meeting, Wayne County, Indiana.

George Nicholson married Lucinda Dennis, who was born in 1816 and died in 1893, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Wilson) Dennis, of Wayne County, Indiana, and granddaughter of William Dennis, who was born in 1769, died in 1847, and who married Delilah Hobbs. Thomas Dennis was a pioneer of Dalton, Wayne County, Indiana, where he entered land allotted by the government. Children of George and Lucinda (Dennis) Nicholson: 1. Elizabeth, married Wilson Reynolds. 2. Mary, married (first) Mr. Jessop; (second) Mr. Parker; (third) Mr. Hall. 3. Henry. 4. Thomas, of whom further. 5. Peninah, married Mr. Stanton.

(*Ibid.* Family records.)

VII. Thomas Nicholson, son of George and Lucinda (Dennis) Nicholson, was born in Wayne County, Indiana, and died in October, 1876. He was a farmer.

Thomas Nicholson married Mary Elizabeth Macy. (Macy VIII.) Children: 1. Leora Estella, of whom further. 2. Macy, married (first) Eva Sinclair; (second) Kate Nelson. (Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England XXXVII.)

(Family records.)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VIII. Leora Estella Nicholson, daughter of Thomas and Mary Elizabeth (Macy) Nicholson, married, August 25, 1892, Charles Newton Teetor.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Gayer Line)

Arms—Ermine, a fleur-de-lis and a chief sable.

(Roll of Arms in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXXII, p. 156.)

The surname Gayer is believed to derive from the old form "Gare," originally written "de la Gare" or "atte Gare," and would seem to indicate locality. The early meaning of "gare" or "gair" was a "gore" of land, and perhaps signifies residence nearby.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," pp. 1-2.)

(The Family in England)

I. Reginald Gayer was of Liskeard in Cornwall, and died December 4, 1519.

He married Alice Courtenay, daughter of Edward and Alice (Wotten) Courtenay. (Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England XXIV.)

(A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," pp. 1-2. T. Westcote: "A View of Devonshire in 1630," pp. 673-75.)

II. John Gayer, son of Reginald and Alice (Courtenay) Gayer, died in 1593. He was a member of Parliament from Cornwall in 1553, 1557 and 1571. The name of his wife is not known. Children: 1. Reginald. 2. Otho or Otys. 3. Stephen, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Stephen Gayer, son of John Gayer, married Jane Tembrace, daughter of William Tembrace. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

IV. John Gayer, son of Stephen and Jane (Tembrace) Gayer, married Sibell Treffrey, daughter of Thomas Treffrey. Child: 1. Thomas, of whom further.

(A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," pp. 9-10.)

V. Thomas Gayer, son of John and Sibell (Treffrey) Gayer, married, but the name of his wife has not been found. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VI. John Gayer, son of Thomas Gayer, married Margaret Trelawney, daughter of Robert Trelawney, of Tidiver. Child: 1. Humphrey, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VII, p. 972.)

VII. Humphrey Gayer, son of John and Margaret (Trelawney) Gayer, married Jane Spark, who was living at Plymouth, England, in 1694. Children: 1. Jane, married Mr. Lee. 2. Joan, married Mr. Hooker. 3. William, of whom further. 4. Elizabeth, married Mr. Matthews. 5. Mary. 6. Sir John, Governor of Bombay in 1694; died in 1712 without issue.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLV, p. 188. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VII, p. 972. A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," p. 5.)

(The Family in America)

I. William Gayer, son of Humphrey and Jane (Spark) Gayer, progenitor of the family in America, came from Devonshire, England, and settled at Nantucket, then under the jurisdiction of New York, where he died 23rd 7mo. 1710. His will, dated September 21, 1710, was proved October 24, 1710.

He was a farmer, justice of the peace, one of the first representatives to the General Court, June 8, 1692, following the island's transfer from the Colony of New York to the Province of Massachusetts Bay; was one of five judges appointed in 1704 by the Governor of Massachusetts. William Gayer was called "Mr." in the old records and was a respected citizen.

William Gayer married (first) at Nantucket, Dorcas Starbuck. (Starbuck II-A.) He married (second) Mary Guard, a widow. Children of the first marriage: 1. Damaris, born October 24, 1673; married Nathaniel Coffin. (Second Coffin Line II, Child 3.) 2. Dorcas, of whom further. 3. William, Jr., born June 3, 1677, died in England in 1712/3; married, in England, Elizabeth Gayer, his cousin.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXVII, pp. 297, 298. T. C. Amory: "The Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Baronet," p. 85. "Vital Records of Nantucket," Vol. II, p. 83; Vol. III, p. 539; Vol. V, pp. 326, 327. L. S. Hinchman: "Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 161. A. Starbuck: "History of Nantucket," p. 803.)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

II. Dorcas Gayer, daughter of William and Dorcas (Starbuck) Gayer, was born August 29, 1675, and died 10th 11mo. 1747.

She married Jethro Starbuck. (Starbuck III-B.)

(A. Starbuck: "History of Nantucket.")

(The Macy Line)

Arms—Quartered gules and or, one and four charged with a fleur-de-lis.

Crest—A lion's head erased. (Arms in possession of the family.)

The surname Macy or Massy is from Macei, near Avranch in Normandy.

Robert de Maysey and William de Macy are on record in the Hundred Rolls of Wiltshire, and Walter Masci in those of Huntingdonshire, A. D. 1273.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Thomas Macy, American progenitor of this family, was born about 1608 and died at Nantucket, April 15, 1682; administration of his estate, in Essex County, Massachusetts, was granted August 1, 1682, to his son, John. He came from Chilmark, near Salisbury, County Wilts, England, to New England, where the earliest mention found is when he was made a "freeman" at Newbury, Massachusetts, September 6, 1639.

He became one of the first settlers in the part of Salisbury later established as Amesbury. He was a selectman, deputy to the General Court, and was prosecuted and fined for allowing four "Friends who were on a journey, to take refuge in his house for three-quarters of an hour on a rainy day in 1659." He was "of the Baptist persuasion and would frequently exhort the people on the Sabbath." Because he refused to help support the Puritan ministers, he was forced to leave Massachusetts, and with his wife and five children, removed to the island of Nantucket. He was among those who purchased the island from Thomas Mayhew, deed dated July 2, 1659, and the family is recorded with the early settlers. He was the first "Recorder" appointed on Nantucket and at least a portion of the first Book of Records was written by him.

Thomas Macy married, in England, 9th 6mo. 1639, Sarah Hopcott, who was born about 1612 and died in 1706. Children, recorded at Nantucket, and said to have been born in Salisbury: 1. Sarah,

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born July 9, 1644, died young. 2. Sarah, born August 1, 1646, died at Nantucket in 1701; married there April 11, 1665, William Worth. 3. Mary, born December 4, 1648, died at Nantucket, in 1729; married William Bunker. 4. Bethia, born in 1650, died at Nantucket, in 1732; married Joseph Gardner. (Gardner II-A, Child 1.) 5. Thomas, born September 22, 1653, died at Nantucket, December 3, 1675; unmarried. 6. John, of whom further. 7. Francis, born in 1657, died in 1658.

(Alexander Starbuck: "History of Nantucket." David W. Hoyt: "Old Families of Amesbury." "Folger Manuscripts," in Nantucket printed records. Sylvanus J. Macy: "Genealogy of the Macy Family from 1635-1868," p. 21. "Vital Records of Salisbury, Massachusetts." "Vital Records of Nantucket," taken from the Records of the Society of Friends.)

II. John Macy, son of Thomas and Sarah (Hopcott) Macy, was born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, July 14, 1655, and removed with his parents to Nantucket, where he died October 14, 1691. He was a "house carpenter."

John Macy married Deborah Gardner. (Gardner III-B.) Children, all born at Nantucket: 1. John, born in 1675, died at Nantucket in 1751; married there in 1707, Judith Worth. 2. Sarah, born April 3, 1677, died at Nantucket, March 18, 1748; married John Barnard. (Barnard II, Child 3.) 3. Deborah, born March 3, 1679, died at Nantucket, August 16, 1742; married, in 1708, Daniel Russell. 4. Bethia, born April 8, 1681, died June 29, 1738; married (first) Joseph Coffin; (Second Coffin Line II, Child 8). She married (second) John Renouff. 5. Jabez, born in 1683, died at Nantucket in 1776; married, in 1712, Sarah Starbuck. (Starbuck III-B, Child 1.) 6. Mary, born in 1685, died at Nantucket in 1715; married, in 1711, Solomon Coleman. 7. Thomas, of whom further. 8. Richard, born September 22, 1689, died at Nantucket, December 25, 1779; married (first), in 1711, Deborah Pinkham; (second), in 1769, Alice Paddock.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Thomas Macy, son of John and Deborah (Gardner) Macy, was born at Nantucket about 1687 and died there March 20, 1759.

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Thomas Macy married, June 8, 1708, Deborah Coffin, daughter of John and Deborah (Austin) Coffin. (First Coffin Line—Family in America—I, Child 8.) Children: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Robert, born about 1710, died at Nantucket in 1771; married Abigail Barnard. 3. Love, born in 1713, died at Nantucket in 1767; married Joseph Rotch. 4. Francis, born in 1715, died at Nantucket in 1793; married Judith Coffin. 5. Nathaniel, born in 1717, died at Nantucket in 1783; married Abigail Pinkham. 6. Lydia, born in 1720, died at Oblong, New York, in 1785; married, at Nantucket, in 1748, Jethro Coleman. 7. Elizabeth, born in 1722, died at Nantucket in 1765; married Francis Barnard. 8. Thomas, born in 1724, died in infancy. 9. Deborah, born in 1726. 10. Anna, born in 1730, died at Nantucket in 1789; married, at Nantucket, February 1, 1753, Richard Worth. 11. Hephzabeth, born in 1734; married Thomas Davis.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Joseph Macy, son of Thomas and Deborah (Coffin) Macy, was born at Nantucket in 1709 and died there February 28, 1772. Joseph Macy married, at Nantucket, February 23, 1727-28, Hannah Hobbs, daughter of Benjamin Hobbs. Children, all born at Nantucket: 1. Mary, born July 13, 1729; married (first) Paul Way; (second), at Guilford County, North Carolina, December 26, 1776, James Anthony. 2. Thomas, born May 1, 1731; married, at Nantucket, in 1755, Mary Starbuck. 3. Bethiah, born April 3, 1733; married, at Nantucket, December 4, 1755, Nathaniel Swain. 4. Joseph, of whom further. 5. Henry, born October 22, 1737, died in North Carolina in 1816; married (first), at Nantucket, January 31, 1760, Sarah Swain; (second), at New Garden, North Carolina, March 24, 1791, Elizabeth (Hussey) Coffin. 6. Paul, born April 22, 1740, died in Ohio in 1832; married (first), at Nantucket, December 31, 1761, Bethia Macy; (second), January 26, 1817, Deborah Cogeshall. 7. Enoch, born May 11, 1743, died in North Carolina; married, at Nantucket, December 29, 1763, Anna Macy.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Joseph (2) Macy, son of Joseph and Hannah (Hobbs) Macy, was born at Nantucket, October 4, 1735, and removed to New Gar-

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den, Guilford County, North Carolina, where he was received into the New Gardner Monthly Meeting, December 31, 1774.

Joseph Macy married, at Nantucket, December 8, 1757, Mary Starbuck. (Starbuck V.) Children, the first eight recorded at Nantucket and four at Center Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina: 1. Anna, born 7-26-1758, died at Randolph, North Carolina, in 1808. 2. Hannah, born 7-31-1761, died in Guilford County, North Carolina, 12-3-1775. 3. Elizabeth, born 10-14-1763, died in Indiana in 1845; married, at Center, North Carolina, in 1782, Uriah Barnard. 4. Joseph, born 9-1-1765, died in France. 5. Mary, born 10-21-1767, died in North Carolina. 6. Rhoda, born 12-26-1769, died in Randolph County, Indiana, in 1837. 7. William, of whom further. 8. Albert, born 2-4-1774, died in Randolph County, Indiana, May 10, 1847; married Nancy Wall. 9. Hannah, born 3-18-1776, died in Wayne County, Indiana, in 1853; married Mendsey Wall. 10. Phebe, born 3-26-1778, died at Vermillion County, Illinois, December 31, 1859; married, at New Garden, North Carolina, October 24, 1799, John Lamb. 11. Reuben, born 5-29-1780, died in Wayne County, Indiana, November 12, 1858; married Lucy Petty. 12. Judith, born 11-4-1783, died in Williamsburgh, Indiana; married Joseph Way.

(*Ibid.* William Wade Hinshaw: "Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy," Vol. I, pp. 558, 661.)

VI. William Macy, son of Joseph and Mary (Starbuck) Macy, was born at Nantucket, 2-7-1772, and removed with his parents to Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1774. In 1818 he removed to Union County, Indiana.

William Macy married, at Stokes County, North Carolina, in 1799, Mary Barnard. (Barnard VI.) Children: 1. Obed, born December 14, 1801, died in Los Angeles, California, in 1858; married Lucinda Polk. 2. Tristram, born October 15, 1803, died in Rush County, Indiana, in 1863; married Mary Swain. 3. Stephen, born October 4, 1805, died in Knox County, Indiana, September 27, 1826; unmarried. 4. John W., of whom further. 5. Jonathan, born June 6, 1810, living in 1868 at Manonk, Illinois; married Elizabeth Bruce. 6. Reuben, born July 12, 1812, living in 1868 at Manonk,



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR



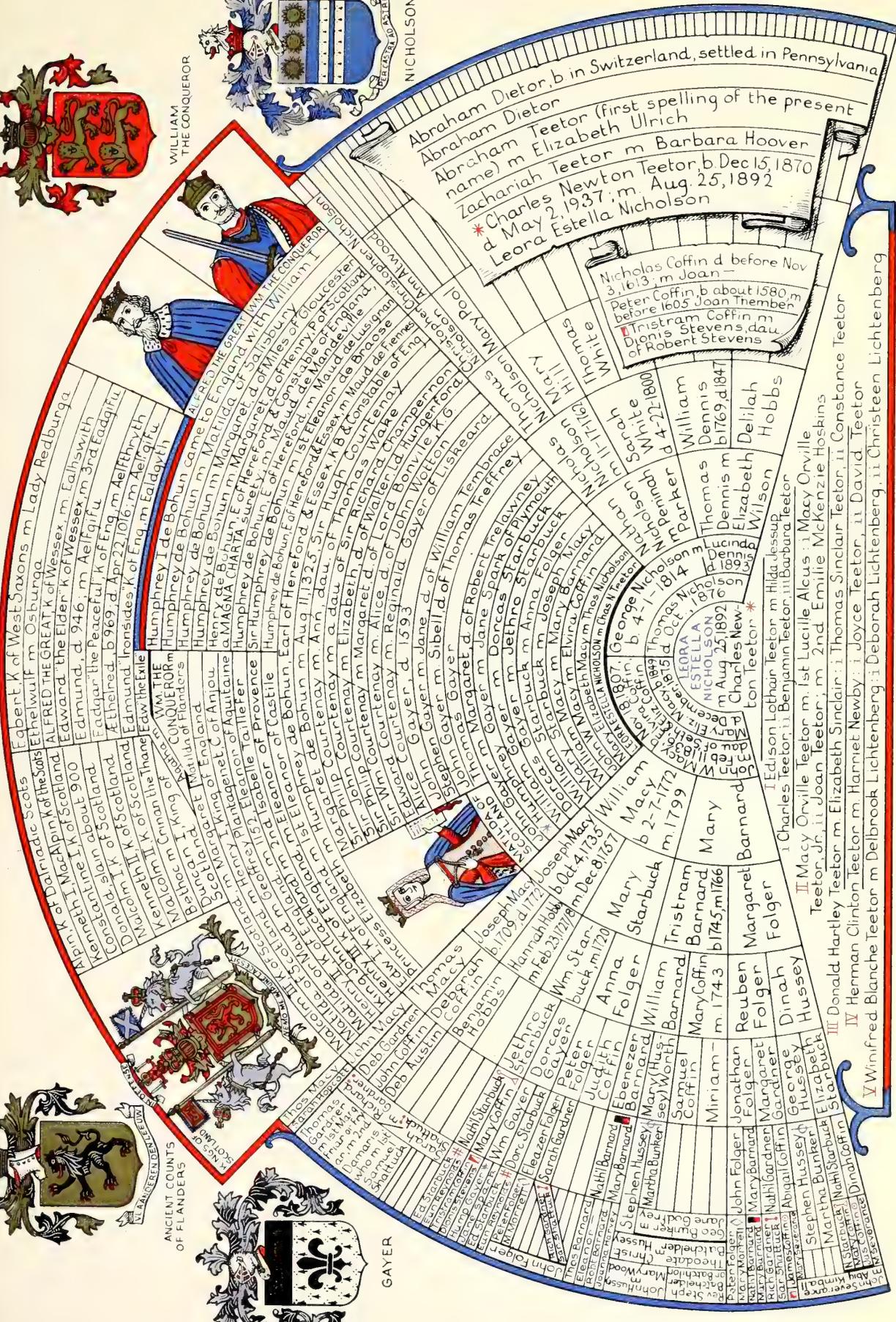
NICHOLSON



ANCIENT COUNTS OF FLANDERS



GAYER



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Illinois; married Maria Gardner. 7. Franklin, born December 19, 1814, died in Thornton, Indiana, in 1868; married Ann Wetherald. 8. Thomas Clark, born May 9, 1818, in 1868 resided in Dunlapville, Indiana; married, in 1840, Eleanor Horsman. 9. Rhoda, born June 15, 1820; in 1868 resided in Liberty, Indiana; married, in Union County, Indiana, in 1840 Gideon Gardner. 10. Emily, born September 19, 1824, resided in Liberty, Indiana, in 1868; married Seth Newby, of Emporia, Kansas.

(Sylvanus J. Macy: "Genealogy of the Macy Family from 1635-1868," pp. 203-04.)

VII. John W. Macy, son of William and Mary (Barnard) Macy, was born at New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina, November 18, 1807, and was living at Dalton, Indiana, in 1868.

John W. Macy married, in North Carolina, February 11, 1836, Elvira Coffin, daughter of Seth and Elizabeth Coffin. Children: 1. Sebastian, born December 15, 1837. 2. Amanda, born January 6, 1840. 3. Horatio, born November 10, 1841, died in the army, December 21, 1864. 4. Cordelia, born October 15, 1845, died September 18, 1849. 5. Mary Elizabeth, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 295.)

VIII. Mary Elizabeth Macy, daughter of John W. and Elvira (Coffin) Macy, was born in Rush County Indiana, December 29, 1849, and died in December, 1875.

She married Thomas Nicholson. (Nicholson VII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Barnard Line)

Arms—Argent on a bend azure three escallops or. (Burke: "General Armory.")

The surname Barnard is of baptismal origin, for "the son of Bernard" or "Barnard." The Cistercian monks gave a great impetus in the twelfth century to this name, already popular. The name increased in numbers in Furness after 1127, when the Cistercians founded the Abbey under the Bernardine rule. Other forms of this name are Barnet and Barnett.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Thomas Barnard, the American progenitor of this family, was born in England about 1612 and was killed by Indians about 1677.

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Administration of the estate of "Thomas Barnard, Sr.," was granted, October 9, 1677, to the widow, Eleanor. He came to New England about 1640 and settled in the part of Salisbury that later became Amesbury, Massachusetts, where he served as justice of the peace in 1667.

Thomas Barnard married, in England, Eleanor, who died at Newbury, Massachusetts, November 27, 1694. She married (second), at Newbury, July 19, 1681, George Little. Children, all recorded at Salisbury: 1. Thomas, born May 10, 1641, died at Amesbury, in 1715; married Sarah Peasley. 2. Nathaniel, of whom further. 3. Mary (twin), born September 22, 1645; married (first), in 1669, Anthony Morse; (second), in 1678, Philip Eastman. 4. Martha (twin), born September 22, 1645; married (first), in 1667, Thomas Haynes; (second), in 1685, Samuel Buckman. 5. Sarah, born September 28, 1647, died at Salisbury, September 10, 1718; married William Hackett. 6. Hannah, born November 29, 1649; married Benjamin Stevens. 7. Ruth, born October 16, 1651, died at Haverhill, Massachusetts, November 5, 1723; married, at Amesbury, in 1671, Joseph Peasley. 8. John, born January 12, 1654, died at Amesbury in 1718; married there in 1676, Frances (Hoyt) Colby. 9. Abigail, born January 20, 1656; married, in Salisbury, in 1681, Samuel Fellows.

("Essex County Probate Records," Vol. III, p. 169. David W. Hoyt: "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury," p. 49.)

II. Nathaniel Barnard, son of Thomas and Eleanor Barnard, was born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, January 15, 1642-43, and died at Nantucket, May 3, 1718. He left a will dated April 7, 1718, proved June 11, 1718, wherein he bequeathed to his grandson, Nathaniel Barnard, the land at Wesco "that I had from my father-in-law, Robert Barnard" and named his sons John, Stephen, Nathaniel, Ebenezer, and daughters Mary Folger, Sarah Currier, Eleanor Coffin and Abigail Chase and granddaughter Experience Ellis.

Nathaniel Barnard married his cousin, Mary Barnard, daughter of Robert and Joanna (Harvey) Barnard. She was born about 1645 and died at Nantucket, March 7, 1717-18. Children of Nathaniel and Mary (Barnard) Barnard, all born at Nantucket: 1. Mary,

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born February 24, 1667; married John Folger. (Second Folger Line III.) 2. Hannah, born July 19, 1669, died unmarried. 3. John, born February 24, 1670, died at Nantucket in 1745; married Sarah Macy. (Macy II, Child 2.) 4. Nathaniel, born November 24, 1672, died at Nantucket in 1718; married (first) Elizabeth (Starbuck) Coffin; (second), in 1706, Dorcas Manning; (third), in 1709, Judith Folger. 5. Stephen, born February 16, 1674, died at Nantucket in 1748; married (first) Damaris Gardner; (second), in 1708, Hopcott Gardner. 6. Sarah, born March 23, 1677, died at Amesbury, before 1749; married, in 1700, Thomas Currier, of Amesbury. 7. Benjamin, died at Nantucket in 1729; married there in 1711, Judith Gardner. (Gardner III-D, Child 4.) 8. Ebenezer, of whom further. 9. Abigail, married Abraham Chase, of Martha's Vineyard.

(“Nantucket Historical Association Bulletin,” p. 305. A. Starbuck: “History of Nantucket,” pp. 670-71.)

III. Ebenezer Barnard, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Barnard) Barnard, was born at Nantucket about 1691 and died there May 4, 1767.

He married, at Nantucket, in 1722, Mary (Hussey) Worth. (Hussey III-A.) Children, born at Nantucket: 1. Stephen, born in 1723; married (first) Eunice Starbuck; (second), in 1754, Phebe Swain. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Jemima, born in 1726; married Tristram Coffin. 4. Lydia, born in 1730; married Jonathan Folger. 5. Martha, born in 1733, died in infancy.

(A. Starbuck: “History of Nantucket,” p. 673.)

IV. William Barnard, son of Ebenezer and Mary (Hussey-Worth) Barnard, was born at Nantucket in 1724 and died there July 11, 1771. He called himself a “cooper” in his will and bequeathed his estate to his wife, Mary, and his children.

William Barnard married, in 1743, Mary Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam Coffin. She was born in Nantucket in 1724, and died there August 28, 1777. Children: 1. Tristram, of whom further. 2. Miriam, married (first), in 1765, Tristram Macy; (second) Job Coggeshall. 3. Lydia, married Seth Coffin. 4. Paul, lost at sea; married, August 9, 1778, Phebe Macy. 5. Eunice, married, in 1773, William Swain. 6. Obed, married Elizabeth Coffin. 7.

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Mary, married Aaron Coffin. 8. Phebe, born December 28, 1763; married, in 1780, Gilbert Coffin.

(“Nantucket Historical Association Bulletin,” pp. 329, 334.)

V. Tristram Barnard, son of William and Mary (Coffin) Barnard, was born at Nantucket in 1745. He removed with his wife and two children to North Carolina, where they were received on certificate from Nantucket Monthly Meeting into membership of the New Garden Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina, 1773-9-23. He and his family were given a certificate to Silver Creek Monthly Meeting Indiana, 1818-8-29.

Tristram Barnard married at Nantucket, January 2, 1766, Margaret Folger. (Second Folger Line VI.) Among their children were: 1. William, married at North Carolina, 12-1-1805, Matilda Gardner. 2. Mary, of whom further.

(W. W. Hinshaw: “Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy,” Vol. I, pp. 524, 525.)

VI. Mary Barnard, daughter of Tristram and Margaret (Folger) Barnard, married in Stokes County, North Carolina, in 1799, William Macy. (Macy VI.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The First Folger Line)

Arms—Azure, on a bend between two bundles of five arrows each argent, three mullets of the field. (Arms in possession of the family.)

Folger is a surname of baptismal origin from the Old English name Fulk and with its many variants signifies “the son of Fulk.”

(C. W. Bardsley: “Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.”)

It has been supposed, from certain statements made in the genealogical notes of Benjamin Franklin, a descendant of the Folger family, that the Folgers were of Flemish origin and were established in England at the time of Queen Elizabeth. His collection of information is said to constitute practically all that is known of the early history of the family in America. These records are very complete, however, and indicate that the family took an important part in the life and affairs of the early settlement of Nantucket, Massachusetts, from its founding.

(Rhode Island Edition, “New England Families,” pp. 144-45.)

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I. John Folger was of the parish of Diss, Norwich, Norfolkshire, England, and died at Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, about 1660. He came to Massachusetts in 1635, in the same ship with Hugh Peters and brought with him his son, Peter. They first went to Watertown, Massachusetts, where, in 1642, John Folger was possessed of a homestead and six acres of land. He accompanied Thomas Mayhew, Jr., to Martha's Vineyard in 1641, and here John Folger came to own a house, upland, commonage and meadow land.

John Folger married (first) a wife, who died in England, but whose name is not of record; (second), in New England, Meribah Gibbs, who was living in 1664. Child of the first marriage: 1. Peter, of whom further.

(A. Starbuck: "The History of Nantucket, Massachusetts," p. 740. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVI, p. 269. L. S. Hinchman: "Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 67. James Savage: "Dictionary of First Settlers of New England.")

II. Peter Folger, son of John Folger and his first wife, was born in England in 1618 and died at Nantucket in 1690. He came to New England with his father and settled with him at Martha's Vineyard, where he taught school, surveyed land and assisted Thomas Mayhew in his missionary work among the Indians. He was originally of the Baptist faith, but later became a member of the Society of Friends. Although he was not a proprietor of Nantucket, he was an early settler, having removed to the island in 1653. He was chosen clerk and recorder of the court July 21, 1673.

Peter Folger married, in 1644, Mary Morrell, who died in 1704. He paid Rev. Hugh Peters £20 for her release from indenture to him, which he declared "was the best appropriation of money he had ever made." Children: 1. Joanna, married John Coleman. 2. Bethia, married February 25, 1669 John Barnard; both were drowned in a shipwreck in 1669 between Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. 3. Dorcas, married Joseph Pratt. 4. Eleazer, of whom further. 5. Bathsua, married Joseph Pope. 6. Patience, married (first) Ebenezer Harker; (second) James Gardner. (Gardner II-A, Child 6.) 7. John, of whom further. (Second Folger Line III.) 8. Experience, married John Swain, Jr. 9. Abiah, born August 15, 1667, died in 1752; married, November 25, 1689, as his second wife, Josiah Frank-

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lin. They became the parents of Benjamin Franklin. The Daughters of the American Revolution erected a monument in her honor on the house-lot of her father, Peter Folger, at Nantucket.

("Vital Records of Nantucket," Vol. III, p. 462. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVI, pp. 269-70. L. S. Hinchman: "Early Settlers of Nantucket," pp. 67, 68, 257. A. Starbuck: "History of Nantucket, Massachusetts," pp. 740-41.)

III. Eleazer Folger, son of Peter and Mary (Morrell) Folger, was born at Martha's Vineyard in 1648 and died at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1715. He was a man of ability, and at the time of his death a representative at the General Court. He was granted a half share in Nantucket to serve as shoemaker.

Eleazer Folger married, in 1671, Sarah Gardner. (Gardner III-A.) Children: 1. Eleazer, Jr., born July 2, 1672; married (first) Bethia Gardner; (second) Mary Marshall. 2. Peter, of whom further. 3. Sarah, born August 24, 1676; married Anthony Odar. 4. Nathan, born in 1678, died 2-7 mo.-1747; married, December 29, 1699, Sarah Church, who died 13-2 mo.-1745, daughter of John and Abigail Church, of Dover, New Hampshire, and sister of Colonel Benjamin Church, leader and commander of the party by whom King Philip was slain in August, 1676. 5. Mary, born February 14, 1684; married John Arthur. 6. Daniel, died in infancy. 7. Elisha, died in infancy.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Peter Folger, son of Eleazer and Sarah (Gardner) Folger, was born August 28, 1674, and died in 1707.

He married Judith Coffin. Among their children was: 1. Anna, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Anna Folger, daughter of Peter and Judith (Coffin) Folger, married William Starbuck. (Starbuck IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Second Folger Line)

Arms, introduction, generations I and II, same as First Folger Line.

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III. *John Folger*, son of Peter and Mary (Morrell) Folger, was born in 1659. He married Mary Barnard. (Barnard II, Child 1.) Among their children was: 1. Jonathan, of whom further.

(A. Starbuck: "The History of Nantucket," p. 740. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVI, p. 269. L. S. Hinchman: "Settlers of Nantucket," p. 67. James Savage: "General Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England.")

IV. *Jonathan Folger*, son of John and Mary (Barnard) Folger, married Margaret Gardner. (Gardner IV-B.) Among their children was: 1. Reuben, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *Reuben Folger*, son of Jonathan and Margaret (Gardner) Folger, married Dinah Hussey. (Hussey IV.)

Among their children was: 1. Margaret, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. *Margaret Folger*, daughter of Reuben and Dinah (Hussey) Folger, married Tristram Barnard. (Barnard V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Hussey Line)

Arms—Quarterly, first and fourth, or, a cross vert charged with a mullet of the first; second and third barry of six ermine and gules.

Crest—A hind lodged under an oak tree proper, ducally gorged and chained or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The Hussey name is an old one in the history of England, being traced to one Hugh Hoesé, who came to England from Normandy with William the Conqueror in 1066; the name in French being De Hosey, through a series of transitions anglicized to Hussey. In 1172 a branch was planted in Ireland, in the counties of Dublin and Meath, then held by Hugh de Lacy. In County Meath, the De Hoseys were made Barons of Galtrim and they also held possessions in Ely O'Carroll and the county about Birr, in the present Kings County, and in ancient Thomand, embracing the present counties of Limerick and Clare. Branches were also found in many counties of England, notably in Surrey.

John Hussey died in England in 1638. He was married, December 5, 1593, to Mary Wood, who died in America, June 16, 1660. Among their children was: Christopher, of whom further.

("Massachusetts Biography," Vol. XII, p. 191. "Pennsylvania Biography," Vol. VI, p. 2215.)

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I. *Christopher Hussey*, son of John and Mary (Wood) Hussey, the American progenitor, was born in Dorking, Surrey, England, about 1597 and died March 6, 1686, when the ship in which he was sailing was wrecked on the Florida coast.

He came to Massachusetts Colony with his mother and his father-in-law, the Rev. Stephen Batchlor or Batchelder, in the ship "William and Francis," arriving at Boston, June 6, 1632. He settled first at Lynn and later at Newbury, Massachusetts. In 1638-39, Christopher Hussey removed to Hampton, New Hampshire, where he served as representative at the General Assembly in 1658, 1659 and 1660. He was also a counsellor of the province and assisted in the settlement of Haverhill, Massachusetts. A devout member of the Society of Friends (Quakers), in association with others of that faith, he signed a protest against an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts, which enactment made it a "misdemeanor for anyone to preach to the people on the Sabbath, who was not a regularly ordained minister of the church." The court threatened severe measures to all concerned, and many of them openly apologized, but not Christopher Hussey. He was one of an association of nine who purchased the island of Nantucket and when the religious persecutions in Massachusetts became too strong, removed to the island.

Christopher Hussey married (first), in England, Theodate Batchelder, daughter of the Rev. Stephen Batchlor or Batchelder. She died in October, 1649. He married (second), after 1658, a widow, Ann Mingay, who died June 24, 1680. Children of the first marriage: 1. Stephen, of whom further. 2. John, baptized at Lynn, Massachusetts, February 28, 1636, removed to Hampton, New Hampshire, and later to Newcastle, Delaware; married, September 2, 1659, Rebecca Perkins. 3. Joseph. 4. Huldah, married Lieutenant John Smith, son of John Smith, of Martha's Vineyard. 5. Mary, baptized at Newbury, Massachusetts, April 2, 1637; married (first) Thomas Page; (second) Henry Green; (third) Henry Dow. 6. Theodate, baptized February 23, 1640.

(*Ibid.* Joseph Dow: "History of Hampton, New Hampshire," pp. 758, 761.)

II. *Stephen Hussey*, oldest son of Christopher and Theodate (Batchelder) Hussey, was born in England about 1630 and died at Nantucket, April 2, 1718.

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He married, October 8, 1676, Martha Bunker, daughter of George and Jane (Godfrey) Bunker. Children: 1. Puella, born October 10, 1677; married Shubael Gorham. 2. Abigail, born December 22, 1679; married Thomas Howes. 3. Silvanus, born May 13, 1682; married (first) Abiah Brown; (second) Hepzibah Starbuck. 4. Batchelder, born February 18, 1684; married Abigail Hall. 5. Daniel, born October 20, 1687, died before his father. 6. Mary, of whom further. 7. George, of whom further. 8. Theodate, born September 11, 1700; married James Johnson.

(*Ibid.*)

III-A. *Mary Hussey*, daughter of Stephen and Martha (Bunker) Hussey, was born March 24, 1689-90, and died at Nantucket, January 8, 1771. She married (first), at Nantucket, Jonathan Worth; (second) Ebenezer (3) Barnard. (Barnard III.)

(*Ibid.*)

III-B. *George Hussey*, son of Stephen and Martha (Bunker) Hussey, was born June 21, 1694.

He married Elizabeth Starbuck. (Starbuck III-A, Child 1.) Among their children was: 1. Dinah, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. *Dinah Hussey*, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Starbuck) Hussey, married Reuben Folger. (Second Folger Line V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Starbuck Line)

The surname Starbuck, according to M. A. Lower, is derived from the old Norse, "bokki," means *vir grandis corpore et animo*. Hence "Storbocki" from Stor, great, *vir impervious*. The name means literally, "great man or leader," and is first found in English records in the poll tax for the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the year 1379. However, C. W. Bardsley gives the name a local derivation, from "Starbeck," a hamlet between Ripon and Knaresborough.

(M. A. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.") C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *Edward Starbuck*, immigrant ancestor of this family, was born in 1604 and died February 4, 1690-91. He came to America about

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1635 from Derbyshire, England, with his wife. He settled in Dover, New Hampshire, where he was mentioned June 30, 1643, when he received a grant of forty acres of land on each side of Fresh River at Cutchecho, and also one plot of marshland above Cutchecho Great Marsh. He received other grants of land, including one of marshland in Great Bay in 1643, one with mill privilege at Cutchecho Second Falls (with Thomas Wiggin) and one of timber to "accommodate" in 1650. He was one of the foremost settlers of Dover, a representative of the town from 1643 to 1646 and undoubtedly would have lived comfortably there until his death, had he not embraced the Baptist faith. He was the owner of extensive properties and was a man of substance. Despite this, he fell into disrepute because he differed in his belief from the Puritans of his day. The persecutions inflicted by the Puritans forced him to join Thomas Macy in his voyage from Salisbury to Nantucket. They arrived at Nantucket in the autumn of 1659. He was active in official affairs and at one time was a magistrate.

Edward Starbuck married, in England, Eunice Reynolds, of Welsh parentage. Children: 1. Sarah, married (first) William Story; (second) Joseph Austin; (third) Humphrey Varney. 2. Nathaniel, of whom further. 3. Dorcas, of whom further. 4. Abigail, married Peter Coffin. (First Coffin Line—Family in America—I, Child 1.) 5. Esther, married Humphrey Varney. 6. Jethro, was run over by a cart and killed, May 27, 1663, at the age of twelve.

(L. S. Hinchman: "The Early Settlers of Nantucket," pp. 19-23. "Nantucket Vital Records to 1850," Vol. V, p. 542.)

II-A. Dorcas Starbuck, daughter of Edward and Eunice (Reynolds) Starbuck, married William Gayer. (Gayer I.)

(L. S. Hinchman: "The Early Settlers of Nantucket," pp. 19-23. "Nantucket Vital Records to 1850," Vol. V, p. 542.)

II-B. Nathaniel Starbuck, son of Edward and Eunice (Reynolds) Starbuck, was born in England about 1634 and died at Nantucket, August 6, 1719. He was the only son of Edward Starbuck who lived to perpetuate the name and became a man of great influence and a wealthy landowner.

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Nathaniel Starbuck married, in 1662, Mary Coffin. (First Coffin Line—Family in America—II.) Children, all born at Nantucket: 1. Mary, first white child born at Nantucket, 30th 3mo. 1663; married James Gardner. 2. Elizabeth, born 9th 9mo. 1665; married (first) Peter Coffin, son of Peter and Abigail (Starbuck) Coffin (First Coffin Line—Family in America—I, Child 1.) 3. Nathaniel, of whom further. 4. Jethro, of whom further. 5. Barnabas, born in 1673, died 21st 9mo. 1732; unmarried. 6. Eunice, born April 1, 1674, died 12th 7mo. 1776; married George Gardner. (Gardner II-B, Child 4.) 7. Priscilla, born 24th 8mo. 1676, died March 14, 1762; married John Coleman. 8. Hepzibah, born April 2, 1680, died 7th 2mo. 1740; married Thomas Hathaway, of Darmouth, Massachusetts. 9. Ann, died unmarried. 10. Paul, died unmarried.

(“New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. VIII, pp. 68, 129. R. A. Douglas: “Lithgow, Nantucket, a History of Nantucket,” p. 803. “Vital Records of Nantucket, Massachusetts,” Vol. II, pp. 492, 496, 500, 505, 507-09; Vol. IV, pp. 395, 400, 401; Vol. V, pp. 540, 546.)

III-A. Nathaniel Starbuck, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, was born August 9, 1666, and died January 29, 1753.

He married Dinah Coffin. (Second Coffin Line II, Child 5.) Among their children was: 1. Elizabeth, who married George Hussey. (Hussey III-B.)

(“New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. VIII, pp. 68, 129. A. Starbuck: “The History of Nantucket, Massachusetts,” p. 803.)

III-B. Jethro Starbuck, son of Nathaniel and Mary (Coffin) Starbuck, was born in Nantucket, December 14, 1671, and died there August 12, 1770. He is said to have lived the longest of any inhabitant of Nantucket. He served as a member of the board of selectmen for many years, and was a trustee for the £50,000 granted by the General Court 5th 1mo. 1721. He was one of the signers of a letter to “Friends at ye yearly meeting To be held in *Rhoad* Island,” requesting that they be allowed to hold a monthly meeting, and in 1730-31 he was on the committee to choose a site for the new meetinghouse.

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Jethro Starbuck married, December 6, 1694, Dorcas Gayer. (Gayer II.) Children: 1. Sarah, born 20th 12 mo. 1696/7; married Jabez Macy. (Macy II, Child 5.) 2. William, of whom further. 3. Eunice, born 4th 12mo. 1701/2; married Daniel Pinkham, son of Richard Pinkham. 4. Lydia, born 15th 7mo. 1704; married Benjamin Barney, of Rhode Island. 5. Thomas, born 12th 10mo. 1706; married Rachel Allen. 6. Dorcas, born 13th 2 mo. 1710. 7. Jemima, born 2nd 5mo. 1712, removed from Nantucket in 1761; married Silvanus Allen, son of Edward and Ann Allen. 8. Mary, born 8th 7mo. 1715; married Richard Mitchell, son of Richard and Elizabeth Mitchell.

(“New England Historical and Genealogical Register,” Vol. VIII, p. 129. A. Starbuck: “The History of Nantucket, Massachusetts,” Vol. II, pp. 495, 496, 498, 501, 504, 510; Vol. IV, pp. 395, 396, 398, 399, 403, 404; Vol. V, pp. 542, 544, 548, 549.)

IV. William Starbuck, son of Jethro and Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, was born 22nd 5mo. 1699, and died 17th 10mo. 1760.

He married (first), 9th 10mo. 1720, Anna Folger. (First Folger Line V.) He married (second), 28th 8mo. 1751, Lydia Coleman, daughter of Jeremiah and Sara Coleman. Among the children of the first marriage was: 1. Mary, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Mary Starbuck, daughter of William and Anna (Folger) Starbuck, married Joseph Macy. (Macy V.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Gardner Line)

Arms—Argent, a griffin's head erased sable.

(Burke: “General Armory.”)

The surname Gardner is one of occupational origin for “the gardner.” In the hundred rolls it appeared at Le Gardner and Le Gardiner, also De Gardine and De Gardenis. Its principal modern forms are Gardner and Gardiner.

(M. A. Lower: “Patronymica Britannica.”)

I. Thomas Gardner, ancestor of the Salem-Nantucket family, was born, according to C. E. Banks in his “Cape Ann Planter,” in the “Tithing of Hurst, Parish of Martock, about five miles from Lym-

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ington, England," about 1592, and died at Salem, Massachusetts, 29th 10mo. 1674. He was buried in the Gardner burying ground, a bank of upland granted to him 15th 3mo. 1639, for which he paid 5s. an acre. One writer says he came from Scotland, but gives no authority and investigation has not confirmed it. A more plausible supposition is that he came from Dorsetshire, since he sailed from Weymouth, received an appointment from the Dorchester Company to an office of honor and responsibility and came over with men mostly from the county of Dorset and the nearby county of Somerset. He was the first man in authority on the soil of what later became Massachusetts Bay Colony. In the record of arriving ships the "Zouch Phenix," which came in the spring of 1624, brought, among others:

Thomas Gardner
Mrs. Thomas Gardner
George, Richard and Joseph Gardner.

In 1626 the Dorchester Company granted permission for the removal of the little colony to the mouth of the "Maumkeag" River and, while many returned to England, the sturdy pioneers who remained became the founders of Salem, Massachusetts. Thomas Gardner lived in that part of Salem now called Peabody. The town records show that on the 11th 11mo. 1635, Townsend Bishop received a grant of land signed by John Endicott, Roger Conant, Thomas Gardner, Jeffrey Massey and others. In the same month Thomas Gardner signed another grant of three hundred acres to Thomas Scruggs. On the 20th 1mo. 1637, he was appointed, with Thomas Onley to "survey all the fences betwixt the meeting house, all westward of the Towne." In 1636 he was made a member of the First Church. The Massachusetts Bay Colony admitted him a freeman, 17th 3mo. 1637, and he was appointed a deputy to the General Court, 26th 7mo. 1637. He was a juror in 1637 and 1638. The town voted that every workingman should devote the seventh day of the first month in 1638 to the repairing of the highway and Thomas Gardner was appointed one of the overseers. He also served as constable, town surveyor and rater. He received grants of land in 1636, 1637, 1639 and 1642.

Thomas Gardner married (first), in England, Margaret Friar or Fryer; (second) Damaris Shattuck, widow of Samuel Shattuck. Chil-

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dren of the first marriage: 1. Lieutenant Thomas, born in England, died at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1682; married (first) Hannah, surname not known; (second) Elizabeth Horne. 2. George, born in England, died at Salem, Massachusetts, August 20, 1679; married (first) Hannah Shattuck, daughter of his father's second wife; (second) Ruth Turner, widow; (third) Elizabeth Stone, widow. 3. Richard, of whom further. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Samuel, born in 1627; married (first) Mary White; (second) Elizabeth Paine, widow. 6. Captain Joseph, married Ann Downing. 7. Sarah, married Benjamin Balch. 8. Miriam, married John Hill. 9. Seeth, married Joshua Conant.

(F. A. Gardner: "Gardner Memorial," pp. 9-18, 21-31, 40. "The Essex Institute Historical Collections," Vol. XXXVII, pp. 83-86, 95-97. "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXV, pp. 48-49. S. Perley: "The History of Salem, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 68. "Essex Court Papers," Vol. XXVI, pp. 85-86. "Essex Probate Records," Vol. CCI, pp. 62-63.)

II-A. Richard Gardner, son of Thomas and Margaret (Friar or Fryer) Gardner, was born in England and died at Nantucket, Massachusetts, 23rd mo. 1668. He received a grant of ten acres at Salem in 1642, with later grants at Salem and Jeffrey's Creek. Richard Gardner was granted a half share at Nantucket, March 28, 1666-67, to carry on his trade of "seaman." His eldest son was also granted a half share to carry on his trade as "shoemaker," February 15, 1667. At this time John Bishop sold to Richard Gardner a tract of land at Wesco Pond, now called Lily Pond. The shape of his lot was so irregular it was called "Crooked Record," with his house on the west side of "Sunset Hill." He held many town offices and represented the "town at New York," but none of the records are in his handwriting.

Richard Gardner married, at Salem, Massachusetts, Sarah Shattuck, daughter of his father's second wife. Children: 1. Joseph, married Bethiah Macy. (Macy I, Child 4.) 2. Sarah, of whom further. 3. Richard, born October 23, 1653; married Mary Austin. 4. Deborah, of whom further. 5. Damaris, born November 21, 1662, died in infancy. 6. James, born May 19, 1664, died February 1, 1741; married (first) Mary Shattuck; (second) Rachel Brown,

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widow of John Brown; (third) Patience (Folger) Harker, widow of Ebenezer Harker; (fourth) Mary (Coffin) Pinkham. (Second Coffin Line II, Child 1.) 7. Miriam, married John Worth. 8. Nathaniel, of whom further. 9. Hope, married John Coffin. (Second Coffin Line II, Child 4.) 10. Love, of whom further.

(F. A. Gardner: "Gardner Memorial," p. 27. "The Essex Institute Historical Collections," Vol. XXXVII, pp. 180, 216, 222. S. Perley: "History of Salem, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 68, 69. A. Starbuck: "The Coffin Family," pp. 55-56.)

II-B. Captain John Gardner, son of Thomas and Margaret (Friar or Fryer) Gardner, was born in 1624 and died May 6, 1706. He was a master mariner and surveyor; served as magistrate in 1680 and judge of probate from 1699 until his death. He was well acquainted with the Indians and assisted them in their government by teaching them the laws of England and deciding difficult cases among them. He was appointed captain and chief military officer of the Island of Nantucket by Francis Lovelace, Governor-General under his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany, of all his Territories in America in 1673.

Captain John Gardner married Priscilla Grafton. Children: 1. Mary, married Jethro Coffin. 2. Ruth, married, as his second wife, James Coffin, Jr. (Second Coffin Line III-B.) 3. Rachel, married John Brown, of Salem, Massachusetts. 4. George, married Eunice Starbuck. (Starbuck II-B, Child 6.)

(L. S. Hinchman: "The Early Settlers of Nantucket," pp. 83-85. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXIV, p. 154.)

III-A. Sarah Gardner, daughter of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, died at Nantucket, December 19, 1729.

She married Eleazer Folger. (First Folger Line III.)

(*Ibid.*)

III-B. Deborah Gardner, daughter of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, was born December 12, 1658.

She married (first) John Macy. (Macy II.) She married (second) Stephen Pease.

(*Ibid.*)

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III-C. Love Gardner, daughter of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, was born May 2, 1672.

She married as his first wife, James Coffin, Jr. (Second Coffin Line III-B.)

(*Ibid.*)

III-D. Nathaniel Gardner, son of Richard and Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, was born 16th 9mo. 1669, and died in 1713.

He married Abigail Coffin. (Second Coffin Line III-A.) Children: 1. Hannah, born 6th 5mo. 1686; married Jabez Bunker. 2. Ebenezer, born 27th 8mo., 1688; married (first), September 1, 1709, Eunice Coffin; (second) Judith Coffin. 3. Peleg, born 22nd 5mo. 1691; married Hepzabeth Gardner. 4. Judith, born 28th 8mo. 1693; married Benjamin Barnard. (Barnard II, Child 7.) 5. Margaret, of whom further. 6. Nathaniel, born 14th 10mo. 1697; married Mary Folger. 7. Andrew, born 26th 10mo. 1699, married Mary Gorham. 8. Abel, of whom further.

(Allen Coffin: "The Coffin Family," pp. 55, 56. A. Starbuck: "The History of Nantucket," pp. 759-60.)

IV-A. Abel Gardner, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, was born at Nantucket, 6th 6mo. 1702, and died 11th 9mo. 1771.

He married, 18th 9mo. 1723, Priscilla Coffin. (Second Coffin Line IV.)

("Vital Records of Nantucket," Vol. III, p. 486. A. Starbuck: "The History of Nantucket," pp. 760, 766-67.)

IV-B. Margaret Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail (Coffin) Gardner, was born 28th 11mo. 1695, and died 16th 5mo. 1727.

She married, in 1716, Jonathan Folger. (Second Folger Line IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The First Coffin Line)

Arms—Vert, between four plates five cross-crosslets argent.

Crest—A pigeon close or, between two roses proper.

Motto—*Post tenebras, speramus lumen de lumine.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

The Coffin or Coffyn family were of Norman origin and once resided in the Chateau of Courtiton about two leagues from Falaise, Normandy. They went to England during, or shortly before, the

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invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066, and are mentioned in the Domesday Book as possessing land in Devonshire. Their seat in England was Portledge in the parish of Alwington, near Bideford in that county. A deed of 1254 shows that Richard Coffin resided there, and it is one of the few estates in England to be owned by the same family from feudal times to the present. In 1881 it was in the possession of John Richard Pine Coffin. Although records of the oldest male line holding this manor are shown in the "Visitation of Devonshire," the exact connection between them and Tristram Coffin, the American pioneer, has not yet been discovered. The name Tristram, however, is unusual enough to identify him with the Coffin family of the parish of Brixton, Devonshire.

(Allen Coffin: "Life of Tristram Coffyn," pp. 5-8, 17.)

(The Family in England)

1. *Nicholas Coffin* resided in the parish of Brixton in Devonshire, England. His will was dated September 12, 1613, and proved November 3, 1613. He named his wife Joan and their five children: 1. Peter, of whom further. 2. Nicholas. 3. Tristram. 4. John. 5. Anne.

(*Ibid.*, p. 18.)

II. *Peter Coffin*, son of Nicholas and Joan Coffin, was born about 1580 and is mentioned in his father's will. His will, dated December 1, 1627, and proved March 13, 1628, provided that his wife was to have the use of his property during her life, after which it was to go to their son, Tristram.

Peter Coffin married, before 1605, Joan Thember, who was born about 1584 and died at Boston, Massachusetts, in May, 1661. She accompanied three of her children to America in 1642. Children. 1. Tristram, of whom further. 2. John, born about 1607, died about 1642. 3. John, born about 1609. 4. Deborah. 5. Eunice, married William Butler. 6. Mary, married Alexander Adams, of Boston, Massachusetts.

(*Ibid.*)

(The Family in America)

I. *Tristram Coffin*, son of Peter and Joan (Thember) Coffin, was born at Brixton, near Plymouth, Devonshire, England, in 1605

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and died at Nantucket, Massachusetts, October 3, 1681. He belonged to the English landed gentry and was heir to his father's estate. In 1642 he sailed for America with his mother, sisters, wife and five children. The first record of him is a deed which he witnessed in 1642, wherein the Indians sold what is now Haverhill, Massachusetts, to a group of settlers. He resided there a short time, and then removed to Newbury, Massachusetts. The town records of Newbury show that in 1644 he was allowed to keep an ordinary and a ferry. In 1654 he removed to Salisbury, and while there signed his name to some documents as "commissioner."

At that time a plan was formed among the citizens of Salisbury to purchase the Island of Nantucket from Thomas Mayhew. The deed is dated July 2, 1659, and was given by Mayhew to nine purchasers, the price being £30 and two beaver hats. The purchasers were Tristram Coffin, Richard Swain, Peter Coffin, Stephen Greenleaf, William Pike, Thomas Macy, Thomas Barnard, Christopher Hussey and John Swain.

July 15, 1681, the owners or purchasers met and house-lots containing sixty rods square were apportioned to each share. Tristram Coffin was a leading spirit among the islanders. Both he and his son were rich proprietors. He and his three eldest sons purchased the Island of Tuckernuck, where he built and maintained a mill for grinding corn and engaged in farming, employing a large number of Indians. June 29, 1671, he was appointed chief magistrate of the island. Among the problems he was faced with was that of Indian relations, and he always enjoyed their respect and confidence. At one time he and his sons owned about one-quarter of the island of Nantucket as well as all of Tuckernuck.

Tristram Coffin married, about 1630, Dionis Stevens, daughter of Robert Stevens, of Brixton, Devonshire, England. Children, first five born in England: 1. Peter, born in 1631; married Abigail Starbuck. (Starbuck I, Child 4.) Their son, Peter, Jr., married Elizabeth Starbuck. (Starbuck II-B, Child 2.) 2. Tristram, Jr., born in 1632; married Judith (Greenleaf) Somerby. 3. Elizabeth, born in 1634-35; married Captain Stephen Greenleaf. 4. James, of whom further. (Second Coffin Line II.) 5. John, died October 20, 1642. 6. Deborah, born November 15, 1643, died young. 7. Mary, of

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whom further. 8. John, born October 30, 1647; married Deborah Austin. 9. Stephen, born May 11, 1652; married Mary Bunker, daughter of George and Jane (Godfrey) Bunker.

(Allen Coffin: "Life of Tristram Coffyn," pp. 18-43, 53-59. L. S. Hinchman: "The Early Settlers of Nantucket," pp. 5-6, 24-28, 158, 217. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXIV, p. 150. "Vital Records of Nantucket," Vol. I, p. 256.)

II. Mary Coffin, daughter of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, February 20, 1645, and died at Sherburne, Nantucket, in 1717. She became a preacher in the Society of Friends, as were also several of her children, two grandsons, and her granddaughter, Priscilla Bunker. Because of her superior judgment, she was often consulted in town affairs. She took an active part in practically every phase of the early life of the town, and it is recorded that she was a "remarkable woman, anticipating by two centuries the advanced views of women of today." She was as distinguished in her domestic economy as she was celebrated as a preacher.

Mary Coffin married Nathaniel Starbuck. (Starbuck II-B.)

("Massachusetts Genealogy," Vol. IV, pp. 2586-88. "Book of Births, Deaths and Marriages for Sherburne," Vol. I, p. 11. L. S. Hinchman: "The Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 29.)

(The Second Coffin Line)

Arms, Introduction, Family in England and Generation I—Family in America, same as First Coffin Line.

II. Hon. James Coffin, son of Tristram and Dionis (Stevens) Coffin, was born in England, August 12, 1640, and died at Nantucket, July 28, 1720. He lived first at Nantucket, but for a while lived at Dover, New Hampshire. He was a member of the Dover Church in 1671 and was made a freeman the same year. He soon returned to Nantucket Island. In June, 1678, Captain Gardner, James Coffin and Nathaniel Starbuck were chosen Prudential Men. In 1682 Hon. James Coffin became one of the patentees of Nantucket and appeared on various committees. He was made first judge of Probate Court for Nantucket.

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Hon. James Coffin married December 3, 1663, Mary Severance, daughter of John and Abigail (Kimball) Severance. Children: 1. Mary, born April 18, 1665; married (first) Richard Pinkham, who died in 1718; (second) as his fourth wife, James Gardner. (Gardner II-A, Child 6.) 2. James, Jr., of whom further. 3. Nathaniel, born at Dover, New Hampshire, in 1671; married Damaris Gayer. (Gayer I, Child 1.) 4. John, born at Nantucket; married, in 1692, Hope Gardner. (Gardner II-A, Child 9.) 5. Dinah, born at Nantucket; married Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. (Starbuck III-A.) 6. Deborah, born at Nantucket; married (first), October 10, 1695, George Bunker; (second) Jonathan Folger. 7. Ebenezer, born at Nantucket, March 30, 1678; married Eleanor Barnard. 8. Joseph, born at Nantucket, February 4, 1679; married Bethia Macy. (Macy II, Child 4.) 9. Elizabeth, born at Nantucket; married (first) Jonathan Bunker; (second) Thomas Clark. 10. Benjamin, born at Nantucket, August 28, 1683, died at sea. 11. Ruth, born at Nantucket; married Joseph Gardner. 12. Abigail, of whom further. 13. Experience, died in infancy. 14. Jonathan, born at Nantucket, August 28, 1692; married Hephzibah Harker.

(A. Starbuck: "History of Nantucket," pp. 19, 21, 29, 32, 64, 74, 78, 700-01. Allen Coffin: "The Coffin Family," pp. 55, 56, 62. L. S. Hinchman: "Early Settlers of Nantucket," pp. 162, 191, 253. "Town Records of Nantucket," Vol. I, pp. 5, 692. "Vital Records of Nantucket," Vol. III, pp. 236, 255-57, 278, 298. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXIV, p. 151.)

III-A. Abigail Coffin, daughter of James and Mary (Severance) Coffin, was born at Nantucket in 1666 and died March 15, 1709.

She married Nathaniel Gardner. (Gardner III-D.)

(*Ibid.*)

III-B. James Coffin, Jr., son of James and Mary (Severance) Coffin, died at Nantucket, August 2, 1741.

He married (first) Love Gardner. (Gardner III-C); (second) Ruth Gardner. (Gardner II-A, Child 2.) Child of the first marriage: 1. Benoni. Children of the second marriage: 2. George, married Ruth Swan. 3. Sarah, born March 9, 1695; married Jeremiah Gardner. 4. Nathan, born November 13, 1696, died Decem-

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ber 4, 1768. 5. Elisha, born August 10, 1699; married Dinah Bunker. 6. Joshua, born September 16, 1701; married Priscilla Bunker. 7. Elizabeth, born October 27, 1703; married Josiah Coffin. 8. Priscilla, of whom further.

(A. Starbuck: "History of Nantucket," pp. 700-04. Allen Coffin: "The Coffin Family," p. 56. "Vital Records of Nantucket," Vol. I, pp. 247, 272, 327, 328; Vol. III, p. 486; Vol. IV, p. 446; Vol. V, p. 160.)

IV. Priscilla Coffin, daughter of James, Jr., and Ruth (Gardner) Coffin, was born at Nantucket, June 3, 1708, and died April 27, 1792.

She married Abel Gardner. (Gardner IV-A.)

(*Ibid.*)

(Mrs. Leora Estella [Nicholson] Teetor Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England)

The period in English history, usually called Anglo-Saxon, goes back to the early ninth century. It derives its name from Alfred the Great, who was the first of the Saxon Kings of England to sign his name "Rex Angul-Saxonum." The origin of the title is not quite clear. It is generally believed to have arisen from the final union of the various kingdoms under Alfred in 886. There is no doubt that the Angles and the Saxons were different nations originally and that they coalesced in early times, before the invasion.

("Encyclopedia Britannica," Fourteenth Edition, Vol. I, p. 409. W. H. Stevenson: "Asser's Life of King Alfred," pp. 148-52.)

I. Ecgbert, Ecgberht or Egbert, King of West Saxons, or King of Wessex, reigned in 802 and died in 839. He conquered the lands south of the Thames River and by his conquests became Lord of England up to the River Firth. He married Lady Redburga and they had a son, Ethelwulf.

(W. Stubbs: "Egbert," in "Dictionary of Christian Biography," Vol. II, pp. 46-49.)

II. Ethelwulf, son of Egbert, and his successor to the kingdom, was deeply honored by his subjects, his name meaning "noble wolf." He married Osburga, and they were the parents of Alfred.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 904-06.)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Ælfred or Alfred the Great, youngest son of Ethelwulf, was born in 849 and died in 901. He was King of Wessex and is famous for the founding of the British Navy, and for bringing culture and civilization to England. He broke the power of the Danes and kept them subdued during his reign. He married Ealhswith and was the father of Eadward.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Eadward, the "Elder," son of Alfred the Great, was King of Wessex. He married, as his third wife, Eadgifu, and they were the parents of Edmund.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Edmund, son of Eadward the "Elder," died in 946. He married Aelfgifu, and they had a son, Eadgar.

(J. R. Green: "The Conquest of England," pp. 268-81.)

VI. Eadgar, son of Edmund, was chosen King of England in 959. He was called Eadgar the Peaceful, and was one of the best kings of that period. He married, as his second wife, Aelfthryth, and they were the parents of Aethelred.

(*Ibid.* "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 365-370.)

VII. Æthelred, son of Eadgar, was born in 969 and died April 22, 1016. He married, as his first wife, Aelfgifu, said to be the daughter of Thored, Earl of the Northumbrians. They had a son, Edmund.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 425-31. E. A. Freeman: "The Norman Conquest of England," Vol. I, pp. 285, 417.)

VIII. Edmund, known as "Ironside," son of Æthelred, became King of England in 1016. His reign lasted but a year and during that time he was perpetually at war with Canute, King of the Danes, until it was finally agreed to divide the kingdom. According to some accounts Edmund was murdered in 1017. He married Ealdgyth, and they had a son, Edward.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 403-05. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. I, p. 132. "Encyclopedia Britannica," Eleventh Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 948.)



WILLIAM I OF ENGLAND

WILLIAM I OF ENGLAND

William I, King of England, called the Conqueror, succeeded his father, Robert, Duke of Normandy, as a mere boy. His precocious aptitude for war and government came from his training in a hard school. At the age of twenty he won the Norman victory that gave him an assured position.

In personal appearance William the Conqueror was tall and corpulent and of powerful physique. He was distinguished by the purity of his married life, in a profligate age, by temperate habits and a sincere piety.

MATILDA OF FLANDERS

The portraits of both William the Conqueror and his Queen-consort, Matilda, were carefully preserved on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel at Caen, until the middle of the seventeenth century. These portraits were painted by order of the Queen, when this magnificent endowment, upon which she bestowed so much of wealth and interest, was founded. We are indebted to the antiquarian Montfauçon, for the present-day knowledge of this portrait, a copy being found in his invaluable work, "Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française."

(Agnes Strickland: "Lives of the Queens of England.")

MATILDA OF HUNTERS

The portraits of both William the Conqueror and his Queen-consort Matilda were first preserved on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel at Caen, until the middle of the seventeenth century. These portraits were painted by order of the Queen, when this magnificent endowment, upon which she bestowed so much of wealth and interest, was founded. We are indebted to the antiquarian Montaignon, for the present knowledge of this portrait, a copy being found in his invaluable work, "Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française."
(Agnes Strickland: "Lives of the Queens of England.")



Matilda of Flanders.

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IX. Edward, the "Exile," son of Edmund, married Agatha, usually described as a sister of Henry II, Emperor of Germany. They had a daughter, Margaret.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VI, pp. 371-73; Vol. XII, p. 1017. C. M. Allstrom: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. I, p. 133.)

X. Margaret, called St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Edward the "Exile," King of England, married Malcolm III, King of Scotland. (Kings of Scotland X.) They were the parents of Matilda.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XII, pp. 844-45.)

XI. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland, married Henry I, King of England, son of William of Normandy, later known as William I, of England, "the Conqueror," who was born in 1027-28, son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and Arletta, daughter of a tanner of Falaise; grandson of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. In 1034, Robert, Duke of Normandy, induced his barons to acknowledge William as his successor. The following year Robert of Normandy died on the return journey from Jerusalem and the barons kept their promise by acknowledging the lordship of the boy, William. The conquest of England in 1066 and the years immediately following gained for William the title of Conqueror, as well as that of King William I, of England. William the Conqueror married Matilda (sometimes recorded as Maud), daughter of Baldwin V, of Flanders, and his wife Adela, daughter of Robert, King of France, who in turn was the son of Hugh Capet, head of the Capetian line of Kings of France.

(*Ibid.*)

XII. Matilda or *Maud*, daughter of Henry I, was left all the possessions of her father, Henry I, but the throne was usurped by her cousin, Stephen. Upon his death it reverted to Henry II, son of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet. Matilda married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou.

(H. B. George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," Fifth Edition, Table III.)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XIII. *Henry II (Henry Plantagenet)*, son of Matilda or Maud and Geoffrey Plantagenet, reigned from 1154 to 1189. He married, in 1152, Eleanor, Countess of Poitou and Aquitaine, daughter of William of Aquitaine.

(*Ibid.*)

XIV. *John (Lackland)*, son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, was born in 1167, reigned from 1199 to 1216. He married, as his second wife, Isabelle Taillefer, of Angoulême, daughter of Adomar Taillefer, Count of Angoulême.

(*Ibid.*)

XV. *Henry III*, son of King John and Isabelle Taillefer, reigned from 1216 to 1272. He married, in 1236, Eleanor, daughter of Raimond Berenger IV, of Provence.

(*Ibid.*)

XVI. *Edward I*, King of England, son of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, married (first), in 1254, Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III, King of Castile and eighth in direct descent from Ferdinand I, first King of Castile.

(J. and J. B. Burke: "The Royal Families of England, Scotland and Wales," Vol. I, p. 31.)

XVII. *Elizabeth*, fifth daughter of Edward I, married Humphrey de Bohun.

(*Ibid.*, p. 32.)

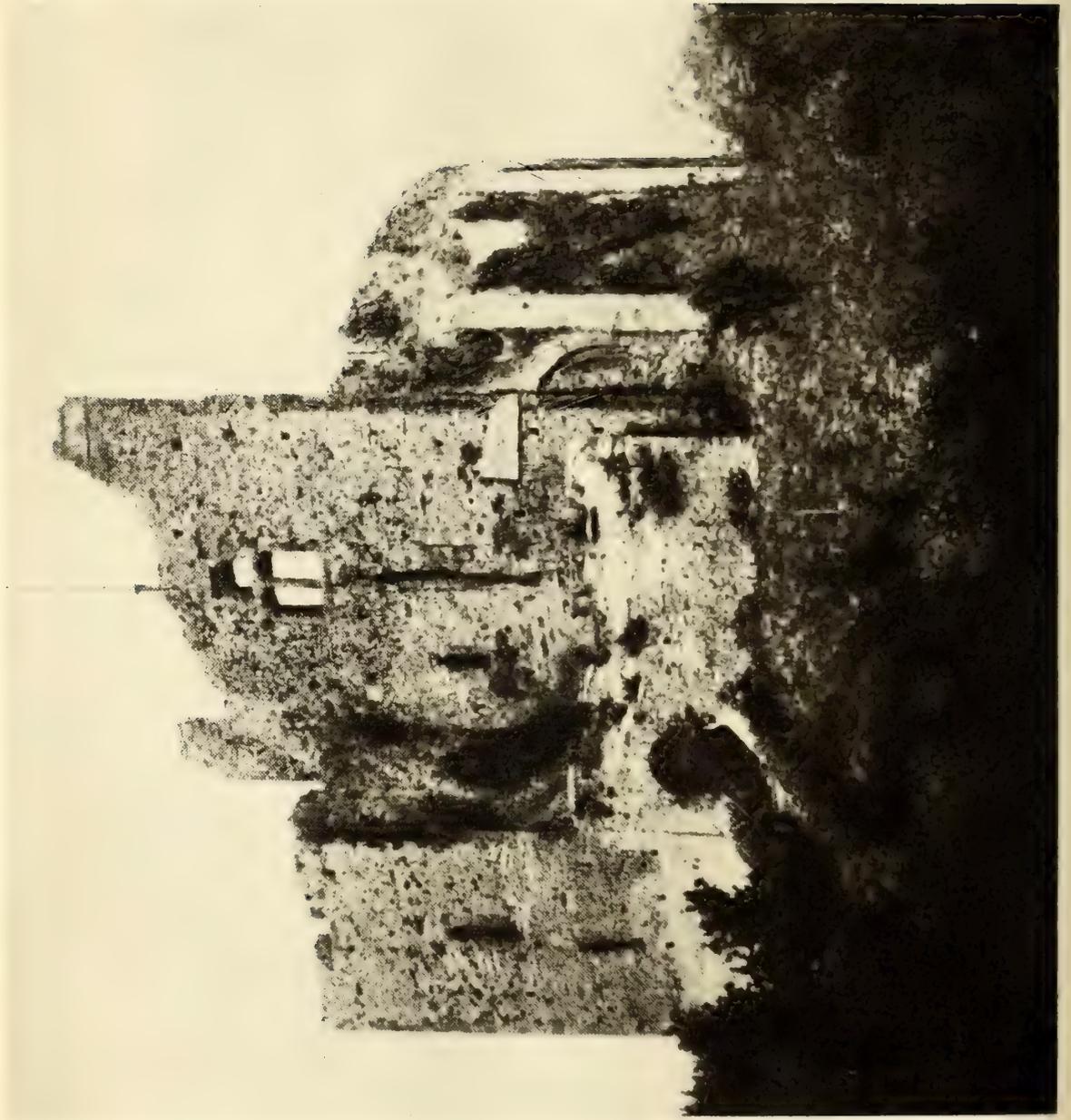
XVIII. *Margaret de Bohun*, daughter of Humphrey and Elizabeth de Bohun, married, August 11, 1325, Sir Hugh Courtenay. (De Bohun X.)

(*Ibid.*)

XIX. *Sir Philip Courtenay*, third son of Hugh and Margaret (de Bohun) Courtenay, of Powderham, died July 29, 1406. He married Ann, daughter of Thomas Wake.

(T. Westcote: "View of Devonshire in 1630," pp. 571-73.)

XX. *Sir John Courtenay*, son of Sir Philip and Ann (Wake) Courtenay, married a daughter of Sir Richard Champernon. Authori-



ARUNDEL CASTLE

The Arundel Castle stands at the lofty edge of a spur which overhangs the river of Arun, in Sussex. Its site is a part of the ancient manor or honour "of that name granted with other holdings to Roger de Montgomeri in return for services in the battle of Senlac, or Hastings." The holdings included the earldoms of Arundel and Shrewsbury, with two of the six divisions into which the county of Sussex is divided. Earl Roger built the Norman Castle and resided there chiefly, but after his death it went to his second son Hugh, then to his elder brother Robert de Beleme, from whom it passed to the Crown when Beleme was banished and his lands forfeited. The lands and dignities were settled by Henry I upon his Queen Adeliza, who later married William de Albin, when Albin became the Earl of Arundel.

The Albinis held Arundel until the death of Hugh, fifth Earl, who died without male issue in 1243, when the earldom went to Isabel de Albin, who married John FitzAlan. The FitzAlan family held possession until 1580, when Henry, fourteenth and last Earl of Arundel died without issue and it was inherited by Mary, daughter of the eleventh Earl, who was married to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, in which noble family it has remained.

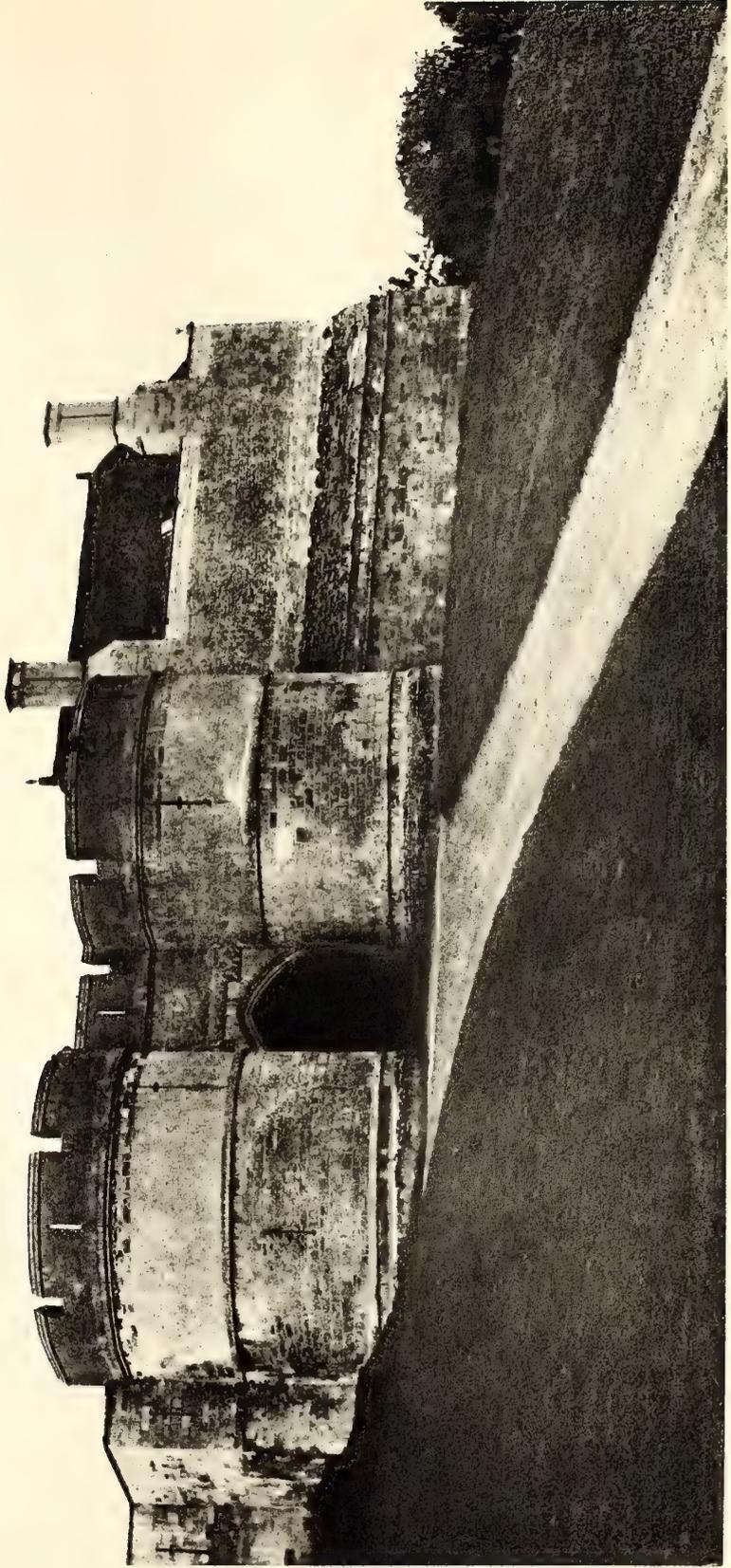
During the period of negotiation prior to the signing of the Magna Charta, King John (1199-1216) was a frequent guest at Arundel Castle, where he met the barons, ever resisting their threatening demands. But the chivalry of the times made more difficult the denial of the pleas of his charming hostess, Countess Mabel of Arundel. Schooled in France, speaking the language with a charming grace, so history says, that excelled the French themselves, we can well realize how irresistible must have been this blue-eyed, golden-haired Countess, and hear the defiant King say: "Barons, I grant the charter, not through fear of ye, but for yon bonny Lady."

Years ago the descendants of the Magna Charta Barons produced, at Arundel Castle, a pageant of its signing on June 19, 1215, each taking the part of his ancestor. . . . This scene, as reproduced in a stained-glass creation known as The Great Norfolk Window of Arundel Castle, is shown in the English engraving of 1818, and probably constitutes the most accurate record of this great event that Lord Macaulay designates as "the beginning of English history." (*Coats-of-Arms of the Sureties of the Magna Charta.*)

ROCKINGHAM CASTLE

Situated in Rockingham Forest, Northamptonshire, on a natural rise well calculated to fit the need of protection was Rockingham Castle, old Saxon stronghold, and later chosen by the Conqueror. The forest was Royal Domain and one of the largest in the Kingdom, and it is possible that the first fortress was erected by King William I as a hunting lodge. King John presented it to his wife Isabella. In the reign of Edward I it is estimated that £20,000 was spent in repairs. Rockingham remained a royal possession for over 400 years, and was the scene of many stirring events during the period of the Civil War.

(Sir James MacKenzie: "Castles of England.")



ROCKINGHAM CASTLE



The noble and Victorious Prince EDWARD the first surnamed Long-shanks, King of England, Duke of Aquitaine, Earl of Pictavia, and Anjou, Lo. of Ireland etc. He Conquered Scotland, and brought from thence the Marble Chair. He subdued and overcame the Welsh Prince of Wales, and made his sonne Edward Prince thereof. He died at the age of 68 years 1103 after he had reigned 34 years & months. buried at Westminster.

EDWARD I OF ENGLAND

REVUE DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE

Les auteurs de ce volume ont voulu donner une vue d'ensemble de la situation de la littérature française au cours de la dernière décennie. Ils ont réuni dans ce recueil des études sur les écrivains les plus importants de cette époque, et ils ont cherché à montrer comment leur œuvre s'inscrit dans le contexte social et culturel de leur temps.

Le premier chapitre est consacré à la poésie, et plus particulièrement à la poésie de la Nouvelle Vague. Les auteurs analysent comment les poètes de cette époque ont cherché à renouveler le langage poétique, et comment ils ont été influencés par les courants littéraires étrangers.

EDWARD I OF ENGLAND

Edward was thirty-five years old when he became King of England. The schooling of his youth had developed his character and suggested the lines of the policy which he carried out as monarch. He was a handsome, tall and well-proportioned man, and devoted to the more active recreations. The great event of his reign was the conquest of the principality of Wales, and the establishment of Parliament.

Edward I was proud of his strict regard to his plighted word and love of justice. He was loyal to his friends and subordinates; his domestic life was unstained. He overcame the fighting Scotch and paid tribute to his ancestor, Queen Margaret of Scotland, by visiting her chapel on Edinburgh Hill, a custom which every English sovereign has followed since that time.

ELEANORA OF CASTILE

The portraits of Eleanora (Eleanor) of Castile, Queen-consort of Edward I, taken from her monument in Westminster Abbey, is of singular interest. She is surnamed "the faithful" and to her beloved memory the King paid high tribute. Her death occurred during the troublous time when Scottish affairs were pressing hard upon the monarch. But affairs of state and war were obliterated from King Edward's mind by the sorrows he felt at Eleanor's death. All affairs of state were suspended during the obsequies. In deep grief he followed her body in person during thirteen days' progress from Grant-ham to Westminster. The royal bier was carried to rest, at stages in the journey, in some central part of a great town. As it reposed, the neighboring ecclesiastics came to meet it in solemn procession, and to place it before the high altar of the principal church. At each of these resting places the royal mourner vowed to erect a cross in memory of the chère reine, as he called his lost Eleanor. In all, thirteen of these monuments were erected, that of Northampton still remaining.

(Agnes Strickland: "Lives of the Queens of England.")

ELEANORA OF CASTILE

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(Agnes Strickland: "Lives of the Queens of England.")



Eleanora of Castile.

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ties disagree as to her first name, some saying Agnes, some Joan, and some Isabel.

(*Ibid.*)

XXI. Sir Philip Courtenay, son of Sir John and Agnes, Joan or Isabel (Champernon) Courtenay, was born in 1404 and died in 1463. He was sheriff of Devon. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, Lord Hungerford.

(*Ibid.*)

XXII. Sir William Courtenay, son of Sir Philip and Elizabeth (Hungerford) Courtenay, was high sheriff of Devon in 1482. He married Margaret, daughter of Lord Bonville, Knight of the Garter.

(*Ibid.*)

XXIII. Edward Courtenay, son of Sir William and Margaret (Bonville) Courtenay, died in 1509. He married Alice Wotton, daughter and heiress of John Wotton, of Wotton, in Landrake, Cornwall.

(Lyson: "Magna Britannia," Vol. III, p. 171. Westcote: "View of Devonshire in 1630," pp. 573, 575.)

XXIV. Alice Courtenay, daughter of Edward and Alice (Wotton) Courtenay, married Reginald Gayer, of Liskeard. (Gayer—Family in England—I.)

(A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," pp. 1, 2.)

XXV. John Gayer, son of Reginald and Alice (Courtenay) Gayer, was a member of Parliament from Cornwall in 1553, 1557 and 1571. He died in 1593. It is not known whom he married.

(*Ibid.*)

XXVI. Stephen Gayer, son of John Gayer, married Jane Tembrace, daughter of William Tembrace.

(A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," pp. 9-10.)

XXVII. John Gayer, son of Stephen and Jane (Tembrace) Gayer, married Sibell Treffrey, daughter of Thomas Treffrey.

(*Ibid.*)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XXVIII. *Thomas Gayer* was the son of John and Sibell (Trefrey) Gayer.

(*Ibid.*)

XXIX. *John Gayer*, son of Thomas Gayer, married Margaret Trelawney, daughter of Robert, of Tidiver.

(*Ibid.* "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VII, p. 972.)

XXX. *Humphrey Gayer*, son of John and Margaret (Trelawney) Gayer, married Jane Spark, of Plymouth.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLV, p. 188. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. VII, p. 972. A. E. Gayer: "Memoirs of the Family of Gayer," p. 5.)

XXXI. *William Gayer*, son of Humphrey and Jane (Spark) Gayer, died at Nantucket, Massachusetts, 23rd-7mo.-1710. He came from Devonshire, England, to America, and was an early settler in Nantucket. He was a farmer; a justice of the peace, and in June, 1692, with Captain John Gardner, was the first representative from Nantucket after its transfer from the jurisdiction of the Colony of New York to the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Additional proof that he was the son of Humphrey and Jane (Spark) Gayer, and that he came from Devonshire, England, are letters from his mother and his son, the latter dated from Barbados, March 20, 1698-99. He was one of five judges appointed in 1704 by the Governor of Massachusetts.

He married (first), about 1672, Dorcas Starbuck. (Starbuck II-A.) He married (second) Widow Mary Guard, of Boston, but survived her.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXXVII, pp. 297, 298. T. C. Amory: "The Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Baronet," p. 85. "Vital Records of Nantucket" [Massachusetts], Vol. II, p. 83; Vol. III, p. 539; Vol. V, pp. 326, 327. L. S. Hinchman: "Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 161. A. Starbuck: "History of Nantucket," p. 803.)

XXXII. *Dorcas Gayer*, daughter of William and Dorcas (Starbuck) Gayer, was born August 29, 1675, and died at Nantucket, December 11, 1747. She married Jethro Starbuck. (Starbuck III-B.)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XXXIII. *William Starbuck*, son of Jethro and Dorcas (Gayer) Starbuck, was born May 22, 1699, and died October 17, 1760. He married, October 9, 1720, Anna Folger. (First Folger Line V.)

XXXIV. *Mary Starbuck*, daughter of William and Anna (Folger) Starbuck, was born in Nantucket in 1738 and died in Guilford, North Carolina. She married Joseph Macy. (Macy V.)

XXXV. *William Macy*, son of Joseph and Mary (Starbuck) Macy, was born at Nantucket, February 7, 1772, died in Union County, Indiana, March 14, 1855; removed, with his parents to Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1774. He married in Stokes County, North Carolina, Mary Barnard. (Barnard VI.)

XXXVI. *John W. Macy*, son of William and Mary (Barnard) Macy, was born at New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina, November 18, 1807. He later settled in Dalton, Wayne County, Indiana.

John W. Macy married, in North Carolina, February 11, 1836, Elvira Coffin, daughter of Seth and Elizabeth Coffin.

XXXVII. *Mary Elizabeth Macy*, daughter of John W. and Elvira (Coffin) Macy, was born in Rush County, Indiana, December 29, 1849. She married Thomas Nicholson. (Nicholson VII.)

XXXVIII. *Leora Estella Nicholson*, daughter of Thomas and Mary Elizabeth (Macy) Nicholson, married, August 25, 1892, Charles Newton Teetor.

(The De Bohun Line)

Arms—Azure, a bend argent between two cottises and six lions rampant or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The surname De Bohun is derived from the place in France where the family resided before coming to England. It is located in the arrondissement of St. Lô in the Contentin, a peninsula in Normandy. The communes of St. André-de-Bohon and St. Georges-de-Bohon are still found there. The honor of Bohon, as it was then spelled, was in the possession of the family at the time of the Norman Conquest.

(J. R. Planche: "Earls of Hereford," in "Journal of British Archaeological Association," Vol. XXVII, p. 138. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," New Edition, Vol. VI, p. 446.)

NICHOLSON, MACY AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Humphrey (1) de Bohun came to England with William the Conqueror and is believed to have been his kinsman. He is named in Domesday Book as lord of the manor of Taterford, County Norfolk.

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, pp. 354-55. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. II, pp. 769-70.)

II. Humphrey (2) de Bohun, son of Humphrey (1) de Bohun, married Matilda of Salisbury.

(*Ibid.* "Victoria County History: Norfolk," Vol. II, p. 184.)

III. Humphrey (3) de Bohun, son of Humphrey (2) de Bohun and Matilda of Salisbury, served as steward to King Henry I. He married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England.

(W. Dugdale: "The Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 179. "Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. II, pp. 769-70. E. Foss: "The Judges of England," Vol. I, p. 125. J. R. Planche: "Earls of Hereford," in "Journal of British Archæological Association," Vol. XXVII, p. 183. "Victoria County History: Hereford," Vol. I, pp. 279, 311. G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," New Edition, Vol. VI, pp. 446, 451, 452.)

IV. Humphrey (4) de Bohun, son of Humphrey (3) and Margaret de Bohun married Margaret, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Huntington by Ada, daughter of William Warren, Earl of Surrey.

(*Ibid.*)

V. Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Humphrey (4) and Margaret de Bohun, died June 1, 1220. He was the first of the family to be called Earl of Hereford, inheriting that title from his grandmother. Siding with the barons in 1215, he was one of the twenty-five sureties of *Magna Charta*, and was excommunicated by the Pope. After the death of King John he adhered to the party of Louis of France and fought in the battle of Lincoln in 1217. He married, as her first husband, Maud, sister and heiress of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," New Edition, Vol. VI, pp. 457, 459; Vol. VIII, p. 53. J. R. Planche: "Earls of Here-

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ford," in "Journal of British Archæological Association," Vol. XXVII, pp. 183, 184, 186. W. Dugdale: "Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 180. H. C. Maxwell-Lyte: "History of Dunster," Vol. I, pp. 29-30.)

VI. Humphrey (5) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Constable of England, son of Henry and Maud (de Mandeville) de Bohun, became Earl of Essex in 1236. He was Marshal of the Household at the Coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236. He married (first) Maud de Lusignan, daughter of Raoul de Lusignan, Count of Eu. He married (second) Maud de Avenbury.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," New Edition, Vol. VI, pp. 259-62; Vol. VII, p. 638; Old Edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 56, 228. G. Baker: "History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton," Vol. I, p. 544. R. Clutterbuck: "History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford," p. 354. G. Lipscomb: "History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," Vol. III, p. 152. C. Moor: "The Knights of Edward I," Vol. LXXX of "Harleian Society Publications," p. 106.)

VII. Sir Humphrey (6) de Bohun, son of Humphrey (5) and Maud (de Lusignan) de Bohun, died October 27, 1265. He married (first) Eleanor, also called Alianore de Braose. He married (second) Joan de Quincy.

(G. E. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," New Edition, Vol. IV, p. 202 and footnote C; Vol. VI, pp. 462-63.)

VIII. Humphrey (7) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, son of Humphrey (6) and Eleanor or Alianore (de Braose) de Bohun married Mahaut or Maud de Fiennes.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Humphrey (8) de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, K. B. and Constable of England, son of Humphrey (7) and Maud (de Fiennes) de Bohun, was made a Knight of the Bath in 1306. He served at the coronation of Edward II, and bore the sceptre with the cross. He married, at Westminster, November 14, 1302, Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, King of England.

(*Ibid.*)

X. Margaret de Bohun, daughter of Humphrey (8) and Elizabeth (Plantagenet) de Bohun, married Sir Hugh de Courtenay,

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Baron of Oakhampton and Earl of Devonshire. (Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England XVIII.)

(*Ibid.*)

(Mrs. Leora E. [Nicholson] Teetor Royal Descent from the Kings of Scotland)

Scotland, at the beginning of recorded history, was composed of the Kingdom of Picts in the north, with other warlike tribes in their vicinity; the Kingdom of the Scots, or Dalriada from Ireland in the west, later called Argyll; the Cymric, or Welsh, in the southwest, called the Kingdom of the Strathclyde, Britons; and the Angles in the southeast. The English domain included the part of Scotland called Lothian and the nothern part of England, which for many years was contested between the two countries. Gaelic was spoken by both Picts and Scots. Each of these regions was in constant warfare with the others, but with the union of the Picts and Dalriadic Scots came a kingdom which absorbed the Welsh and English region south of it.

All early history of the Celtic Kings of Scotland is obscure. By the principle of tanistry, brothers, as nearer in degree of kinship, invariably succeeded before the sons of the last chief. Less obscurity obtains since the union of the Picts and Scots under a king of Scottish race, A. D. 850.

(“Encyclopedia Britannica,” Eleventh Edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 430.)

Arms—Or, a lion rampant within a double tressure counterflory, gules.

Crest—On an imperial crown, a lion sejant affrontée gules, imperially crowned or, holding in the dexter paw a sword, in the sinister a scepter erect, both proper.

Supporters—Two unicorns argent, imperially crowned, and gorged with a royal coronet, chains affixed thereto, passing between the forelegs and reflexed over the back. The banner held by the dexter supporter is the arms of Scotland, fringed azure; that held by the sinister supporter is fringed argent and azure, the cross of St. Andrew.

Mottoes—Over the crest: In Defense.

—Under the arms: *Nemo me impune lacessit.*

(Burke: “Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage.”)

I. *Alpin*, King of Dalriadic Scots, was slain in battle with the Picts, July 20, 834.

II. *Kenneth I MacAlpin*, King of the Scots, married the daughter of Donald of the Isles. Among his children was a son, Constantine.

(“Dictionary of National Biography,” Vol. X, pp. 1325-27. R. Rowland: “History of the Kings of Scotland,” p. 51.)

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III. Constantine I, King of Scotland or Alban, was killed in battle in 877. His son was Donald.

(“Dictionary of National Biography,” Vol. IV, pp. 972-73.)

IV. Donald, son of Constantine I, died about 900, his reign having lasted from 899 to 900, when he died in battle while attempting to reduce highland robber tribes. He had a son, Malcolm.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 1113.)

V. Malcolm I, King of Scotland, was slain in 954. He left a son, Kenneth.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 842.)

VI. Kenneth II, King of Scotland, died in 995. He was the father of Malcolm.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 1327-28.)

VII. Malcolm II, King of Scotland, died November 25, 1034. With his death ended the male line founded by Alpin, King of Dalriadic Scots. Malcolm II married a daughter of the Duke of Normandy and they were the parents of Bethoc.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 843-44. A. H. Dunbar: “Scottish Kings,” pp. 4-7. R. Rowland: “History of the Kings of Scotland,” p. 62.)

VIII. Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II, King of Scotland, married, about the year 1000, Crinan the Thane, hereditary Lay Abbott of Dunkeld. They were the parents of a son, Duncan.

(A. H. Dunbar: “Scottish Kings,” p. 4.)

IX. Duncan I, King of Scotland, succeeded his grandfather, Malcolm II, as King in 1034. Duncan I married, in 1030, a cousin of Siward, Earl of Northumberland. Between the region ruled by Duncan I and North Scotland, known as Orkney, was Moray, ruled by his cousin, Macbeth, who challenged the authority of Duncan. After a desperate struggle Duncan was defeated and slain. As early as the twelfth century a tradition grew up that he was murdered, which forms the basis of Shakespeare’s “Macbeth.” Among the children of Duncan I was Malcolm.

(*Ibid.*, p. 14. “Dictionary of National Biography,” Vol. VI, pp. 157-58.)

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X. *Malcolm III*, called Canmore, son of Duncan I, succeeded to the throne of Scotland by the defeat of Macbeth in 1054. Malcolm III married, as his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Edward the "Exile," King of England.

("Dictionary of National Biography," Vol. XII, pp. 844-45. A. H. Dunbar: "Scottish Kings," pp. 31-32.)

XI. *Matilda*, daughter of Malcolm III and Margaret of England, married Henry I, King of England. (Mrs. Leora Estella [Nicholson] Teetor Royal Descent from the Saxon Kings of England XI.)

(*Ibid.*)

Book Notes

Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corps, by Edgar Erskine Hume, Colonel, Medical Corps, United States Army, with foreword by Alexander Wetmore, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in charge of the U. S. National Museum; octavo, xxv + 583 pp., 109 illustrations, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942.

To one acquainted with the military, professional, and literary work of Edgar Erskine Hume for a considerable number of years it has become an intriguing pastime to imagine what field of writing would next engage him. He is the author of about two hundred books and papers covering subjects as widely divergent as Typhus Fever and Scotch Ballads, so the present book, combining his love of history with a deep knowledge of, and pride in, the Army branch to which he has devoted his life, is a comparatively orthodox activity. His excursion into the field of ornithology as the biographer, in sketch form, of thirty-six Army medical men, partakes of the surprisingly versatile nature of his earlier literary activity, for while in his "Introduction" he writes that he "cannot himself claim knowledge of ornithology, but only admiration from a respectful distance," the volume is dedicated to his sister, "who with me learned from our parents to love 'Nature's feathered minstrels.'" The treatment of the scientific aspects of the careers of his subjects indicates no small degree of ornithological knowledge on the part of the author.

Of the men recorded in the book but two are living, and by far the greater part of them take their place in the period when the United States Army was playing its part in the winning of the West, with great opportunity for scientifically minded officers to study bird life in the territories which, as yet, were hardly known to the white man. "Medical officers were often exceedingly well educated men, and when campaigns were not in progress, their spare time was not wasted. . . . Ornithology was a popular study and some of its followers went far in that branch of zoölogy."

BOOK NOTES

Colonel Hume's book contains a vast store of carefully selected and indisputably authentic biographical data compiled with the coöperation of a large number of persons, all of whom are carefully listed in five pages of appreciative acknowledgment. The generous illustrations cover portraits, scenes, and bird plates, with the frontispiece a print from a copper engraving of the Blue-headed Flycatcher, drawn and engraved on copper by Assistant Surgeon William Wallace Anderson (1824-1911), United States Army, and Surgeon, Confederate States Army. A bibliography is found at the end of each biographical sketch and a comprehensive index plays its always important part. Despite the essentially chronological and seriously biographical nature of the work it abounds in human interest and drama, with the gentler emotions frequently emerging from the background of documents, letters, and books. There is, for the non-scientific, the story of the officer who tested the flight speed of birds by racing with them in an aeroplane; while the younger of the two living representatives contributes a story of early collecting which for subtle humor would do credit to the "New Yorker" at its best. This reader, knowing birds with the appreciation and enjoyment with which he views a sunset, and with as little first-hand knowledge of them, yet has read practically all of this reference work, a fact which in itself is tribute to its literary craftsmanship.

As this is written the United States Army Medical Corps is coming more intimately into the consciousness of the average citizen, for when he telephones for his physician he finds that, in thousands and thousands of instances, he has been called to war service. (This book was written in the pre-war period. Colonel Hume, nor any other medical man, will have time for this type of research for many months.) And because the Medical Corps is a group of scientific specialists, whose work lacks, in the popular mind, the glamor of some of the other more publicized arms of the service, we quote a part of Colonel Hume's conclusion to his excellent work, in which he sets forth some of the magnificent claims of his Corps to the gratitude of this country and the civilized world:

So when future historians of the United States Army write of the great things done by the Medical Department they will include ornithological research. Our Medical Department has certain outstand-

BOOK NOTES

ing scientific contributions to its credit. It has assembled the greatest collection of medical literature that the world has ever known, and provided a catalogue for it that is the international standard of medical bibliography. It has developed the most important medical museum in America, and possibly in the world, wherein some of the leading medical societies study and preserve their records and pathological materials. It furnished the first American pharmacopœia. One of its early officers first brought vaccination against smallpox to the United States. It first saw the importance of ventilation and the ill effects of overcrowding. One of its officers was first to study the physiology of digestion. It showed that typhoid fever may be spread by contact, and later was first in America to use prophylaxis against this disease. It proved that the mosquito transmits yellow fever and dengue. Without its successful campaign against yellow fever and malaria there would be no Panama Canal. It led in the early teaching of bacteriology and its chief wrote the first American textbook on that subject. It established the first school of preventive medicine in America—the Army Medical School. It has led in thoracic and maxillofacial surgery. Its Tropical Medicine Board has made most important advances in this field, working first in the Philippines and later in Panama. In malariology it has made highly important discoveries, showing the cause of relapses and explaining the existence of carriers. It first used liquid chlorine in water purification. Its studies of both protozoal and bacterial dysentery were among the earliest made. It was first in America in the prevention of venereal disease by chemical prophylaxis. It gave ethnologists and anthropologists their first comprehensive data on the Indian and the Filipino. It initiated periodical physical examinations to detect unsuspected disease. It first showed that the hook worm is the cause of dreaded Puerto Rican anæmia. It has made significant contributions to our knowledge of pellagra, beri beri, and other deficiency diseases. Its officers have successfully waged wars overseas against cholera, plague, typhus fever and uncinariasis. It led in the evolution of photomicrography. It developed the science of meteorology in the United States, and for the better part of a century was the only governmental agency keeping records of weather and climate. One of its officers created the Weather Bureau and the Army Signal Corps, becoming the first Chief. Its officers have made outstanding contributions to medical history and its histories of its own work in the Civil and World Wars are monumental. It made the first studies of the bacteriology of dental caries. In veterinary medicine it must be credited with some of the most important advances of the last decade. Nor are even these all that could be mentioned.

W. S. D.

BOOK NOTES

Naval documents related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers. Volume III. Naval Operations including diplomatic background from September 1803 through March 1804. Published under direction of the Honorable Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy. Prepared by the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, under the supervision of Captain Dudley W. Knox, U. S. Navy (Ret.), U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, District of Columbia, 1941; pp. i-viii, 1-639. Eight plates, four maps. Printed on one hundred per cent. rag paper. \$4.00.

The Superintendent of Documents has just placed on sale the third volume in the series of naval documents on the Barbary Wars. This covers the winter of 1803-04 and includes particularly the rupture of relations between the United States and Morocco and the blockade of Tripoli. The grounding and capture of the United State frigate "Philadelphia" and her boarding and burning by Lieutenant Stephen Decatur are also a part of the volume. The book is not at hand and this note is made from data received from the Navy Department.

W. S. D.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1, 1942.

State of New York, }
County of New York }^{ss.}

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared M. L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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